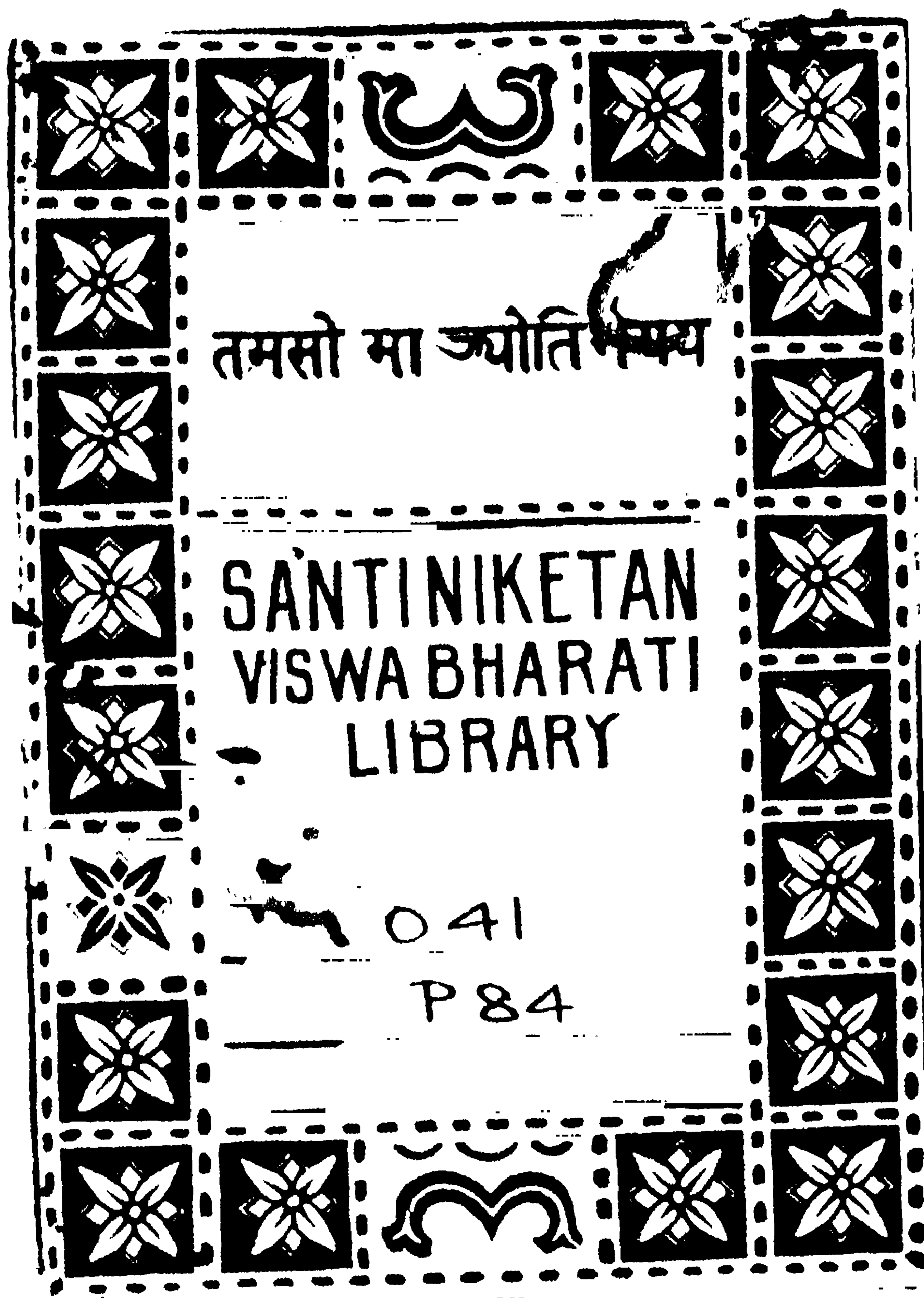

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Mahāmahōpādhyāya Prof. D. V. POTDAR

COMMEMORATION VOLUME

MAHĀMAHŌPĀDHYĀYA

Prof. D. V. POTDAR

SIXTY-FIRST BIRTHDAY COMMEMORATION VOLUME

Studies in Historical and Indological Research presented to M. M. Prof. DATTO VAMAN POTDAR, B.A. by his friends and old pupils in honour of his Sixty-First Birthday.

Editor :

DR. SURENDRA NATH SEN, M.A., Ph.D., B.Litt.
Delhi

1950

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D. K. Sathe, B.Sc.,
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Birthday Celebration
Committee, Poona 2,

चंद्रमे जे अलांछन । मार्तंड जे तापहीन ।
ते सर्वांही सदा सज्जन । सोयरे होतु ॥

—ज्ञानेश्वरी–१८–१७९९.

Printed by
S. R. Sardesai, B.A., LL.B.,
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41 Budhwar Peth, Poona 2.

I look to him as a light and not a lamp. He is a source of initiative and friend of all that is creative or even merely new. He is a regionalist who has transcended regionalism. He is a hard critic and even stubborn. Many see much smoke round about him,—that is a sure sign of fire within—of which I have no doubt.

— D. R. BENDRE,
Distinguished Kannad
Poet and Litterateur.

PREFACE

Mahāmahōpādhyāya Prof. D. V. Potdar completed sixty years of his life on *Shravan Suddha* 5, *Saka* 1872 (5th August 1950 according to the English Calendar). In view of his selfless career of public life for over thirty-eight years since 1912, which he devoted towards many-sided cultural uplift of Maharashtra, a few of his friends and admirers, who were bound by feelings of attachment and reverence towards him, decided to celebrate his sixty-first birthday in a manner befitting his long record of public life. His services to the cause of historical research in general and to Maratha History in particular have also been no less significant. It was, therefore, decided to undertake the preparation of a Commemoration Volume consisting of essays in historical and indological research written by worthy scholars—his friends and admirers,—as also by his old pupils. Dr. Surendra Nath Sen, M. A., Ph. D., B. Litt., an old friend of Prof. Potdar was invited to undertake the work as its editor. Dr. Sen had just quitted his post of the Director of Archives, Government of India, and had joined the Delhi University. In spite of the pressure of work, he readily accepted our invitation and soon a local committee was formed consisting of Mr. C. G. Karve, Mr. V. S. Bendre, Mr. C. G. Kashikar and Prof. R. V. Oturkar, to call for contributions and see the work through the press. The committee was subsequently expanded by co-opting Messrs G. H. Khare, S. N. Joshi and Prof. D. V. Kale. A circular letter of request was sent to learned scholars of History all over India, and opportunity was also taken to contact a few of them personally at the last session of the Indian History Congress held at Cuttack in December, 1949. Response to our effort was indeed very encouraging. Articles came pouring in from all quarters of the country from Patiala to Trivandrum and from Jodhpur to Gauhati, which in itself was a tribute to Mahāmahōpādhyāya Prof. D. V. Potdar whose services to the cause of History have always been endearingly appreciated by one and all. The articles cover a very wide field and throw light on many an abstruse problem. We are really indebted to these scholars for having responded to the appeal of the Committee. We also sincerely beg to be excused by those whose contributions could not find a place in this volume mainly because they could not reach us in time.

We had intended to incorporate in this volume a few relevant details about the worthy scholars who are working in the field of historical and indological research and who have contributed to this volume. In our opinion such information would have become very useful in helping the co-operation of scholars working in the same field. But the effort had to be given up, because not a few remained adamant and would not respond to our appeal ; while others, although kindly acceding to our request, evidently seemed to have done so as a matter of courtesy.

In the course of the year, Dr. S. N. Sen became the Vice-Chancellor of the Delhi University and his hands were full with the responsibilities of his new office. In spite of the heavy work and other difficulties in his way, he found time to write letters of request to a few friends of his, requesting them to send their contributions. We are thankful to him for all he could do for us. Special mention must be made of Prof. P. K. Gode whose services and words of guidance are always available to those who undertake works like the present one. Dr. M. G. Dixit extended his helping hand in the work of proof correction. Mr. V. S. Chitale, M. A., B. T., T. D. prepared a list of Prof. Potdar's writings and Prof. N. A. Gore prepared the index. Prof. B. D. Verma, the renowned Persian scholar prepared a list of orthographical and other errors in the English section and Mr. S. N. Joshi rendered a corresponding service for the Marathi section. We take this opportunity to offer our sincere thanks to one and all, including the willing and intelligent team of workers of the Samarth Bharat Press, without whose ready co-operation we could hardly have been able to see the work through the press. Lastly, we offer our humble and sincere felicitations to our Mahāmahōpādhyāya Prof. D. V. Potdar and pray God give him many more years of active and healthy life, so that he would act as a beacon light to those that would always be working in the field of History, which to us is a strenuous discipline of thought for understanding the synthetic effect of complex happenings.

M. M. Potdar Sixty-first Birthday
Celebration Mandal.

Dasara Day, Śaka 1872

Friday, 20th October, 1950.

—CONTENTS—

पृष्ठें

मराठी विभाग

Mahāmahōpādhyāya Prof. D. V. POTDAR, B.A.

A Brief Chronology of Events in Life

1890 5th August, Tuesday, Birth at Birwadi, Dist. Kolaba. Ancestral Surname of the family 'Orpe', who later became Potdar i.e. 'Officer of the Treasury under Adil Shahi'.

1906 Matric. Primary and High School Education in Nutan Marathi Vidyalaya, Poona.

1910 B. A. College Education: Fergusson College, Poona. Attended the foundation meeting of the Bharat Itihas Samshodhak Mandal (Ashadh Śuddh 1, Śaka 1832, 7th July 1910).

1914–1918 Secretary, वसंत व्याख्यानमाला (Spring Lecture Series).

1915 Life Member, Shikshan Prasarak Mandali, Poona.

,, Asst. Secretary, B. I. S. Mandal.

1916–1925 Superintendent, Marathi School, N. M. V., Poona.

1918–1942 Secretary (with Sardar G. N. alias Abasaheb Mujumdar), B. I. S. Mandal. Since 1942, Chairman of the Executive Council.

1921–1934 Professor of Marathi and soon after Professor of History also, in the New Poona (subsequently known as Sir Parashurambhau) College, Poona.

1922 Marathi Work, Published 'मराठी गद्याचा इंग्रजी अवतार' History of Marathi Prose in the 19th Century upto 1875.

,, Member Co-opted for Marathi on the Faculty of Arts, Bombay University.

,, Member, Indian Historical Records Commission, Co-opted for the Session at Bombay. (Since 1940 Ordinary Expert Member nominated by Govt. of India).

1926–1932 Superintendent, High School, N. M. V., Poona.

1928 Maharashtra University Association, Started.

1932 Sectional President, मराठी साहित्य सम्मेलन, इतिहास विभाग, कोल्हापूर.

1933–1936 Editor, मराठी साहित्य पत्रिका of the Maharashtra Sahitya Parishad.

1935 General Secretary, First Indian History Congress Session, Poona. (One of the founders of the organisation).

1937 Sectional President, Indian History Congress, (Maratha History Section), Allahabad.

1939 President, मराठी साहित्य सम्मेलन, अहमदनगर अधिवेशन.

1939 Member, Provincial Board for Education in Hindustani, Subsequently its Chairman from 1942 onwards,

1943 President, महाराष्ट्र साहित्य परिषद.

1946-1950 ,, Shikshan Prasarak Mandali, Poona.

1946-1950 Vice-Chairman, संयुक्त महाराष्ट्र परिषद.

1948 President, Indian History Congress, XI Session, Delhi.

,, Member, Indian National Commission for co-operation with UNESCO, (Nominated by Govt. of India),

,, Member, Peshwa Daftar Committee.

,, Kul-Guru (Vice-Chancellor), टिळक महाराष्ट्र विद्यापीठ.

1948-1950 Member, Provincial Council of Education, Govt. of Bombay.

1949 Member of the Court, and Member of the Academic Council, University of Poona.

1949 Chairman, Tamasha Inquiry Committee, Bombay Govt.

1950 Member, State Board for Monuments and Archives, Govt. of Bombay.

,, Chairman, Hindi Teaching Committee.

(A more detailed reference to institutions with which Prof. D. V. Potdar is connected will be found in the Marathi Section. A fairly exhaustive list of the articles written by Prof. D. V. Potdar has also been prepared and published in the Marathi Section).

M. M. Prof. D. V. POTDAR

COMMEMORATION VOLUME

ENGLISH SECTION

— 1 —

A TAMIL ACCOUNT OF SIVAJI'S EXPEDITION TO THE SOUTH AND THE MUGHAL SIEGE OF GINGEE

PROF. C. S. SHRINIVASACHARI, M. A.

The Karnataka Rajakkal *Savistara Charitam* of Narayana Kone, included in the Mackenzie Manuscripts, was compiled after consultation of numerous sources, Hindu and Muhammadan, at the special request of Colonel William Macleod, Commissioner of Arcot, during the Governorship of Lord William Bentinck. It is a general history of Peninsular India, down to Kaliyuga Year 4908, Cyclic Year Akshaya, Vikrama Saka 1864, Salivahana Saka 1729 (A.D. 1807-8). Of its eight *kandas* or sections, the 7th treats of the Marathas and the Tuluva country and the 6th of the Hassan dynasty of the Deccan Kingdom; while the last section deals with the Lower Karnataka country. The author distinguishes between the Gingee country which he calls Cholamandalam and the Tondaimandalam or Conjeevaram region on the one hand and the Chōladēsam along the lower Kaveri, on the other.[1] The 8th section contains very many details of "intrigues, perfidies and consequent wars long before any Europeans intermeddled with the politics of the peninsula," of much of which Orme was not aware.

I

The following translated extracts from the Chronicle throw some light upon the two topics noted above. The Mussalmans had ruined the country of Karnatak Payanghat, transforming temples into mosques; and in order to restore national honour, King Sivaji, ruler of the Maratha country in the Deccan, descended by the valley of Ambur in 1080 Fasli with 100,000 men, horsemen and gunners with Ram Raja, Ekoji Raja, Tukoji Bhosla *etc.*

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1. W. Taylor in his *Cataloguee Raisonnee*, (1857) (Vol. III, pp. 34-41) credits the *Charitram* with an approximation to the character of a true history, particularly in the last sections, and as having helped in the construction of a historical narrative to the time of Krishna (Deva) Raya. Apart from the crudeness of the language and spelling of words and of the Muhammadan terms frequently interspersed, the 8th section is well worth translating and editing. A French translation of this section was published by M. Gnana Diagou in 1939 from a copy obtained from the India Office Collection; and the writer of this paper has prepared an English translation of the same.

"The king of Srirangapatnam and other kings paid tribute to Sivaji through vakils. In addition, the chief *pālayapattu* (palayam) of Chittoor, the rulers of Bommurajapalayam and of Kalahasti, Bangaru Yachama Nayak, the Mansabdar of the Badshah went in person to Sivaji and presented to him all the chiefs beginning with those of Wandavasi. Sivaji gained the allegiance of all the Musalmans from Satgadh, Vellore etc., and arranged for the security of all the country. He gave Arni and Vellore to Ranoji Raji Serfoji Bosala and advanced on Gingee. It is thus that the Marathas took possession of all the country that had already been brought under the subah of Hyderabad.

" In Gingee Killedar Nazar Khan and Faujdar Sidi Ambar Khan strengthened themselves and gave battle to the enemy. But the army of the Mahrattas proved itself to be stronger. The struggle was violent and the Sennegadh fort was taken. Both parties suffered considerable losses. Then Sivaji took by assault the fortress whose hills and bastions he strengthened......" Round the entire fortress of Gingee there were then four encircling walls built by the Kovalar rulers and the Nayaks. He preserved the inner fortress which was at the foot of Rajagiri hill and had the three outer walls called *Adayavalanjān* (*lit.*—encircling) demolished. He raised walls in the form of a triangle which ran straight between Chennagadh and Krishnagiri, from Krishnagiri to Rajagiri and from Rajagiri to Chennagadh and the fort of Muthialu Nayak. King Sivaji reigned enforcing respect for justice and sent his forces against Tanjore.

It is true that Shahji before his death had given to his younger son, Venkoji, his jaghir of Bangalore. He had confided his son Venkoji to his Brahmin minister Ragunatha Narayana Hanumante. For his part the latter considered Venkoji as his own son.

" Fired by ambition, Venkoji unjustly took possession eventually of the kingdom of Tanjore by force of arms. To pacify the country and make the population admit his authority, he had to spend all the wealth amassed in the royal treasury by the previous king Vijayaraghava Nayak. Far from succeeding, this subterfuge only served to alienate the neighbouring chiefs. He had to fight them incessantly and raise armies, which could not be done without enormous expenditure.

" Then famine having taken its part, it was not possible for him to levy further imposts on the inhabitants. Having deliberated, he determined to confiscate the wealth of the temples which drew on him the hatred of Hanumante. The latter therefore took leave of his king under the pretext of making in his old age the pilgrimage to Benares. In reality he went to see King Sivaji to inform him of the rapines and plunderings of his brother.

"It is not therefore surprising that on the pious mind of Sivaji the account of his father's minister made a painful impression and he resolved to bring his brother back to a more scrupulous observance of his *dharma*. But knowing the obstinacy and the situation of his brother, Sivaji took proper action. Besides he sent emissaries to his brother to claim his share of the ancestral property.

"For fifteen years from the death of Shahji, Sivaji had allowed his brother peaceful possession of the revenues of the jaghir of Bangalore. If he reclaimed so tardily his share, it was not that he had any idea of enriching himself, but only endeavoured to bring his brother back to a juster appreciation of realities. The best proof of it was that he had proposed to his brother to submit their differences to arbitration and he had himself appointed three arbitrators."

II

Raja Ram Chhattrapati reigned as Maharaja of the Carnatic up to 1096 fasli.

Being at Aurangabad in the Deccan, Alamgir Badshah appointed Shahzada Kambaksh as the Faujdar of the Deccan. He entrusted to him an army of 300,000 horsemen and gunners, added to the troops supplied by the kings of Hindustan, including those of Jaipur, Udaipur, Bharatpur and Bundelkhand, under Nawab Amir-ul Umara, Zulfikār Khan Bahadur Nasrat Jang. So this army made war on the Marathas of the province of Satara.

After having smoothed all the difficulties in the Deccan, the Badshah entrusted to Amir-ul-Umara 100,000 horse, 2,000 cannon, 200,000 foot, many *lambadis*, pack oxen, elephants, camels, 52 amirs, including the Mansabdar of the Badshah, Bangaru Yachama Nayak and his men, with orders to subjugate the king of Gingee and his partisans who governed the Carnatic. In the year *Akshaya*,[2] the army of the Shahzada and the Nawab arrived in the heights of the valley of Ambur. Informed of this Raja Ram barred their way with 30,000 Carnatic horsemen and musketeers. For one year, this army remained at this spot, whilst the horsemen of the army of the Badshah promenaded at the foot of the defiles of the Carnatic. There were even two serious battles here. Then the army of the Badshah retreated along the river Krishna and the army of Raja Ram returned to Gingee.

2. The date 1686-7 is apparently ante-dated.

In the year *Sukla*[3] 1099 fasli, the Nawab Amir-ul Umara Bahadur came with an army more numerous than the old one by one half, with all the amirs and descended on the plain to the north-east of Gingee stretching from Desur upto Tindivanam. The horsemen of the army spread themselves up to the Coleroon river to the south. While the emissaries of the Badshah proceeded to Ariyalur and Udayarpalayam in the Chola country and up to the region of Tanjore, the Nawab subjugated the northern part of the Carnatic and posted everywhere his governors. He himself invested the fortress (of Gingee) and laid siege to it.

" As for Raja Ram, he placed his horsemen outside and in the interior of the fortress, had *dam-dama* cannon mounted on the bastions and wherever it was felt necessary. In this manner the army of the enemy was attacked with cannon.

" The Nawab erected a tower to the south-east in the village of *Idayalam*, a second one to the east near the valley and a third near the Kuppam, to the west of Gingee. On these towers were mounted large cannon whose shots answered the shots from the fortress. Sometimes the soldiers of Raja Ram sallied out of the fortress to attack those who mounted guard round these towers.

" During this siege the fortress of Raja Ram was revictualled by way of Vettavanam across the woods. The Nawab knew this ; and up to the year 1106 fasli, (1696-97) he dragged on the siege operations purposely. Moreover all the world knew that.

"Then Bangaru Yachama Nayak denounced Nawab Amir-ul-Umara Bahadur by a letter to the Badshah, accusing him of connivance with Raja Ram and of aiding him to revictual the place. The Badshah showed this letter to the Wazir Nawab Asad Khan, father of the Amir-ul-Umara. He replied, " It is now nearly fifty years that I have held the office of minister. There has not been any single dishonest act on my part and there shall never be.'' So the Badshah addressed a *parwana* to the Amir-ul Umara and took care to attach to it Yachama Nayak's letter of denunciation.

" There was more : on his part the Nawab Asad Khan wrote :— ' Conduct yourself in such a way that we shall not be treated as dishonest men.' " After having read the parwana and the letter of his father Amir-ul Umara killed with a stroke of the sword Bangaru Yachama Nayak.[4] At the same time the Badshah sent to the Nawab money for

3. 1689-90 A.D.

4. Rajah Bangaru Yachama Naidu Bahadur was of the 22nd genera-

the upkeep of the army as well as fresh troops under the direction of Nawab Daud Khan, Mohamed Sayid Kevud and Venkatapati. On their arrival the siege operations were intensified.

III

As for Raja Ram, he decided not to stay any more within the fortress. So he sent for the Killedar of Melacheri and with all his effects

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tion of the Velugoti family and held sway over Mallur and some of the neighbouring parganahs in the Chittoor district.

He is credited with a victory at Lakkireddipalli over a chief who had rebelled against the Sultan of Golconda and got from the latter as reward, the titles of Rajah Bahadur and *shash hazari* mansab (command of 6,000 horse) and privileges of *sabji ambari*, *goshpesh* and the honours of *panchamaratib*. He is also credited in the chronicles, with having been highly esteemed by Aurangzib himself for his valour and was once thought of by that Emperor for replacing Nawab Zulfikar Khan himself. This last is held to be the motive of the Nawab for bringing about his death during the *Mahanavami* festival, at a time when all weapons were reserved for worship and could not be used for war or wear, by inviting the unarmed Rajah to his tent and treacherously murdering him therein, by causing the whole tent to fall on his head, while he himself had withdrawn outside on some plea.

Yachama Nayak had acted for some time as the chief adviser of Rajaram at Gingee; but when he found himself thrown into the background by other military advisers like Dhanaji, he left the Marathas in a huff in March 1693, and sought to carve out a dominion for himself. And it was only after he had contrived to get possession of Satgadh and extended his power eastwards in the direction of Vellore and had actually come into hostilities with Rajaram, that he was cajoled by Zulfikar Khan to go over to the Mughal side, and tempted with a bait of a six thousand rank *mansab* and a fief in the Carnatic which would fetch about three lakhs of *hun* per annum.

Yachama Nayak wrote a letter to the Mughal Emperor, exposing Zulfikar Khan's treasonable collusion with the Marathas and his deliberate prolongation of the siege of Gingee with a view to seizing power for himself on the death of Aurangzib. The Nayak moreover offered that he himself would capture the fort in eight days with his own troops unaided. This letter to the Mughal Emperor was, however, intercepted by Asad Khan; and Zulfikar Khan accused Yachama Nayak of treason against the Mughal and had him killed. On the day of the Mahanavami feast, he went on some pretext to North Mallur, the Rajah's capital, and knowing that on that day all weapons of war were reserved for special worship, and were not therefore available for war or wear, he invited the Rajah to his own tent for a short interview. The latter of course went unarmed, and after a few minutes' conversation with him in the tent, the Nawab withdrew on some plea, leaving the Rajah inside. Soon the ropes were cut and the whole tent was instantly pulled down on the head of the Rajah so as to cause him immediate death. His followers, being also unarmed, were of no avail in saving the Rajah.

prepared himself to set out with his family, soldiers and goods. The Nawab was not aware of this preparation.

" It has been a long time," said the Nawab, " twelve years that I have come to fight the King of Gingee. During this time the treasure of the Badshah has been spent. We should not delay hereafter." So he gave the order to attack the fortress. Nawab Daud Khan assailed with his soldiers the Sennagadh fort ; *Kevud with his men attacked the Krishnagiri* fort and the *Nawab with his troops assaulted the fortress* on the *side of the main gate*.

At the same time Raja Ram had the Tiruvannamalai gate opened, and escaped from the fort and made towards the west.

"*It was on the 2nd Thai of the Cyclic year, Iswara, 1107 Fasli, that the army of the Nawab took by assault the fortress and the gate by which it entered received the name of ' gate of the capture by assault.'* [5]"

On the news of the flight of Raja Ram the Nawab sent his troops in pursuit. With the exception of the soldiers who guarded the fortress, the entire army of the Nawab put itself in pursuit of Raja Ram and succeeded in encircling his troops. They escaped to Pennattur and here

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5. This date is equivalent to Friday, 31st December 1697 O. S.

A letter from Fort St. George of 28th December 1697, contained a report, " that Zulfikar Khan has set up his flag on one of the hills of Gingee and makes a show of taking the place." (*Letters from Fort St. George*, 1697, page 34.) As the three hills were strongly fortified it was very likely that they could not be captured all at one stroke and there were probably intervals of some days before all of them could be captured.

The first of *Thai* is generally celebrated in South India as *Sankrānti*. Bhimsen's reference to *Sankranti* on which day, according to him the fort fell was most likely based on what he heard from the country people as the *Sankranti* day ; it is not probably the monthly entry of the sun into the Zodiac, but the special *Sankranti* which came annually about the end of December in English Old Style dates, till September 3rd, 1752 when the calendar was added to by eleven days, in order to correspond with the computations made by Roman Catholic countries from October 5th, 1582, when they adopted the New Style of reckoning.

Sir Jadunath Sarkar has left the question of the date of the fall of the fortress open. Thus he gives a note on the dates embodied in his sources of information :—" M. A. 391 explicitly says that Jinji was captured on 6th Shaban, 41st of Aurangzib (equal to 7th Feb. 1698). The Madras Diary of 2nd January 1698 records : ' A letter from Amir Jahan from the Mughal camp received to-day advises that the Nawab has taken the Jinji forts all but one which also offers to capitulate.' If we read Rajab instead of Shaban in M. A. we get 8th January. Bhimsen (135 a) says that the fort fell on a Sankranti, which would give 2nd or 31st

also they were attacked. But they valiantly defended themselves and on the next day reached Tiruvannamalai. From here they marched by the defile of Chengama to Tiruppattur and finally by way of Kolar escaped to the Deccan. The army of the Nawab pursued them upto the gorge of the defile and then turned back.

IV

Nawab Amir-ul Umara organised the administration of Gingee, appointed *Kakad Khan* as the Killedar of the fortress and Gazafar Khan its Faujdar. Nawab Daud Khan was appointed Faujdar of the Carnatic country, by order of the Huzur Secretariat of the Badshah in 1108 fasli. Muhammad Sayyid as the Diwan, Lala Dakkan Rai as peshkar of the Diwani and Lala Tondarmal as the Sherishtadar of the Carnatic.

Throughout 1698, Zulfikar Khan was busy in the restoration of order in the neighbouring country. He marched into the Tanjore country and encamped at Tiruvaiyar where he secured the submission of Ekoji Bhonsle, whose *vakil* submitted *nazar* and contributions for the expenses of the troops and promised to pay a regular tribute. Similar claims were successfully enforced, for the time being, over the Nayak ruler of Trichinopoly and the Marava poligars of Ramnad and Sivaganga. He also installed Kumara Yachama Nayak in his father's place and gave him a suitable *mansab* and *jaghir* and gave Shivanath Singh, the head of a contingent sent to help him, and his officers, *jaghirs* in the taluks of Tiruvannamalai and Tiruvati, comprehended in the irrigation area of the *anicut* at Tiruvennainallur. Shivanath Singh was given charge of the killedari of Chengi (Gingee), Madanmust and Desur and is said by the Tamil chronicler to have come into possession of his killedari charge in Fasli 1107, cyclic year, *Iswara.*

Further, Zulfikar Khan seems to have appointed at first as the *faujdar* of the Carnatic, Daud Khan, who was his second in command in the siege of Gingee and who was reported to have been primarily responsible for its capture by a strategic assault on it. The appoint-

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January. Chitnis (ii. 58), as usual is grossly incorrect, giving *Chaitra pratipad Sudi* 1618 = 23rd March 1696, as the date of the capture." (J. Sarkar : *History of Aurangzib* ' Vol. V, p. 108, foot-note.)

Scott (*History of the Deccan*, Vol. II) has given the date 1700 A. D. (A. H. 1112) for the capture of the fort.

According to Bhimsen, the agent of Dalpat Rao Bundela, whose account has been an invaluable contemporary source, being the testimony of an eye-witness, the fort fell on a *Sankranti* day, which is equated to either 2nd January 1698 or 31st January 1698, as either of the dates marks the entry of the sun into one of the signs of Zodiac, such entry being termed the *sankranti.*

ment seems to have been made by the orders of the Mughal Emperor in Fasli 1108 or 1698-9 A. D.

Sarup Singh was an officer in immediate attendance on the Raja of Bundelkhand. Aurangzib got his services from the Raja and sent him to Zulfikar Khan, with a *farman* appointing him governor of Gingee. This Sarup Singh was the father of Raja Desing, the hero of ballad fame.

Under this *farman*, the Nawab, 'Amir-ul Umara, gave him the *killedari* of Gingee and sent him with the order to Gasafar Khan (the Gussafar Khan of the Company's records) and Kakad Khan. Sarup Singh entered office as *killedar* of Gingee in the year Fasli 1110, year Vikrama, (or A. D. 1700) and took possession of the fortress. *Killedar* Gasafar Khan and *Faujdar* Kakad Khan retired and joined the army of the Nawab. Payya Ramakrishna was appointed *vaknavis* (recorder). Shaikh Nur was appointed head of the guard. Shikar Udaya Ram became the *jupya navis* (writer of replies to petitions). Chalchiram became tahavildar (treasurer). Sri Ram became *huzur amani* (collector of revenue). Other officials like *huzur mendi* (supervisor of boundaries ?), *huzur topchi* (commander of artillery) and others of the Padushayi service, numbering 5,000 remained as *killa dhainath*[6] under the orders of the Nawab. Sarup Singh kept with him this *dhainath* 5,000, along with his own three hundred horse, took possession of his own *jaghir* of the eight-fold *parganah* in Gingee, Valudavur, Tindivanam, Tiruvamattur, Asapur, Tirukkovilur, Vettavanam and other places. Nawab Amir-ul Umara Zulfikar Khan Bahadur Nasrat Jang, in accordance with the orders of the Badshah, made over the *faujdari* of the Karnatak to Daud Khan as its *faujdar*, Muhammad Sayyid Khan as its *dewan*, and Todar Mal as its *sheristadar*, and reached Aurangabad in the same year of Vikrama.[7]

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6. Is it *tainăt* ?—Ed.
7. Several of the dates given are only approximate.

— 2 —

SOME GAPS IN THE HISTORY OF VAIS'ĀLĪ

DR. A. S. ALTEKAR, Patna University, Patna

The Lichchhavis of Vaiśāli have played an important role in ancient India; however, their history is but imperfectly known. Vaiśāli is stated to have been founded by a king named Viśāla in hoary past and his descendants ruled there for several generations. Among the Vaiśāli ruins, there is still an old fort, locally known as Raja-Vishāl-kā-Garh, but its antiquity apparently does not go back to the pre-Mauryan period. The Dynasty of king Viśāla was later supplanted by a republic, but when and how this change took place is not known. It appears that the rise of Vaiśāli was more or less coeval with the decline of Janakapurī of the Videhas; whether the one was connected with the other, we do not know.

Vaiśāli rises into sudden prominence with the rise of Buddhism. The Buddha had a great affection for this city and its republican constitution and occasional references to them in the Buddhist literature enable us to get a fairly good picture of the working of the Lichchhavi constitution. We learn that in the hey-day of their prosperity, the Lichchhavis cultivated martial habits, were leaders in trade and colonisation, worked their constitution in its true spirit by holding the meetings of their parliament frequently and conducting its business smoothly, without allowing any parties and factions to grow to disfigure their public life and ruin their state prosperity. Things changed for the worse owing to the machinations of Vassakāra, a minister of their sworn enemy, king Ajātaśatru of Rājagṛha. This minister took shelter at Vaiśāli, as a refugee from the wrath of his master. The Lichchhavis did not know that he was working as a fifth columnist and put him in charge of their administration of justice. He fomented quarrels among them, which made the working of their democratic constitution an impossibility. Owing to their growing quarrels, they could not present a united front to the invasion of Ajātaśatru and so they were defeated and their kingdom was annexed to the growing Magadha empire.

This annexation took place in *c.* 480 B.C. The history of the Lichchhavis for the next eight hundred years is a blank. They suddenly come in our view with the rise of the Gupta empire. We find that their state was a powerful one and that the matrimonial alliance with them was one of the main causes for the rise and expansion of the Gupta power.

What was the history of the Lichchhavis during this long interval of 800 years? We do not know it, but since excavations are started at the site of Vaiśāli this year, (1950 A.D.) it is desirable that we should set the problems before us which can be properly answered only by the discovery of new facts. Some speculative conjectures will be necessary for this purpose. They will be either proved or disproved by the evidence of excavations. Excavations are expected to throw no particular light upon the pre-Buddhist history of the city, though it is not impossible that we may be able to get the traces of some of the Chaityas revered by the Lichchhavis before the rise of Buddhism. We hardly get any notices of the Lichchhavis after the annexation of their state by Ajātaśatru. It is however improbable that the Lichchhavis should have submitted to the imperialistic administration for a long time. It is not impossible that they may have reasserted their independence when the power of the Haryaṅka dynasty declined. Under the Nandas and Mauryas, they must have again recognised the imperial sway of Pāṭaliputra, but it is very likely that they enjoyed local autonomy under them, as did the Yaudheyas and the Arjunāyanas under the Guptas. We have been recently lucky in finding a Mauryan site at Chakramdas village in the Vaiśāli area; its excavation will throw considerable light on the Lichchhavi history in the Mauryan period. We may find that Vaiśāli was then a busy and prosperous centre of a Provincial Government, under the Nandas and the Mauryas, as it was under the Guptas at a later period.

The power of Pāṭaliputra declined rapidly after the death of Pushyamitra Śuṅga, and a number of provinces became independent. I would not be surprised if the excavations proved that the Lichchhavis had become an independent republic in *c.* 100 B.C. and continued to be the same for nearly 150 years. The *Manusmṛti*, which was probably composed during this interval, refers to the Lichchhavis as powerful Kshatriyas, though fallen to a low state on account of the non-performance of the Sanskāras and the non-invitation to Brahamanas for their religious rites. This would tend to show that the Lichchhavis were mostly Jains or Buddhists at this time, but still famous for their military prowess. They must have reverted back to their republican form of Government, and it is not unlikely that they may have begun to issue coins, as did the contemporary republics of northern India. We have reached the Śuṅga level at Raja-Vishal-kā-Garh, and if further and extensive excavations are carried out there, I expect that a number of the problems of the Lichchhavi history pertaining to this dark period will be solved. The so-called Pañchāla coins as well as Ayodhyā coins have been attributed to the Śuṅgas by one school of thought. So far they have not been found in Bihar, the central seat of

their power, in large numbers. In the recent Buxar hoard of about 300 Kushāna coins, only seven Pañchāla and Ayodhyā coins were found. We must try to ascertain whether we get any of these coins in the Śuṅga stratum of the Vaiśāli ruins. If they are absent, the issuers of the Pañchāla and Ayodhyā coins may have to be differentiated from the Śuṅgas.

There is a persistent Jain tradition to the effect that there was a period of Śaka rule at Pāṭaliputra, when their chiefs bearing the title of the Muruṇḍas ruled over the city. The widowed sister of one Muruṇḍa king is said to have become a Jain nun (*Abhidhānarājendra*, Vol. II p. 726) ; another Muruṇḍa king is said to have himself become a Jain (Ibid, vol. IX, p. 1739).

Stray coins found at Vaiśāli, which have been preserved in the local museum at Vaiśāli, tend to confirm this tradition. This museum has a large number of Kushāna copper coins, mostly issued by Kanishka. Their stratification is not known, and it is not impossible that they may have come to Vaiśāli through traders or pilgrims. But pilgrims or traders do not usually carry copper coins over long distances and I am inclined to think that the Kushāna copper coins found at Vaiśāli tend to show that the city had been conquered by the Kushanas under the leadership of Kanishka. If extensive excavations are carried out at Raja-Vishal-ka-Garh, we may come across a large number of Kushana coins, mostly of Kanishka in the pre-Gupta stratum.

Such a discovery will confirm the Jain tradition of the Muruṇḍa rule at Pāṭaliputra and will also explain the emergence of the Puri-Kushan coin type of Orissa. The recent discovery of a hoard of 300 Kushān coins at Buxar, for which we are indebted to Mr. S. V. Sohoni, I.C.S., also tends to show that Kanishka was for some time ruling over southern Bihar. His viceroy Kharapallāṇa, who is known to be governing at Banaras in 81 A. D., probably supervised the administration of Bihar as well. Or, our excavations may reveal the existence of another Kushāna viceroyalty either at Paṭaliputra or at Vaiśāli.

The Lichchhavis of Vaiṣāli must have taken a leading part in expelling the Kushānas soon after the death of Kanishka, as did the other republics of India in the north-west. If no coins of Huvishka are found in Vaiśāli ruins, we may presume that the Lichchhavis regained their independence during his reign. It, however, appears that local Kushāna or Śaka chiefs continued to rule at Pāṭaliputra longer than at Vaiśāli. Excavations will probably show that the Lichchhavi republic continued to flourish from *c*. 150 to 320 A. D. It is quite likely that it may have issued its own coins, as did the other

contemporary :republics. It is quite possible that new discoveries may show that the reverse legend *Lichchhavayaḥ* on the coins of Chandragupta I was borrowed or adapted from earlier coinage of the Lichchhavis, the excavator's spade ought to find these coins. It will also be able to throw a lot of welcome light upon the history of Vaiśāli in the Gupta period. We all know that Samudragupta was born of the Lichchhavi princess Kumāradevī, but how much pleased we shall feel if the excavations reveal to us who was the father of Kumāradevī, and what precise position he occupied in the Lichchhavi administration !

One of the aims of the explorations and excavations near about Vaiśāli should be the identification of the places and Stūpas mentioned by Fa Hien and Yuan Chwang. This work is not really so difficult as one may think at the outset. There can be hardly any doubt that the royal city or fort mentioned by Yuan Chawang must be Raja-Vishal-ka-Garh ; its dimensions tally with those given by the Chinese pilgrim and excavations have shown that it continued to be in occupation from *c*. 150 B.C. to the 5th century A. D. The Vihāra or Saṅghārāma, in which Yung Chwang sojourned, was to the north-west of the royal city, that is Raja-Vishal-ka-Garh; it is probably represented by a portion of the Tila or Garh to the north of the Kharo-na-pokhra; this place is north-west of Raja-Vishal-kā-Garh, as required by Yuan Chawang's account. The tower of Deposited Bows and Clubs should be also in the vicinity of or a part of the same ' Tila ' as it was half a mile to the north-west of the Gupta period city of Raja-Vishal-kā-Garh. To the east of Yuan Chwang's Vihāra was the Stūpa built to commemorate the place where Sāriputta got enlightenment. Manikpur Garh, which is almost due east of Yuan Chwang's Vihāra may once have contained the remains of this Stūpa. The Stūpa built over the relics of the Buddha, when they were first brought in *c*. 487 B.C., should be to the further south of Manikpur Tila. This must have been the most prominent Stūpa of the locality and may be identified with the Stūpa which has the Muslim Darga upon it and is to the south of Raja-Vishal-kā-Garh. According to Fa Hien the Vihāra where the Buddha was believed to be staying, was in the great forest (Mahāvana) to the north of Vaiśāli. We have still an area called Madhuvana and it is almost to the north of Vaiśāli. Excavations and explorations should show whether Bhagwānpur was at any time connected with the Buddha, who was always addressed as Bhagavān. Bhagwānpur is due west of Raja-Vishal-kā-Garh, and may have been on the outskirts of Mahavana, which may have once stretched upto its boundary. On the occasion of his last departure from Vaiśāli, the Buddha left the city by the western gate and walked for about a mile before he turned back to take his last view of Vaiśāli. This place was about one mile to the north-west of Yuan Chwang's monastery. The relics of the

commemorative Stūpa built over this place should be looked for near the Asokan pillar or in the mounds locally known to-day as Bhimasena-kā-Pallā. In proposing the above identifications, I have all along assumed that the distances and directions given by Yuan Chwang are correct. This assumption is rendered very probable by the significant fact that his statement is found to be absolutely reliable in the only case where it can be definitely checked. He states that the stone pillar of Aśoka was to the north-west of the Vihāra where he was staying. The Asokan pillar near Kolhua is exactly to the north-west of Kharona-Pokhra, by the side of which was built the Vihāra where Yuan Chwang was staying. Yuan Chwang's dimensions of the Royal City tally with those of Raja-Vishal-kā-Garh. It would, therefore, be not an unreasonable procedure to assume Yuan Chwang's statements to be substantially true and to proceed to identify the places mentioned by him through further explorations and excavations.

It is interesting to note that the route of the Buddha's last departure, which I had tentatively fixed with the help of the account of Yuan Chwang, has been confirmed by this year's excavations which tend to show that there was a concrete road passing from Raja-Vishal-kā-Garh via Chakramdas to Kolhua. I would like to offer my hearty congratulations to Mr. Krishnadeva, who was in charge of the excavations, for this discovery. His excavations have further shown that the site of the modern village Chakramdas did not continue in occupation long after the Mauryan period. It appears that at Vaiśāli, different sites were in occupation in different periods as at Taxila. Further explorations and excavations are necessary to unravel the mystery of the different sites.

— 3 —

THE HISTORY OF MAIZE (MAKĀ) IN INDIA — BETWEEN A. D. 1500 AND 1900

P. K. GODE, M. A., Poona

For the last ten years I have been studying the history of Indian plants of medical and nutritive value in response to the suggestion made to me by my esteemed friend, the late Dr. Birbal Sahni, F. R. S. Several papers on this history have already been published by me in different Oriental journals and other publications. While engaged in the study of the history of Indian plants in 1948, the General Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, wrote to me on 5th April 1948 as follows:—

> " I enclose copy of a letter[1] received from the Registrar, Indian Agricultural Research Institute, New Delhi, asking for some information concerning the existence of *corn* (Zea Mays) in India long before the discovery of America by Columbus. I shall be grateful if you will kindly let me know your remarks on the subject for forwarding to the Research Institute in New Delhi."

I informed the General Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal that information given to the Agronomist of Texas by Indian students about historical records proving the existence of *Corn* (Zea Mays) in India before the discovery of America by Columbus was incorrect, if not misleading, as I shall show in a special paper projected by me on the history of Maize in India, which I have been studying for the last few years.

Subsequent to the above reply I got into direct touch with the Agronomist of Texas viz. Prof. R. G. Reeves and sent to him many of my papers on the history of Indian plants. Prof. Reeves has now sent

1. This letter dated *17th March 1948* forwarded to the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal the following letter dated *19th August 1947* from the Agronomist, Texas Agricultural Experiment Station, Texas (U. S. A.):—

" I have recently been talking with students from your country (India) and some of them tell me that there are historical records of the existence of *Corn* (Zea Mays) in your country long before the discovery of America by Columbus. I have been interested in the history of *Corn* for a number of years and would like to have more information concerning these reports. Will you please pass this inquiry along to the person wbo can give me some suggestions and literary reference with the most convenience. I shall thank you very much for doing me this favour."

to me his book[2] on Corn or Zea Mays in which he has traced the history of this plant from non-Indian sources.

I note below some points from this history for the information of readers to whom Prof. Reeves' book may not be easily available:—

Pages 7-9

(1) *November 5, 1492* — Two Spaniards delegated by Cristopher Columbus to explore the interior of Cuba returned with a report of "*a sort of grain they call Maiz which was well tasted bak'd dry'd and made into flour.*" Thus was introduced to the white man *Maize*, a plant of immense food value.

(2) Today *Maize* is grown in every state of the U. S. A. and *its crop is maturing somewhere in the world every month of the year.* It grows in Canada, Russia, Caspian Plain, Peruvian Andes, Hindustan. It is grown on more than 200 million acres of land and produces an annual crop exceeding four billion bushels.

(3) *Maize* has a diversity of forms. The Russians have collected more than 8000 varieties. There are, however, five main types — *dent*, *flint*, *flour*, *sweet* and *pop*.

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2. *The Origin of Indian Corn and its Relatives* by P. C. Mangelsdorf and R. G. Reeves, Bulletin No 574 of the Texas Agricultural Experiment Station, Texas (U. S. A.), May 1939, Pages 315. At the end of this volume a list of books cited is given. The following items from this list may be of interest to the readers of this paper:—

(1) Anonymous, 1938. *Maize and the Maya*, Carnegie Inst. of Washington News Service, Bul. IV: 219–224.

(2) Baillon, H., 1894 *Histoire des Plantes.* Paris.

(3) Bement e. n., 1853. *History of Indian Corn.* Trans. N. Y. Agr. Soc. B: 336.

(4) Burtt-Davv, 1914. *Maize, its History*, cultivation, handling and uses. Newyork, Bombay and Calcutta.

(5) Candolle, A. de. 1914. *Origin of Cultivated Plants*, Newyork 387–397

(6) Collins G. N. 1912. *Origin of Maize.* Jour. Wash. Acad. Sci. 2: 520–30.

(7) Laufer, B. 1907. *The Introduction of Maize into Eastern Asia.* Proc. 15th Int. Congr. Americanists I: 223–257.

(8) Vavilov, N. I. 1926 b. *The Origin of Cultivated Plants.* Proc. Int. Congr, Pl. Sci. 1: 167–169.

(9) Weather Wax, P. 1923. *The Story of the Maize Plant*, Chicago.

(10) —Do— 1936. *The Origin of the Maize Plant and Maize Culture in Ancient America.* Univ. N. Mex. Bul. No. 296: 11-18.

(11) Wissler, c., 1916. *Aboriginal Maize Culture as a typical Culture Complex*, American Jour. Soc. 21.

(4) *Maize* would soon disappear from the face of the earth, if deprived of man's protection.

(5) Ancient Civilizations of Peru, Central America, and Mexico were based upon the culture of *Maize*.

(6) There is no historical evidence pertaining to *Maize* previous to *A. D. 1511*. Maize is not mentioned in the *Bible* and there is no Hebrew or Sanskrit term for it. The Greek writers discoursed on many crop plants, among which *Maize* is not mentioned. The Greeks have no word for it. There are no Egyptian representations of the plant or ear.

(7) Extensive search of the pre-Columbian Chinese literature reveals no evidence that the Chinese scholars were acquainted with it. The records left by the ancient Americans — the Incas, Mayas, and Aztecs— tell us nothing of the origin of Maize, though they do point out its importance in the economic, social, and religious life.

(8) There are no fossil remains of Maize. A specimen from Peru believed to be a fossil has been proved to be a clay rattle or perhaps a toy for the amusement of some prehistoric infant.

(9) There is absence of clear-cut evidence about the Maize from history, archæology, geology and paleobotany. We must therefore, study the plant itself and its relatives.

Pages 25-30

(10) The first printed reference to Maize and its botanical description appears in "*Decades*" by Peter Martyre published in *A. D. 1511*. The first part of the first "Decade" which refers to *Maize* was written by *November 1493* within one year after the discovery of America by Columbus. An English Translation of the "*Decades*" by Richard Eden was published in *A. D. 1555*.

(11) The first reference to Maize in a botanical publication appeared in *A. D. 1532* in the "*Stirpium*" by Bock. Ruel mentions the plant in *1536*.

(12) The first artistic and accurate illustration is given by Leonard Fuchs in his herbal of *A. D. 1542* (Figures 10 and 11). Fuchs called it *Turcicum frumentum* or *Türckish Corn*.

(13) In *A. D. 1493* Columbus took *Maize* to Europe on his return from America. He gave it the name *Maiz* which is a modification of the Arawak name *mähiz* or *Marisi*. Subsequently

a profusion of names for this plant became current e. g. the following :—

Panicum (by *Peter Martyre* in A. D. 1493).
Walschkorn (by *Bock, 1539*).
Turcicum frumentum (by *Fuchs*, 1542).
Milium indicum (by *Dodoens*, 1552) and in 1566 *Tritucum frumentum.*
Frumentum indicum Mays dictum (by *C. Bauhin*, 1623).
Frumentum asiaticum (by Gerard, 1636).
Triticum indicum (by J. Bauhin 1650).
Zea Mays (by *Linnaeus*, 1737).

(14) Sturtevant (1879) reviewed the literature regarding the eastern and western origin of the Maize.

Page 31

(15) *Figure 13* — Reproduction of Parkinson's (1640) description of *Maize.*

Page 34

(16) The earliest written record of *Maize* appears in *Popol Vuh*, the sacred book of the Quiché Indians of Western Guatemala, whose records go back to the *8th Century*. This book records a legend of four barbarians who guided the Quichés to " A most excellent land, so full of good things, where the *white* and *yellow Maize* did abound."

Page 35

(17) *Maize* is not mentioned in any old World treatise prior to A. D. 1492. It is not mentioned in the *Bible, Ṛgveda* and other Vedas (no Sanskrit or Hebrew word for Maize). There are no Egyptian representations of Maize. Pliny mentions *Zea* as growing in Egypt but *Zea* was a kind of *wheat* according to early Greek botanists. No authentic specimens of *Maize* grain or ear have been discovered in Egypt, Assyria or Babylonia.

(18) The specimen of Maize found by Rifaud in a tomb at Thebes is now conceded to have been the work of an impostor. Similarly the Charter of Incisa of A. D. 1204 according to which seeds of Maize were brought from Anatolia by the Crusaders has been shown to be a fabrication (Cf. East, 1913).

(19) The Portuguese voyagers to Africa prior to A. D. 1492 never encountered Maize.

(20) *Ortus Sanitatus* (A. D. 1491) contains no reference to *Maize*.

(21) Li Shih - Chen, the greatest Chinese authority on natural history refers to *Maize* in his *Pen ts 'ao kang mu*. Bonafous (1836) supposed that this book was written in the 16th Century. De Candolle (1855) and later writers have shown that this treatise was probably written at a much later date than that supposed by Bonafous.

Page 36

(22) Columbus in a letter to Ferdinand and Isabella dated *30th May 1498* writes of the use of *Maize* in the New World and in another letter, speaking of his brother states : " During a journey in the interior he found a dense population entirely agricultural and at one place passed through *eighteen miles of corn-fields*."

(23) Within one generation *Maize* was known over most of Europe. Not later than A. D. 1540 *Maize reached China from the west through Tibet from India, to which the Spanish or Portuguese traders had carried it in the previous generation*. The first reference to Maize in Chinese literature is assigned to A. D. 1573 by Goodrich.

Page 38

(24) It is now generally agreed that *Maize* was confined to America before the discovery.

Pages 39–46

(25) Evidence of Archaeology and Ethnology proving the great Antiquity of Maize in America.

It now remains for me to record the results of my study based mainly on Indian sources but supplemented by information from the non-Indian sources available to me so far.

(1) G. Renard in his book " *Life and Work in Pre-historic Times*" (London, 1929) makes some remarks on the beginnings of agriculture in pre-historic times. In this connection he makes the following remarks on the Asiatic origin of *Corn* (Maize) :—

Page 127—Corn which was the conquering grain in nearer *Asia*, in Egypt,[3] and all over Europe seems to be a *native of the first-named*

3. A. Lucas in his book on " *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries* " (3rd Edition, 1945) p. 61 (foot-note 2) definitely mentions *maize* as " *a modern importation into Egypt*." This opinion of a scholar who has made a thorough study of ancient Egyptian materials discovered in the ancient tombs of Egypt contradicts the statement of G. Renard that maize was found in the oldest Egyptian tombs.

country (*i. e. Asia.*) It has been found in a wild state[4] near Mount Hermon in the North of Palestine. How was it cultivated? We do not know. *We find it in the oldest Egyptian tombs.* We find it in the ruins of the lacustron cities besides *rye*, *barley*, *buckweat* and *millet*, the last of which perhaps disputed with it for sovereignty for considerable time."

Page 130 — "*Corn* and rice have crossed the seas to conquer America. In revenge America sent to Europe *maize*, which in the beginning, forgetful of its origin, she called *Turkish corn*, and with the tomato, the sweet potato etc."

(2) E. J. W. Macfarlane in his "*American Indians' Gifts*" (London) makes the following remarks[5] on *Maize*:—

"*Maize* or *Indian Corn* was the staple grain of the ancient Americans. Unlike wheat, rice, barley, and other old world Cereals, *Maize has no wild relatives* and would soon become extinct outside of cultivation. There is one large Mexican grass called Teosinte which will cross with Maize with difficulty and gives sterile hybrids. A study of the Chromosomes of these hybrids shows that *Maize and Teosinte sprang long ago from a common stock.* The genetics and botany of Indian Corn show that it has been *in cultivation for thousands of years.* In fact some scientists believe that it may be the most ancient of all cereals............Indian Corn which supported the ancient American Civilizations is *now a staple diet for the hardy hill people in parts of the Himalayas.* These folk have no inkling that they are beholden for their food to the ingenuity of Mayas and Incas of long ago."

(3) One of the earliest figures of Maize in a European book is reproduced by Howard S. Reed in his *History of Plant Sciences* (page 67) Waltham, Mass. U. S. A. (1942) *Figure 10.* This figure is taken from the book *New Kreüterbuch* (A. D. 1543) by a medical botanist Leonard Fuchs (A. D. 1501-1566) of Tubingen University. Fuchs wrote a work on plants called *De Historia Stirpium* containing pictures of 511 plants. He believed in the supreme authority of Dioscorides. He describes Maize as *Turcicum frumentum* (Türckisch Korn).

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4. Attempts to prove the native home of a plant in a particular region by the fact of its growing in such a region in a wild state in modern times have often misled botanists about its true home.

5. These remarks were sent to me by Mr. S. L. Narasimha Rao, B. A., L. T. of Cocanada through my friend Prof. E. V. Viraraghavacharya of the P. R. College of this place. I am thankful to both these friends for their interest in my present inquiry.

(4) Speaking of Herbalists in the Orient, Howard S. Reed (p. 76 of *Plant Sciences*) refers to *Li Shi Chen's herbal* (A. D. 1590). This book contains an illustration and a notice of Maize. At this time Maize had become an important food plant in parts of China. Reed observes that "the assumption that maize may have been introduced into China in pre-Columbian times is disproved by the *absence of any notice of this Cereal from all Chinese herbals prior to the discovery of America.*" The Angustinian monk *Martin de Herrada* spent three months in China in A. D. 1575. He published his "*History of the Great and Mighty Kingdom of China*" (Rome, 1585). Herrada mentions *wheat*, *barley*, *millet* and Maize as cultivated in China. The mention of Maize is important because it shows that the *Spaniards who took it to Phillipines at an early date were instrumental in introducing it into China.* (Ibid, p. 79). Reed informs us further (p. 21) that "*Europeans became acquainted with Maize after the expedition of Columbus to Cuba in* 1492, who found it cultivated there by Indians." The home of the Maize was Peru but the exact original home is unknown (p. 22) though Maize was brought into cultivation from stone age (p. 23).

(5) The University of Bombay possesses a manuscript of an anonymous *Nighaṇṭu* (a glossary of medical and botanical terms) in the Bhadkamkar MSS collection (No. 12). This *Nighaṇṭu* appears to be later than A. D. 1700. It mentions *Makkā* (Maize) among minor cereals (*upadhānyas*) in the following extract:—

Folio 6^{b} —

" अथ उपधान्यानि आह "

यावानलः ॥

भेदो मक्का, यवानालो महान् बल्यो दुर्जरो वातपित्तकृत् ॥
रुच्यः संतर्पणो बालप्रियो मक्का समुद्भवाः ॥ १ ॥ "

We learn from the above extract that *Makkā* (Maize) is a variety of *yāvanāla* (wrongly written in the extract as यावानल and यवानाल). It is called "महान् यावनाल" i. e. a bigger kind of *yāvanāla* (Holcus Sorghum) or *Jondhlā*[6] or *Jawar*. It is tasteful, strengthgiving, dear to children etc.

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6. Vide my paper on the History of Jondhḷā (*Holcus Sorghum*) in the *B. C. Law Volume, Part I*, pp 142-158 — (1944).
I have proved the history of *Jondhḷā or yāvanāla* for about 2000 years. The *Maize* plant looks like the *Jondhḷā* plant but the seeds of the Maize are bigger than those of *Jondhḷā*, hence the term "महान् यावनाल" for Maize.

(6) *Maize* is called *Makā* in Marathi. My friend Mr. S. L. Narasimha Rao of Cocanada has sent to me the following list of words for *Maize* in a communication dated 29-3-1945 :—

Eng.—*Maize* ; Indian Corn.
Sanskrit—Yavanāla.
Hind.—Makka.
Ben.—Buththe, Bhuttā and Makāi.
Burm.—Pysungboo.
Duk. and *Hind.*—Mukka jauri.
Mah.—Makaibonda.
Tam.—Mukka-Cholam.
Telugu—Mokka-jonnalu.
Mal.—Jagung.
Can.—Bottah.
Cing.—Munwairingu.

I leave it to the students of historical linguistics to explain how and when the above-mentioned vernacular[7] terms for *Maize* became current in India and Burma. In particular it would be useful to study historically the terms : *Makā*, *Makka*, *Mukka*, *Makai*, and *Mokka* in the above list.

(7) In the Marathi Encyclopaedia called the *Jñānakośa* by S. V. Ketkar (Vol. XVIII p. म 1) we are informed that the native habitat of *Makā* (Maize) is America. *Possibly the Portuguese brought Maize to India.* It must have taken about 100 years to cultivate in India different varieties of Maize to suit different climates in the different parts of India. On p. अ 87, *Makā* is mentioned as one of the 18 *Upadhānyas* or minor cereals.

(8) Carl Whiting Bishop in his "*Origin of far Eastern Civilizations: A Brief Hand-Book*" (Smithsonian Report, 1943, pages 463-512 — publication 3758, Washington) makes the following remarks about

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7. In reply to a query from me about references to *Maize* in datable old Guzarati literature Prof. B. J. Sandesara of Ahmedabad wrote to me on 24-10-1949 as follows :—

" I have been studying old Gujarati literature for the last 18 years but I am not aware of a reference to *Maize.* After I received your letter I just peeped into two unpublished old Gujarati works of the 17th Century, which mention hundreds of varieties of cooked preparations but even there I did not find the mention of any preparation of Maize. This does not, however, exhaust the possibility of finding references to Maize because Maize was and still is the staple food of the village population in the Pancha Mahals, Sabarkantha and several other districts of Gujarat. The fact that Maize was considered the food of the rustics may probably account for the paucity of its references in literature."

Maize, while dealing with the migrations of Tibeto-Burman peoples to Western China 1000 years before our Era in the upper Yangtze basin (under the Chou Dynasty):—

"In extreme *Western China* the local culture also contained *elements from Northern India.* Similarly *culture traits passing through the region traversed by the now famous Burma Road* have gone on diffusing themselves from pre-historic times right down to the present day. To take a fairly *recent example* of this, *Maizé*, or *Indian Corn, an American plant brought by the Portuguese to India during the sixteenth century lost little time reaching China by this route.* And the vital importance of the Burma Road to China today is well known to all."

(9) The cultivation of *Maize* in the Deccan about A. D. 1700 is proved by document *No. 283* dated *Śaka 1629* (*Āṣādha,* Vadya 8) = A. D. 1707 in the *Sources of Marāthā History*, Khaṇḍa 20 (page 413) published by the historian V. K. Rajawade. In this document *(mahajar)* the following extracts refer to the cutting and looting of Maize (*Makā*) crop and other crops from the fields of farmers:—

Page 413

" मौजे लावगुणचा लिंगोजी पाटील याची मका राळा व सेत कापून कापून नेलें. खराबी जाली—कलम "

" नरसोजी पाटील कातर खटाऊ याच्या मक्यांतून राळा व नागली व मका चोरानीं कापून गेला."

Another undated document No. 175 (pertaining to the Chitrāva family of Wai in the Satara District) mentions " मकेचीं कणसें " (bunches or ears of maize seeds) - p. 232 (*ibid*).

(10) The cultivation of *Maize* (*Makā*) in the Deccan in the *17th Century* is proved by a list of octroi and tolls (जकातीचे दर) on food produce published by Sardar G. N. Mujumdar in the *B. I. S. Mandal Quarterly* Vol. XX, p. 160. In this list we get the following references to bunches or ears of Maize seeds (मकेचीं कणसें):—

—" मकेचे कणसे "

—" ८३ प्रती मकेची कणसे व तरकारी वगैरे दर "

This list is not dated but it is said to belong to Shivaji's times (*A. D. 1630–1680*).

(11) In a MS of a medical work called the *Vaidyāvataṁsa* (No. 601 of 1899-1915) in the Govt. Mss Library at the B. O. R. Institute we get the following reference to *Makkā* (Maize):—

Folio 12—

" मक्याचे कणिस गुणा :—

यावनालो महान् बल्यो दुर्जरो वातपित्तकृत् ।

रुच्यः संतर्पणो बालप्रियो मक्का समुद्भवः ॥ १२० ॥ "

This verse is identical with the verse about *Makkā* recorded already by me from the anonymous *Nighaṇṭu* (MS in the Bhadkamkar Collection of the University of Bombay).

The author of the *Vaidyāvataṁsa* viz. Lolimbarāja was a native of Junnar (Poona District of the Bombay Presidency) who flourished *between C. A.D. 1575 and 1620* (Vide my paper on *Lolimbarāja and His Works in Indian Culture* (1941), Vol. VII, pages 327-333 and 447-456).

(12) The verse about the properties of *Makkā* or *Maize* viz. " यावनालो महान् बल्यो.........समुस्रवे: " is also found in a work on dietetics called *Bhojanakutūhala* by Raghunātha Gaṇeśa Navahasta who was an intimate friend of Saint Rāmadāsa of Mahārāṣṭra (A. D. 1608-1682) and who flourished *between C. A. D. 1640 and 1710* as I have proved in my papers[8] on this author and his works. In the first *Paricceda* of the *Bhojanakutūhala* (MS No. 594 of 1899-1915) we get the above verse as follows on *folio* 5 :—

" यावनालो महान् बल्यो दुर्जरो वातपित्तकृत् ।
रुच्यः संतर्पणो बालप्रियो मक्का समुस्रवाः ॥
॥ मक्का ॥ "

A MS of the *1st Paricceda* of the *Bhojanakutūhala* belonging to *Śāmji Nāyak Puṇḍe* (C. A. D. 1650-1685) is available in the MSS collection of the late Rājavaidya Shankarrav Jagtap of Kolhapur. In this contemporary MS we get the above verse about *Makā* (Maize) as follows:—

folio 5 —

" यावनालो महान्बल्यो दुर्जरो वातपित्तकृत् ।
॥ मका ॥ "

The above reference clearly proves that the term मका for Maize had become current in the Deccan in the middle of the 17th century, if not many years earlier.

(13) The Marathi Poet Rāmjośī (*A. D. 1762-1812*)[9] has given a description of a famine at the close of the Peshwa period (A. D. 1775-1800). In this description he refers to the high prices of food materials prevalent during the famine. A fragment of a bunch of Maize seeds

8. Vide *Jour. of the Bombay University* (1941) N. S. Vol. X, Pt. 2, pp. 132-140 ; *Annals* (B. O. R. I.), Vol. XXII (1942), pp. 254-263 ; *Jour. of Tanjore S. M. Library* (1942), Vol. III, No. 1, pp. 1-12 ; *Jour. of Bombay University* N. S. Vol. XIII, Part 2 (Sept. 1944), pp. 40-45 ; *Jour. of S. V. Ori. Institute*, Tirupati (1944), Vol. V, No. 2, pp. 51-58.

9. Vide pp. 697-698 of *Madhya yugīna Caritrakośa* by S. Chitrao Shastri, Poona, 1937.

was sold for one pice (" पैशास मक्याचां कंद् एक मोडका ") - see page 463 of *Mahārāṣṭra Sārasvata* or History of Marathi Literature by Bhave.

(14) Buchanan in his *Patna-Gaya Report* (*1811–1812*) Vol II (Published by Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Patna) refers to the cultivation of *Maize* in Bihar and its use as food in the following extracts:—

Page 498 — "near the Ganges ***maize has been introduced*** in its (Maruya's) stead and it is to be regretted that the ***practice has not yet extended into the interior*** as the produce of Maize is larger, and there can be no doubt, that the grain is better although as yet the natives give a higher price to ***maruya***. This grain is chiefly used in unleavened ***cakes*** but is occasionally used into unboiled ***puddings***. The straw is preserved for *fodder*. Next to ***maruya***, ***maize*** is the culmiferous grain ***most common in these districts but as yet it is confined almost entirely to the banks of the Ganges***. The ***stems*** both green and ripe are given to cattle, but the former only are thought good. ***The natives are very fond of the grain***, when quite young, ***parched in the cob***."

Page 670 — Exports and Imports.

"The ***maize*** and Janera come from *Tirhut* and *Sarun* and are sent mostly towards Benares."

Page 636 — Common Artists

" Those who ***parch***[10] pulse and ***maize*** are called ***Bharbhuna*** or ***Chabena furosh*** and are much employed. They are all women many of them however young, and generally sit in the streets with a little fire-place parching for all the people in the neighbourhood and receiving a little of the grain from each. They may get in Patna 2 payasas a day but in other places they make less."

(15) Raghunātha Indraji alias Katābhaṭ in his *Nighaṇṭasaṁgraha* (Junagad, 1893) records the following verses[11] about *Maize* :—

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10. Among the grains used for parching by ancient Indians Maize is not mentioned (Vide my article on the *Use of fried Grains* etc. in the *Annals* (B. O. R. Institute, Poona) Vol. XXIX pp. 43-63 (1949).

11. The source of these verses is not mentioned by Ḳatabhat. The verses tell us that *Maize* has properties similar to those of *yāvanāla* (Holcus Sorghum) "यावनालसम: गुणे:—compare the description of Maize as "महान् यावनाल" (bigger variety of *yāvanāla*) given by the works (1) *Vaidyāvataṁsa* of Lolimbarāja and (2) *Bhojanakutūhala* of Raghunātha Ganeśa Navahasta.

Page 580 —

" अथ मकाईनामगुण ५७६
मकायस्तु महाकायो कटिजः कांडजः स्मृतः ।
शिखालुः संपुटांतस्थ यावनाल-समो गुणैः ॥
॥ गुणाः ॥ महाकायस्तृप्तिकरः वातलः कफपित्तहृत् ।
विष्टंभजनको रूक्षः कोमलो रुचिपुष्टिकृत् ॥ "

The names[12] for *Maize* recorded by Katābhaṭ are as follows :—

(1) *Sanskrit*—महाकायः and कटिधान्यम्.
(2) *Gujarati*—मकाई.
(3) *Marathi*—मुक्का.
(4) *Hindustani*—भुट्टा.
(5) *Persian*—बाजरी.
(6) *Varga*—ग्रामिनेसी.
(7) *English*—Indian Corn ; Maize.
(8) *Latin*—Zia - Maize.
(9) *Tailaṅgī*—जनपटलु.

The foregoing notes on the history of *Maize* in India, Europe and America confirm the opinion of Professors Reeves and Mangelsdorf that Maize was unknown to the old world before the discovery of America by Columbus in A. D. 1492. The evidence collected by me from Indian sources ranges from C. A. D. 1575 to 1900. It is worth while investigating and recording some evidence about the importation and cultivation of Maize in India between A. D. 1500 and 1600. It is believed that the Spanish or Portuguese traders took Maize to India from Europe sometime before A. D. 1540. This belief gets support from the references to Maize by Lolimbarāja and Raghunātha Gaṇeśa Navahasta, who lived (between C. A. D. 1575 and 1700) in the districts of Poona and Satara respectively. After the Portuguese advent in A. D. 1498 many foreign articles of commerce found their way to these districts of the Deccan. *Maize* must have been one of these articles like the *chillies*, *tobacco*, *guava*, *custard-apple*, *pine-apple* etc. which entered Indian agriculture and horticulture at this time and enriched Indian diet and cookery to such an extent that many of us hardly know that they are foreign importations.

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12. The history of these names for Maize should be studied by linguists. Like the herbalists of Europe and China Indian authors of medical *Nighaṇṭus* (Glossaries) tried to make their works up to date by adding all new acquisitions to the field of Indian agriculture and horticulture like the *maize*, *guava* etc.

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NOTICES OF BUDDHISM IN ASSAM

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There is no definite evidence as to the prevalence of Buddhism in Assam. The expressions '*Dharma*' and '*Tathāgata*' which occur respectively in the Nidhanpur copper-plate grant of king Bhāskaravarman (7th century A.D.) and in the Gauhati copper-plate grant of king Indrapāla (11th century A.D.) have led Rai Bahadur K. L. Barua and others to believe that Buddhism was prevalent in Assam in the early period.[1] But the epigraphs are not very expressive neither has archaeology produced any evidence of importance.[2] In his account of the kingdom of Kāmarūpa, the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang remarked that the people had no faith in Buddha, and hence from the time when Buddha appeared in the world to the present time (7th century A.D.) there had never, as yet, been built one Saṅghārāma as a place for priests to assemble. He, however, observed that 'though the king (Bhāskaravarman) was not a Buddhist, he treated the accomplished Śramaṇas with respect'.[3] Hieun Tsiang's visit to the court of Bhāskaravarman itself is an example of this statement.

The Tibetan historian Tārānātha in his History of Buddhism (1608 A.D.) refers to the introduction and prevalence of Buddhism in Assam in later years. Tārānātha mentions to the fact that the people of Kāmarūpa (Assam) were worshippers of the Sun prior to the advent of the Buddhist monk Dhitika who came there to convert them from Sun-worship to Buddhism. Among Dhitika's converts in Kāmarūpa was a Siddha, who organised a great feast for all the monks of the four regions in order to diffuse the Buddhist gospel. Tārānātha further refers to

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1. K. L. Barua : Early History of Kāmarūpa, p. 152 ff; S. C. Goswami: Hidden Traces of Buddhism, 1. H: 111, pp 747 ff: Roy: Buddhism in Assam, JARS. IV, p 18-22; Ghose : Buddhism in Kāmarūpa and Sylhet, JARS, IV, p 47-49 ; Nath: Sankaracharya and Buddhism in Assam, JARS.

2. In his Early History of Kāmarūpa, Barua refers to some sculptural representations of Buddha on stones and terraccatta plaques. It is curious to note that the Buddhists of Tibet and Bhutan believe that the death of Buddha happened in a town west of Assam, and they identify it with the modern temple of Hājo, near the Brahmaputra in the Kāmarūp district. Buddhist pilgrims from Bhutan, Tibet and even from Ladak and South-western China come to visit this place (Waddell : *The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism*, pp 307-314).

3. Watters, Vol 11, p 186.

one Aśvabhava, who preached the Mahāyāna doctrine in Kāmarūpa. It is narrated that once when Aśvabhava was in Kāmarūpa making converts and teaching pupils, among the Upāsakas a great sensation was caused by an incident with a poisonous serpent. The serpent attacked some of his pupils and they were immediately struck down, but as soon as some holy water was sprinkled over them, they recovered.[4] The incident is significant as it has thrown some light on the nature of the Buddhist doctrine prevalent in the province during the time. From the latter part of the 7th century A.D. Buddhism went under certain changes developing into several forms of mystic cults known as Mantrayāna, Vajrayāna and Tantrayāna. Both the Indian and Tibetan sources provide us with materials about the prevalence of the Vajrayāna form of Buddhism in Assam.

The monks who were responsible for spreading the various systems associated with Vajrayāna were known as Siddhas, and according to the tradition they were eighty-four in number. The general belief is that some of the prominent Siddhas of this traditional list, such as, Saraha, Nāgārjuna, and Luipā either hailed from or propounded their doctrine in Kāmarūpa. The Pag-Sam Ẓon Jang (1747 A.D.) refers to Saraha or Rāhulabhadra as having been born of a Brāhmaṇa and a Dākinī in the city of Rājñī in the eastern country. This city of Rājñī was probably the small principality of Rānī (the present Kamarup-Goalpara districts of Assam) which was once a feudatory state of the Ahom kings.[5] Grunwedel and Tucci both hold that Saraha was a Śūdra from Kāmarūpa.[6] The disciple of Saraha was Nāgārjuna, who was well known in "Kāmarūpa, Nepala and Bhutana". Luipā, celebrated as Mīnanātha or Matsyendranātha, according to the Tibetan tradition, was also from Assam.[7] In the introduction to Kaulajñānanirnaya, Dr. Bagchi holds that Mīnanātha was born in a sea-coast in an island called Chandradvīpa, in eastern India. He was the originator of the *Kula* doctrine, a form of Buddhist mysticism developed out of the fusion of the Śāktism. Jayaratha in his commentary on the celebrated Tantrāloka of Abhinavagupta, refers to the account of the origin of Kaulism.[8] He

4. Schiefner: *Tāranātha de Doctrinae Buddhicae in India Propagatione*, p 24.

5. K. L. Barua: Kāmarūpa and Vajrayāna, JARS, 11, p 47 ff.

6. J P A S B (NSO,) XXVI, pp 133-141.

7. In the Pag Sam Zon Jang Luipā is said to have been a fisherman of Oḍḍiyāna who rose to be a writer in the employ of the king of Oddiyāna known as Samantasubha (Sādhanamālā, 11, P X L VIII). Benoytosh Bhattacharya wants to locate Oḍḍiyāna and Lankāpuri, two places associated with Vajrayāna, in Assam, J.B.O.R.S, 1928, p 34;

8. pp 24-25.

quoted a verse presumably from an original Tantra work, which states that originally the doctrine was acquired by Bhairavī, the goddess from Bhairava, the terrifying god, and then from her by Mīna, the Macchana, the great-souled Siddha, in the mahāpitha, of Kāmarūpa: *bhairavyā bhairavat prāptam yogam vyāpya priye tat-sakāsātu siddhena mīnakhyena varānane kāmarūpe mahāpīthe macchandena mahātmanā.* Mīnanātha is thus credited with the promulgation of the doctrine known as *Yoginī-Kaula* which became popular in Kāmarūpa: *Kāmākhye giyate nāthe mahāmatsyodarasthitiḥ.*[9] That Kāmarūpa was a centre of worship of various Vrajayāna gods and goddesses is also known from the Vaśiṣṭha legend as described in the Buddhist *Tantra Brahma Yāmala.* Vaśiṣṭha, the son of Brahmā got a sacred mystic formula (*mantra*) from his father and meditated on it for a long time. When no result occurred, he requested his father for a second and more potent formula. Brahmā asked him to continue his concentration for some time longer and meditate on goddess Buddheśvarī. Thereupon Vaśiṣṭha went to the Kāmākhyā for his necessary penance and meditations. The *Tārā Tantra* specifying the formula on which Vaśiṣṭha meditated says that it related to goddess Tārā. The Yoginī Tantra (16th century A.D.) supports this and adds further details thatVaśiṣṭha carried on his meditation on the Kāmākhyā hill. That Kāmarūpa was a fertilising soil for the development of the Tārā formula is also stated in the *Manju-śrī Mūla-kalpā* (*The Mother Goddess Kāmākhyā*, p. 34).

The early Assamese literature (15th century A. D.) also contains strong references to Buddhist monks who wandered about the province showing miracles. In this connection mention may be made of the vast mass of writings in early Assamese known as *Mantras*, which not only contain names of later-day Buddhist gods and goddesses but also bear distinct stamp of Vajrayāna tenents. These *Mantras* (charms) composed in mystic words and syllables contain magic formula against snake-bite, evil spirits etc. and various spells for the healing of diseases, and winning of good fortune and desired ends. Most of these *Mantras* bear the impress of the *Buddhist Dhāraṇī Suttas.*

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9. Kaula-Jñāna-nirṇaya, p 55.

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NEW LIGHT ON LATER PALLAVA CHRONOLOGY

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI, Madras

It is well known that there was a break in the Pallava succession at Kāñchī after Parameśvaravarmana II and that a prince from a collateral line was chosen by the officials of the kingdom and the other representatives of the people with the consent of his father Hiraṇyavarman. This prince was Parameśvaravarman Pallavamalla who was crowned under the name Nandivarman II. When exactly Nandivarman was invited to the Pallava throne has been a matter of discussion for many years. Jouveau-Dubreuil gave for Nandivarman II the period A. D. 717–779; Gopalana 710–75. Since then other scholars, particularly M. S. Sarma and Dr. N. Venkataramanayya have felt the need for advocating a later date than 717 for the beginning of Pallavamalla's reign. Their views are now proved to be correct by the discovery in recent years of a stone inscription in Kannaḍa at Uḷchala in the Kurnool district. I owe the information to an unpublished paper on 'Ten years of Indian Epigraphy' by Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, Government Epigraphist for India, which he kindly allowed me to read in advance. The inscription is dated in the thirty-fifth regnal year of the Bādāmi Chālukya ruler, Vijayāditya, A. D. 730–31. It states that Yuvarāja Vikramāditya II returning after a conquest of Kāñchi in which he levied tribute from Pallava Parameśvaravarman made a gift of the villages of Uḷchala and Pariyaḷa to Durvinīta Eṟeyapa of the Konguṇi, i. e. Western Ganga, family. So Parameśvaravarman was ruling in 730–31, and the confusion that ensued after his death owing to lack of a suitable heir was still in the future. After he became King Nandivarman II he is never referred to by his personal name Paramēśvara in epigraphy and the reference in the Uḷchala inscription must be to Paramēśvaravarman II. The earliest possible date for Nandivarman's accession is therefore A. D. 731, and all earlier dates must be definitely discarded.

Incidentally we may note that this expedition of Yuvarāja Vikramāditya II against Kāñchī turns out to be the first of the three expeditions against the Pallava capital credited to him in an undated inscription of his queen Lokamahādevī at Paṭṭadakal.[1] The two others in the reign of Vikramāditya himself have long been known.

Nandivarman ruled for 65 years[2] after he came to the throne as a

1. IA. X pp. 164–5. 2. 666 of 1922.

boy of twelve. His son ruled for 51 years and then followed Nandivarman III 24 or 25 years, Nṛpatunga 41 years, and Aparājita 18 years, not to speak of Kampavarman whose records run up to at least 26 years if not 32.[3] Till recently Nṛpatunga was given a reign of only twenty-six years; but again a new inscription found at Mathavalam as stated by Dr. Chhabra contains the year 41. We get thus a period of almost exactly two hundred years, which if reckoned from A. D. 731 would take us to A. D. 931 for the close of the reign of Aparājita. But this is impossible, because the Chola conquest of the Pallava country in which Aparājita was killed in battle by Āditya I had been completed at the latest by the twenty-seventh year of his reign i. e. A. D. 898. There are also other factors which must all be taken into account in settling the scheme of later Pallava chronology, and these may be briefly indicated as follows :

1. Nandivarman II was thirty-one years of age when he married Revā, the daughter of Dantidurga Rāshṭrakūṭa, in A. D. 750, and his son by this marriage, Dantivarman had a reign of fifty-one years.

2. The Pāṇḍya Śrī Māra Śrīvallabha who ruled between 815 and 862 was defeated by Nandivarman III at Teḷḷāṟu at the beginning of his reign, but was in turn defeated along with his allies by the Pāṇḍya ruler at Kumbakoṇam. This defeat was avenged by Nṛpatunga as Yuvarāja in the battle of Arichit.

3. Nṛpatunga was the grandson of Amoghavarsha by his daughter Śankhā, queen of Nandivarman III. Amoghavarsha was himself born in A. D. 802 when his father Govinda III was camping at Śribhavana on the banks of the Narmadā, about a year before his expedition against Kāñchī followed by his encampment at Rāmeśvara *tirtha* on the Tungabhadrā in A. D. 803–4.[4]

4. The battle of Arichit was connected with the Ceylonese invasion of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom in the ninth year of the reign of Sena II (A.D. 860) to whom a digruntled Pāṇḍya prince (probably Varaguṇavarman) appealed for aid against his father (Śrī Māra Śrīvallabha)

5. The Western Ganga Pṛthvīpati I was a vassal of Nṛpatunga in his 26th year according to an inscription found at Āmbūr, and soon after that he lost his life in the battle of Śripuṛambiyam, A. D. 880 in which Aparājita was in chief command on the Pallava side.

I believe that all these conditions are met by adopting some such scheme as the following with partially overlapping reigns which were not uncommon as we know in the age of the Cholas immediately

3. SII. XII, Ins. 110–11. 4. IA. XI p. 126.

following :— Nandivarman II 731–96 ; Dantivarman 785–836 ; Nandivarman III 835–60 ; Nṛpatuṅga 855–96 ; and Aparajita 879–897.

As for Kampavarman, an inscription of Śōḻapuram (N. A. district) mentions a Nandi-Kampeśvara temple[5] at Kāṭṭutumbūr. This means that the temple was built of Kampa, the son of Nandi. So we may suppose that Kampavarman was a younger brother of Nṛpatunga. Then we get a clue to his chronological position in an indirect way. On a slab at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr on which three inscriptions are engraved continuously in the same hand, a record of the seventh year of Kampavarman just precedes another of the sixth year of Aparājita,[6] and this suggests that Kampa counted his regnal period from at least about a year earlier than Aparājita. We may therefore take it that Kampavarman's rule began in A. D. 878 or a little before that date. In fact it seems that to meet the renewed Pāṇḍyan aggression of Varaguṇa II the Pallava Nṛpatunga not only summoned to his aid his fuedatory Ganga Pṛthvīpati I, but took his brother Kampavarman and Aparājita - the exact relation of Aparājita is not clear - into partnership on the eve of the important battle of Śrī Puṟambiyam.

It will be noticed that by our scheme Nṛpatunga died a little before the final Chola conquest of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam in which Aparājita figures as the chief opponent of Āditya and loses his life on the field of battle. This was the end of the Pallava Kingdom.

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5. 423 of 1902. 6. SII. XII No. 90 Intr.

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THE AUTHOR OF THE 'SILATHAMBHAS' OF AS'OKAN INSCRIPTIONS

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The term has been used by Aśoka for the monolithic pillars on the surface of which he ordered his rescripts on morality to be inscribed. Reports of ancient Chinese pilgrims and modern archaelogists, when taken *together*, show that there were more than two dozen stone pillars scattered over a very wide area in Northern India between Topra in the west, Vaiśālī in the east and Sānchī in the south, and two-thirds of these bore Aśoka's inscriptions. The Chinese pilgrims failed to give a correct substance of the inscriptions noticed by them. Thanks to modern scholarship, to-day we have a good account of the epigraphs on ten of the columns, which clearly show that they were inscribed by Aśoka, and furnish an account of his character and administration.

We are here concerned with an investigation of the authorship of the pillars themselves, and their main features. Ordinarily Aśoka is considered to have set up all the '*Śilāthambhas*' or the monolithic pillars bearing his inscriptions, and it has been customary to regard these pillars or *lāṭs* as Budhistic monuments. But a *literal* translation of the directive for publication given at the end of the Rupanāth and Sahasrām inscriptions and the seventh Pillar Edict creates the impression that the pillars were in existence before Aśoka chose to have his rescripts engraved on them. For instance, the seventh Pillar Edict reads thus "This rescript on morality must be engraved where there *are* stone pillars........."

The following table is drawn up for ready reference in elucidation of the problem under consideration :—

Location	Capital and other features	Noticed by	Remarks
1. Jetavana Vihāra at Śrāvasti.	Wheel	Fa-Hien and Yuan-Chwang	Not discovered yet.
2. -Do-	Ox	-Do-	-Do-
3. Sankāśya	Lion	-Do-	-Do-

Location	Capital and other features	Noticed by	Remarks
4. On the way to Vaiśālī from Kuśinagara	Inscribed	Fa-Hien	Not discovered yet.
5. Pāṭaliputra	-Do-	Fa-Hien and Yuan-Chwang	Fragments of this pillar have been found.
6. -Do-	Lion	-Do-	Not discovered yet.
7. Near Kapilavastu	-Do. ; also inscribed	Yuan-Chwang	-Do-
8. -Do-	-Do-	-Do-	Nigliva Pillar ?
9. Kusinārā	Inscribed	-Do-	Not discovered yet.
10. -Do-	-Do-	-Do-	-Do-
11. Lumbini	Horse	-Do-	Rummindei Pillar -Horse-Capital not yet found.
12. On the way to Sāranāth	Nil.	-Do-	*Lāṭ* Bhairo in Benaras ?
13. Sāranāth	70 feet high !	-Do-	The famous Sāranāth pillar is only 37 feet and has a beautiful capital of four lions sitting back to back.
14. Mahāsāla	Lion ; inscribed	-Do-	Not discovered yet
15. Vaiśālī	Lion	-Do-	The Bakhra pillar ?
16. Rājagriha	Elephant ; Inscribed.	-Do-	Not found yet.

Modern archaeologists have succeeded in bringing to light those seen by Yuan-Chwang at Rummindei, Nigliva, and Sāranāth, and fragments of the one at Pāṭaliputra. But their efforts have borne a richer

harvest in discovering *several other* pillars which had escaped the observation of the intrepid Chinese pilgrims. They hail from Topra, Meerut (both removed to Delhi by Firoz Shāh Tughlaq), Allahābād (probably removed from Kauśāmbī), Lauriya-Ararāj, Lauriya-Nandangarh (Lion-capital), and Sānchi (Four Lions on the top). These seven and the three at Rummindei, Nigliva and Sārnāth have Aśoka's inscriptions carved on them. To this list may be added the uninscribed columns found at Rampurwa (Bull-Capital), Sankisa (Elephant-Capital), and Kosam (Capital not yet recovered).

Some interesting suggestions have been put forward by various scholars regarding the origin and nature of these monolithic columns.

Prof. P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar[1] says 'The most remarkable of Aśokan monuments are the *lāṭs* or monolithic pillars, ten inscribed and others uninscribed.' But he does not subscribe to the view that they were Bauddha memorials. According to him " Pillar-worship prevailed in India from pre-Āryan times......The Lion was the vehicle of Kāli and the Elephant, of Indra. Aśoka, who respected all cults........... impartially dedicated pillars to them."

Prof. V. R. R. Dikshitar[2] is more categorical in his views. He declares " It it wrong to assume that Aśoka set up pillars .... These pre-Āryan pillars with animal capitals were pillars of victory."

On the other hand, Prof. Nihar-Ranjan Ray[3] states " Except two pillars that stylistically may be ascribed to a date anterior to that of Aśoka, *all the rest* belong definitely to the latter's reign along with the animal figures that crown them or exist independently."

In the light of the directive contained in the seventh Pillar Edict, Prof. R. K. Mookerji[4] remarks " All these ten pillars ascribed to Aśoka on the ground that they bear his inscriptions cannot, however, be ascribed *en bloc* to him. His own words forbid the inference...... ......Some of them were already found in his dominion, presumably the work of his predecessors...But evidence is wanting to show how and why they had been constructed before Aśoka's time."

It may be true that the idea of erecting memorial pillars did not originate with Aśoka. Pillar-worship appears to have been prevalent in India in some form or another from very remote times. As pointed out by Prof. Iyengar,[5] *Skambha* is lauded in the *Atharva-Veda* as the Supreme God. *Skambha* is a phonetic varient of *Stambha*. A funeral

1. *Advanced History of India* (Hindu Period), pp. 184–187.
2. *Mauryan Polity*, pp.296–297
3. *Maurya and Sunga Art*, p. 5. 4. *Asoka*, p 87.
5. Op. Cit., p. 185

mound at Lauriya Nandangarh yielded on excavation a circular but plain piece of a wooden column. Such columns either for worship or for memorial were originally carved out of wood and easily succumbed to the ravages of time.

Ideologically the *Śilāstambhas* might have been descended from the earlier wooden columns. Aśoka appears to have taken up the idea and translated it into stone for monumental purposes following the Achaemenian model. That almost all the monolithic pillars were set up by him may be surmised from the following considerations ;—

1. The *Indica* of Megasthanese and the *Arthasāṣtra* of Kauṭilya do not contain any reference to such pillars, either monumental or ceremonial.

2. Aśoka definitely states that he erected (*usapapite*) the commemorative pillars at Rummindei and Nigliva when he had been consecrated twenty years.

3. All the other columns bear a family resemblance to them both in material and general make-up. Every one of them, no matter where they were set up, was executed in grey sand stone apparently quarried from Chunar hills, and given a polish that deceived some observers into thinking that it was metallic. Such brilliant polish is definitely associated with Aśoka's fine aesthetic taste as revealed in his Barabar caves dedicated to the service of the Ājivikas.

4. There is also seen a *conscious* effort to secure harmonious integration between the component parts of the pillars, viz. the shaft, the capital, the abacus and the crowning animal. In the Rummindei column of the 20th Year the transition from the shaft to the capital is abrupt, while in that of Lauriya Nandangarh of the 27th year it is made easy and gradual by the introduction of retreating decorated moulding. As pointed out by Prof. Nihar-Ranjan Ray, this effort at harmonisation "becomes further evident in various stages from Basarh-Bakhira example through Sankasya and Rampurva to Sarnath."

5. The conception, planning and execution of such cognate pillars of gigantic proportions—forty to fifty feet high and with a diameter ranging from about thirty-five to forty-nine inches—must have had a single directive will behind them. They involved not only questions of workmanship, but also political and engineering factors. Firstly, the wide area covered by these pillars must have been under one sceptre, and secondly the state resources must have been such as to make their fabrication, conveyance and erection at assigned places feasible. Such conditions could be true of an imperial power as that of Aśoka.

6. Aśoka intended wide publicity for his rescripts. He could not

have left it to the off chance of finding readymade pillars *wherever* found for carrying out his grand design. The pillars could not have attracted the inscriptions; rather the inscriptions created the pillars. The places for the erection of pillars appear to have been selected with a deliberate design. As pointed out by Prof. R. K. Mookerji[6] "Four of them mark stages on the royal road frequented by pilgrims from Pāṭliputra to the Buddhist holy places along the foot of the Himālayas in the Nepalese Tarai, while the others are planted at important centres of population, whether cities or sacred places like Sanchi, Saranath or Kauśāmbī, to enable the proclamations inscribed on them to be widely read."

7. The association of most of these pillars[7] with the Elephant, the Bull, the Horse and the Lion cannot be explained away as primitive animal totems super-imposed upon pillars or as guardians of the four cardinal points.[8] They, together with the Wheel-Capital, appear to be symbolic of different stages in the life of Buddha. The Elephant is significant of his conception in his mother's womb, the Bull of the Zodiac of his nativity, the Horse of his great departure from home, the Lion of his pre-eminence among the Śākyas, and the Wheel of his setting in motion the law of righteousness. It is not without Buddhistic bias that these five symbols are *brought together* in the decorative design of the abacus of the Sārnāth Pillar. Here the figures of the four animals are placed between four Wheels. This is typical Aśoka's progress in Buddhism and as such shows that he was the author of the pillars having one or the other of the significant Buddhist symbols.

8. Any doubt on this score should be dispelled by the importance attached by Aśoka especially to the Budhistic symbol, the Elephant. It finds a place on Rocks. At the end of the Girnār version of R. E. XIII is engraved the phrase, which means "The entirely white Elephant bringing happiness to the whole world." On the Rock at Kalsi is traced in outline one elephant labelled *Gajatame* i. e. the best Elephant. At the top of the Dhauli Rock is inscribed a figure of an elephant; and at the end of R. E. VII of this place the word *Seto* (i. e. the White One) is inscribed. The figure of an elephant or an allusion to it recalls to mind the story of the Buddha's descent into the womb of his mother in that form. By no stretch of imgination this symbol can be divested of its Buddhistic significance in Aśokan monuments.

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6. Op. Cit, p. 93; also pp. 27-28.
7. See the table - *Supra*.
8. *Garuḍa* is *assumed* to have once crowned the Laurya-Ararāj Pillar. But Prof. R. K. Mookerjee writes "My local inquiry on the spot convinced me it was a single lion." Op. cit. p. 90.

9. The crowning animals of the various columns also furnish a clue to their authorship. There is evidence of selective process at work. While the Rummindei Pillar had a single Horse, the Lauriya Nandangarh and one of the Rampurva columns a standing Bull, the Sankisa pillar a single Elephant, and one of the Srāvasti *lāṭs* a Wheel, the Sārnāth column boldly combined the five Buddhist symbols in its abacus and crowned it with four semi-lions united back to back. This shows that the author of the Rummindei Pillar was striving to select the best aspect of the life of the Buddha for prominent display, and finally found solace in presenting all the five symbols together in the abacus of the Sārnāth column.

Now the correct import of the directive given in the Rupanāth and Sahasrām inscriptions and the seventh Pillar Edict has to be found. Probably it signifies that the rescripts were to be inscribed on pillars wherever the *material* for them was available. This is easier to understand than to shut our eyes to the logic of events in favour of Aśoka's authorship of the *Śilāsthambas.*

A word of explanation, however, is needed for the existence of uninscribed pillars. It is to be found in the fact that Aśoka was keen on wide publicity for his rescripts. Pillars appear to have been made ready to receive them. But before his directions were implemented, he died or retired from public life. In his own life-time things do not appear to have proceeded as planned. In R. E. XIV he says "Vast is the conquered country, much is already inscribed and much shall I get inscribed.........There sometimes might also be writing left unfinished, taking into account the locality, or fully considering the reasons or by the lapses of the scribe."

— 7 —

THE BOAR IN MYTHOLOGY AND FOLK-LORE

B. KAKATI, Gauhati

1. The boar occupies a very noticeable position in the mythology and folk-lore of many races. In the myths of some peoples, it is a sacred animal and an incarnation of some god, while in those of others it typifies the very devil. It occurs as a recurrent *motif* in the Hindu mythology of different periods and is often represented as a cosmic principle of creation. The diverse features of the story of the boar are collected together for a comparative review round the central accounts presented in Hindu mythology.

2. The earliest notice of the boar is taken in the *Brāhmaṇa* literature. " In the *Taittiriya Saṁhitā* and *Brāhmaṇa* and also in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, the creator Prajāpati afterwards known as Brahmā, took the form of a boar for the purpose of raising the earth out of the boundless waters. The *Saṁhitā* says, " This universe was formerly waters, fluid. On it Prajāpati becoming wind, moved. He saw this earth. Becoming a boar, he took her up. Becoming Viśvakarman he wiped (the moisture from) her. She extended. She became the extended one (Pṛthivī). The *Brāhmaṇa* is in accord as to the illimitable waters and adds " Prajāpati practises arduous devotion (saying) " How shall this universe be developed ? He beheld a lotus-leaf standing. He thought: There is something on which this (lotus-leaf) rests. He as a boar, having assumed that form, plunged beneath towards it. He found the earth down below. Breaking off (a portion of her) he rose to the surface. He extended it on the lotus-leaf.

" In the *Taittiriya Āraṇyaka*, it is said that the earth was raised by a boar with a hundred arms.

" The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* states " She (the earth) was only so large, of the size of a span. A boar named Emusha raised her up. Her lord, Prajāpati, in consequence prospers him with this pair and makes him complete. In the *Rāmāyaṇa* also it is stated that Brahma became a boar and raised up the earth." (Dowson : *Hindu Classical Mythology*, pp. 34–35.)

3. In the *Purāṇas*, however, this old legend of the, *Brāhmaṇas* has been appropriated to Viṣṇu. According to the *Harivaṁśa*, the Earth burdened with the weight of hills and mountains complained to Lord Viṣṇu that she was unable to sustain the load. She sank into the waters below and prayed to Viṣṇu to deliver her. Hari assumed the

form of a boar and raised her up. Then Viṣṇu put into order the disturbed surface of the Earth. Then the demon named Hiraṇyākṣa claimed the Earth and challenged the gods. The gods could not stand the contest and were getting worsted. Viṣṇu once again assumed the form of a boar and killed the demon.

In this *Paurāṇic* account, the boar appears not only as a deliverer of the sunken Earth but also as a victorious conqueror and slayer of a demon.

4. In the *Tantras* (here the account of the *Kālikā Purāṇa* is followed), novel features have been added to the old myth and it has been elaborated into a love story. Viṣṇu took on the form of a boar and delivered the sunken Earth by driving a tusk through her. Then he assumed the form of serpent Ananta with seven heads and supported the Earth on one hood. Next he set about the task of putting the Earth to order (Chap. 25)

In this version, the story of the slaying of Hiraṇyākṣa has been dropped and a fresh *motif* has been introduced. Viṣṇu in the process of ṛescuing goddess Earth, fell in love with her and raped her. The goddess was then in her monthly course and she conceived as a result of the union. Though the fruit of the union during the unclean period would cause havoc to the world, Viṣṇu continued his boar form and would not give it up. The Earth could not sustain the impact of the boar and Siva interceded on her behalf and persuaded Viṣṇu to give up the boar form. Viṣṇu agreed and vanished from Siva's sight but he took shelter in the Lokāloka mountains in the form of a boar accompanied by the Earth as a Vārāhī, a sow. The amorous boar pursued a course of never ending desires. Three sons called Suvṛtta, Kanaka and Ghora were born and they were spreading havoc in the world. The gods waited upon Viṣṇu and laid their grievances before him. Viṣṇu confessed to Śiva that he was tied by desires and was unable willingly to give up the boar form; he asked Śiva to kill him by assuming the form of a *śarabha* (a mythical animal with eight legs). Śiva agreed and became a śarabha. Then ensued a fight between the boar and the *śarabha*. Ultimately the boar was killed. Then from the different parts of the boar's body all the various sacrifices (as enumerated in the Vedas) arose (Chaps. 29–31).

5. In this *Tantric* account the boar has been raised to cosmic proportions, all the sacrificial rites being traced to different parts of its body. It thus takes on the place of the cosmic man in the *Ṛg-Veda*. The introduction of the sex element is very worthy of notice. Sex is the fundamental *motif* of the *Tantras* and the boar seems to have been exalted to a cosmic height because this incarnation is the only one that admits of sexual treatment.

Thus in all the three main types of Hindu scriptures the boar appears as a deliverer of the Earth ; but in the *Purāṇas* and the *Tantra* respectively it appears also as a slayer of a demon and as an amorous lover. The originally beneficent boar later turns out to be a malignant force through the havoc caused by its young ones.

6. The scattered references to the boar in the myths and folk-lore of other races and tribes are grouped together under comprehensive headings.

7. (*a*) *The sanctity of the boar.*

Amongst the primitive peoples of India the Minas in one part of Rajputana used to worship the pig (Crooke : *The Religion and Folk-lore of Northern India* 1896 : Vol. II 157). One section of Bhils take their name from it : they never kill it or eat it and worship its effigy at marriage. Kurkis worship the pig and the Kurmis take oaths by it (Crooke : *Ibid* 1926 edition ; p. 357). The Prabhus of Bombay eat wild pork once a year as a religious duty. The Vaddars of the Dhakkhin say that they are not troubled with ghosts because the pork they eat and hang in their houses scares ghosts (Crooke : *Ibid* Vol. II p. 158). The pig is the most important sacrifice animal in Oceania. Pigs were worshipped in ancient Crete, because the animal which nourished with its milk the young god of the cave, Zeus-Dionysus, was a sow. All Cretans consider this animal sacred and will not taste of its flesh and make her the first offering at the sacrifice (Mackenzie : *Pre-Hellenic Europe* p. 159). There is a story of a pig ancestor in Wales. The Irish accounts of the period of Mythological Ages was put into the mouth of Tuan MacCarell. He had been contemporary of Partholon and afterwards existed for periods as a stag, a boar, a vulture and a salmon (*Ibid* p. 8) Some Yabim believe that after death their souls will be turned into swine and they therefore abstain from swine flesh lest they should be eating the flesh of their relatives (*Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* Vol. XII. pp. 132-33).

(*b*) *The earth and the boar.*

In Celebes the pig supports the earth and causes an earthquake when he rests against a tree (*ERE* : Article *Animals*). The Cretans were worshippers of the great Mother Goddess who inhabited the abode of the buried dead. She was the Earth Mother. The cave was regarded as the door of the underworld in which dwelt the snake form of Mother Earth. Swine were sacrificed to her (Mackenzie: *Pre-Hellenic Europe* : pp. XLIV, 183). In Greek mythology the pig was sacred to Demeter (Corn-goddess). In art she was portrayed carrying or accompanied by a pig and the pig was regularly sacrificed in her mysteries. In the Thesmophoria, it was customary to throw pigs, cakes of dough and

branches of pine trees into the chasms of Demeter and Persephone which appear to have been sacred caverns or vaults. In these caverns or vaults there were said to be serpents which guarded the caverns and consumed most of the flesh of the pigs and dough cakes which were thrown in (Frazer : *Golden Bough* : abridged edition : p. 469).

(*c*) *The boar and the god of love.*

The Celtic Angus, the young god, is represented as a Gælic Eros, an eternally youthful exponent of love and beauty. He had a golden harp and its music was so sweet that no one could hear and not follow it. His kisses became birds which hovered invisibly over the young men and maidens of Erin whispering thoughts of love into their ears (Squire : *Celtic Myth and Legend* : p. 56) He kept a herd of swine and their chief was the inevitable black pig. (Mackenzie : *Egyptian Myth and Legend* p. 66).

The moon-god Khonsu was the Egyptian Cupid who touched the hearts of lads and girls with love. Once a year pigs were offered in Egypt to the moon and to Osiris. The moon-pig was eaten but the pigs offered to Osiris were slain in front of house doors and given back to the swine-herds from whom they were purchased (*Ibid.* p. 66). The moon-pig was the animal form of the love god (*Ibid.* p. 68). The Greek Adonis was killed by a boar. This animal was a form of Ares (Mars) who turned himself into the likeness of a boar in order to compass the death of his rival. For Ares also loved Aphrodite (Frazer : *Ibid.* p. 327).

(*d*) *The boar as a fighter god.*

In Zoroastrianism the form of the boar is one of those assumed by Verethraghna, the god of victory (*ERE* vol. I. *Animals*). In the *Ṛg-Veda*, Rudra, the storm god is described as the boar of heaven (Macdonell : *Vedic Index* : Vol II. p. 245). In Germanic mythology, the pig is associated with storm and is regarded as a fertility animal in harvest time (*ERE* : *Animals*). The Scoto-Irish hag known as Cailleach (Old Wife) was the mother of the giants against whom gods and mortals waged war. She was offered the black pig or the green boar. She was recognised as the spirit of tempest on sea or land. She moved amongst the hills followed by a herd of wild animals including deer, goats and swine (Mackenzie : *Pre-Hellenic Myth*, p. 68).

(*e*) *The boar as a corn spirit.*

" In Sweden and Denmark at Yule (Christmas) it is the custom to bake a loaf in the form of a boar-pig. This is called the Yule-Boar. The corn of the last sheaf is often used to make it. All through the Yule, the Yule-Boar stands on the table. Often it is kept till the sowing

time in spring when part of it is mixed with the seed corn and part given to the plough man and plough horses or plough oxen to eat in the expectation of a good harvest. Formerly a real boar was sacrificed at Christmas and apparently also a man in the character of the Yule-Boar. This may be inferred from the present-day Christmas custom still observed in Sweden. A man is wrapped up in a skin and carries a wisp of straw in his mouth so that the projecting straw looks like the bristles of a boar. A knife is brought and an old woman with her face blackened pretends to sacrifice him. In some places the Christmas Boar is partaken of by farm servants and cattle at the time of the barley sowing for the purpose of thereby producing a heavier crop (Frazer: *Golden Bough*: abridged edition pp. 461-62).

(*f*) *The boar as a devil.*

In Rajputana there was a regular spring festival at which the boar was killed because he was regarded as the special enemy of Gaurī, the Rajput tribal goddess (Crooke: Vol. II p. 157). The Egyptians regarded the pig as an unclean animal. If they touched it casually they at once plunged into water to purify themselves. In Syria, the pig was a taboo and in the Highlands the black pig is identified with the devil. In Egypt both the good and the evil spirits were represented by the pig. Osiris was a boar and so was Set his enemy. The suggested explanation is that the pig might be either the friend or enemy of the Corn-god. At the sowing time it rendered service by cleaning the soil of obnoxious roots and weeds, which retard the growth of crops. When the crops were grown the boar which damaged the corn was identified with Set, the enemy of Osiris. The boar hunt then ensued as a matter of course. Often times tribal jealousy may be at the root of different estimations. A particular animal might be looked upon by one tribe as an incarnation of their deity and by another as an incarnation of their Satan (Mackenzie: *Egyptian Myth and Legend*, p. 64).

8. Various explanations have been offered by comparative mythologists on points of resemblance in the common myths of diverse races. It has been said that the same myths are due to primitive man thinking in the same way in different parts of the globe; that some conceptions are distributed over wide areas by wandering people and also that trade springs up between various communities and the influence of culture flows along trade routes etc.

9. But certain features in the Hindu myth need a little emphasising. The association of the boar with the storm god is noted in the Hindu, Germanic and Celtic myths. So also the cosmic boar of the *Tantras* as the source of all sacrificial rites which control the wind and the weather giving rise to varied crops finds a parallel in the Yule-Boar and its sacrifice in the Scandinavian countries. Similarly the association

of the boar with the Celtic love god Angus and its identification with Greek Ares (the lover of Aphrodite) may bear thin correspondence with the amorous boar of the *Tantras*. It has been said that many myths are common to all the Indo-Germanic peoples and like their languages may have a common origin.

10. Max Müller suggested that comparative mythologists by recovering the original meaning of the name of a god could explain its original significance. The Sanskrit word for boar is *Varāha* which means also the cloud. The etymology of *varaha* is said to be obscure. It may, however, be connected with some earlier formation like * *varābha* : cf. *kakuha*-, *kakubha*-; *barjaha*- (udder), with suffix-*bha*- (Wackernagel : Altindische Grammatik : Part I. 217b) : also *dhūmrābha*' air. In this connection *balāhaka*, or *valāhāka*-, cloud, may also be considered. This derivation if accepted would explain the earliest association of *varāha* (cloud) with the storm god. The almost exclusive use of the suffix,-*bha*-to denote animal names might have suggested the secondary meaning of a boar.

11. Viewed thus the fight of Varāha-Viṣṇu and demon Hiraṇyākṣa (golden-eyed) resolves itself into a conflict between the cloud god and the demon drought. The association of the cloud with erotic sentiments may give rise to the conception of the boar lover. The Bhils worship the boar's effigy at marriage (§ 7 (a)) apparently to make it fruitful. It is a popular belief amongst the Assamese people that an auspicious marriage is blessed by showers of rain. Mock marriages of living frogs are arranged by Assamese women to draw needed showers from the sky at the time of drought. Unusual showers are usually set down by wiseacres in India to the circumstances that too many marriages have taken place (Crooke; Vol. I p.109). The Bhil's worship of the boar's effigy may be regarded as the disguised worship of the cloud. Symbolism, however, should not be stressed very hard in matters mythological.

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A MARATHA LEAVEN IN THE ADMINISTRATIVE AND CULTURAL HISTORY OF PUDUKKOTTAI*

K. R. VENKATARAMAN

Vyankāji, the youngest son of Shāhji Bhonsle, became Ruler of Tanjore in 1676, and ten years later Raghunātha Rāya Toṇḍaimān founded the Pudukkōṭṭai State.[1] Throughout the 17th and 18th centuries Tanjore and Pudukkōttai were frequently at war brought about either by disputes for the possession of small pockets of territory on or near the frontiers or by the predatory incursions of Kaḷḷars from Pudukkōṭṭai or the petty 'War-lords' from Tanjore. In spite of temporary set-backs and defeats the Toṇḍaimāns of Pudukkōṭṭai gained politically, and acquired a large part of Nagaram Zamin and the whole of Vārāppūr Zamīn, which belonged to Tanjore, and the strategically more important fort and district of Kīḷānilai, which frequently changed hands between Tanjore, Pudukkōṭṭai and Rāmnād, but was persistently and stoutly claimed to the last by Tanjore. These political successes notwithstanding, Pudukkōṭṭai was influenced by Tanjore to such an extent that when the balance sheet is cast, it must be said that the example of the Tanjore Marātha Rāj did appreciably dominate the administrative policy of the Toṇḍaiman Rāj and the cultural outlook of its people.

Vyankāji and his successors made Tanjore their home, and continued without much of a break the administrative policy of the Nāyaks whom they supplanted. The Mahārāja was assisted by a council of

NOTE:—*During his visits to Pudukkoṭṭai, Mahāmahopādhyāya D. V. Potdar assiduously went about getting to know the Marāṭha inhabitants of the town. He did the same in Tanjore and in the other places he visited, and could not disguise his keen disappointment at the absence of any live contact between the Marāṭhas in the Tamil districts and their brethren in Mahārāshṭra. A knowledge of the worthy achievements, not unmixed with failures and foibles, of the Marāṭhas in the South will go a long way in establishing contact with those in the Deccan and the north, which Professor Potdar so ardently desires. It is in this hope that this short paper is presented as a contribution to a volume published to commemorate the great work of Professor Potdar, who is today a veteran leader of thought in Mahārāshṭra.)*

1. Pudukkōṭṭai survived for a little less than three centuries as the only Tamil principality in India, as a symbol of the ancient Tamil States of History and the Classics, which constituted the repository of all that was great in Tamil life, thought and culture. The State was merged with Madras on March 3rd, 1948.

ministers bearing the same designations and wielding much the same powers and responsibilities as under Nāyak rule. They were the *dalavāī* cum *mantri*, *sampṛiti* (accountant), *dharmādhikāri* (in charge of religion, charity and law), *killedār* (in charge of fortifications) and *arrikār* (spy). Sarabhoji (1712-38) created a new office under the designation *sar-i-khel*, at first a sort of Chamberlain, but later the Chief Adviser of the Ruler. The missionary C. F. Schwartz has left on record[2] the enormous powers that Sar-i-khel Śiva Rao wielded in the reign of Amār Singh (1787-98). Following Tanjore, the Toṇḍaimāns designated their *kāryakartas*, *sar-i-khels*. We have definite records of the list of *sar-i khels* in Pudukkōṭṭai from 1807 to 1885, Sairoba Naig from 1814 to 1853, Gopāl Naig in 1853-4 and Bhavāni Śaṅkar Rao from 1863 to 1878. Sir A. Sashia Śāstri, who was persuaded by Sir T. Mādhava Rao to take charge of the administration of the State, was *sar-i-khel* till 1885, from which year he was designated *diwān*. Between 1807 and 1878 except for a short period of nine years (1854 to 1863), this office was held by Marāṭhas who have left a much more creditable record of administration than their opposite numbers in Tanjore, where contemporary records speak of maladministration and corruption.

Towards the close of the 18th century, the Governor of Madras, Sir Archibald Campbell, pressed upon the Tanjore Ruler the necessity to reorganise the judicial administration of the State. The result was the establishment of a Court called the *Nyāya Sabhā*, with both original and appellate authority, which later developed into four courts the *Nyāya Sabhā*, the *Mudrita Sabhā*, the *Dharma Sabhā* and the *Nyāyādīśa Sabhā*.[3] The last was the Court of Appeal. The early Toṇḍaimāns in the 17th and 18th centuries dispensed justice as the patriarchs of their people, sometimes alone and sometimes with the help of Pandits versed in the *Smritis* and the *Dharmaśāstra*. This Council of Pandits and officials, presided over by the Rāja, was known as the *Dharmāsanam*. At the instance of the Resident, Major Blackburne, the Pudukkōṭṭai Judicial administration was reorganised. Following the example of Tanjore, Vijaya Raghunātha Rāya Toṇḍaimān (1807-1825) constituted in 1810 a supreme tribunal and named it *Nyāya Sabhā*. As in Tanjore, this Court included an inquiring and reporting staff constituting a lower court composed of five judges who received petitions, summoned witnesses, and heard and recorded their opinions. Once a week the full court sat, heard the report of the

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2. Pearson: *Memoirs of Schwartz*- Vol. II

3. Shelvankar, R. S. : *A report on the Modi Mss in the Sarasvātī Mahāl library*. Also quoted by Srinivasan, C. K. (*Marāthā Rule in the Carnatic* pp. 355-7). Also Venkataraman, K. R. *Pudukkōṭṭai State Manual* Vol. I pp. 422-6.

'reporting Five' in the presence of the parties, and either confirmed their decision or remanded the case for fresh trial and report. In 1813 were constituted the *Daṇḍa Sabhā* and the *Mudrita Sabhā* forming respectively a court of original criminal jurisdiction and a subordinate Civil Court, while the *Nyāya Sabhā* sat either as an original bench or as an appellate bench, the latter corresponding to the *Nyāyādīśa Sabhā* in Tanjore. Also in the matter of punishment for criminal offences there was a family resémblance. In both the States there are recorded instances of 'trial by ordeal' even in the 18th century.[4] The newly constituted courts did not perpetrate this barbarity. The usual punishments were whipping, fines, imprisonment and driving the offender round the streets mounted on a donkey and wearing a garland of *erukku* (*Calotropis gigantea*) flowers.[5] This system of judicial administration continued in Pudukkoṭṭai throughout the first half of the 19th century, practically as long as it did in Tanjore until its annexation. Commenting on this system, W. H. Bayley, the Resident, wrote in 1841 that he had 'no complaint against the proceedings of the law any more than the petty remarks which every man thinks himself entitled to make when the decree is against him.'

In the 18th century the land tenures in Tanjore were mostly *ryotwāri* (*ayan*), *inām* and *Zamīndāri*, while in Pudukoṭṭai they were chiefly *ayan* (*tīrvaipattu* or bearing money assessment) and *inām*. The wars of the century seriously affected seasonal agricultural operations, which brought about a sharp fall in the yield. To relieve distress the *Kuḍivāram* or the tenant's share was raised. All this affected the revenue in both the States. Tuljāji's able minister Ḍabīr Paṇḍit set about reforming the revenue administration. As an experimental measure he introduced the *amāni* tenure, according to which the crop was harvested under the superintendence of the officers of the Government, and the Government's share was collected in kind. Ḍabīr Paṇḍit's considered scheme was to call for the cultivators' own accounts of their produce for the preceding twelve years and base the rent on the average of this period, to be collected either in kind or money. This was known as the *Ḍabīr muri*. The *amāni* tenure being elastic inasmuch as the cultivator's share was not definitely fixed, both the Nawāb Muhammad Ali, who occupied Tanjore during the period 1773-6, and Tuljāji, after his restoration to the throne, preferred it, and

4. Cf. *Pudukkoṭṭai State Inscriptions No. 876*, and *M. E. R.*, p. 11, 1924.

5. *See.* Venkataraman, K. R.: *Pudukkoṭṭai State Manual.* Vol. I, pp. 423-6, and Vol. II—*History*, pp. 821 and 865.
Also Shelvankar: *Op. Cit.*

it did bring in increased revenues, though it led to a hundred abuses. About this time this system was introduced by the Toṇḍaiman also, and it continued in Pudukoṭṭai with minor changes brought about periodically until it was finally abolished by Sashiah Śāstri. The abuses were sought to be minimised by patched up reforms among which the proposals of the Political Agent J. B. Pennington and of Sar-i-khel Bhavānī Śankar Rao call for a passing observation. Bhavāni Śankar introduced a money settlement of *amāni* lands on the basis of a five year average of actual revenue. Pennington suggested a more equitable and scientific settlement, and the distribution of the existing revenue 'over the land in proportion to its productions.' The subsequent history of land tenure in Tanjore, Pudukoṭṭai and other districts where the *amāni* system was adopted is not germane to our present investigation.

About the year 1814, the accounts of the Pudukkoṭṭai State came to be kept in Marāṭhi, and consequently most of the offices, high and low, were filled by Marāṭhas. Executive orders, official minutes, notes of judicial proceedings and even State despatches were written in Marāṭhi.[6] After Tanjore was annexed, there was an exodus of Marāṭha officers into Pudukkoṭṭai, and they being men of experience and ability were easily absorbed in the State services. The preponderance of Marāṭhas in Pudukkoṭṭai State service was animadverted upon by Pennington in a report in 1875 in the following terms—'There are two subjects of universal complaint in Pudukkoṭṭai, the one is the *amāni* system (which, as has been said above, had by that time become corrupt and cumbersome) and the other is the paramount influence of the Marāṭha Brahmins, bound together by the closest ties of relationship and interest.' Already in 1858, the Madras Government had suggested to theToṇḍaimān the propriety of abolishing Marāṭhi accounts and substituting English figures. The Political Agent was directed to discontinue corresponding with the Rāja or his minister in Marāṭhi. The suggestion, however, took some years to implement.

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More than administrative policy, culture knit together the two states to their mutual benefit. The *Kañchī Kāmakoṭīpīṭham*, one of the monasteries established by Śrī Śankara, had, as its name implies, its seat in Kāñchi, but wars and political disturbances in the first half of the 18th century made the then *Āchārya* of the *maṭha* think of shifting to a more peaceful locality. Pratāp Singh (1739-63) invited the *Āchārya* to settle in Tanjore, which he did. The *Āchārya* preferred to live away

6. Prof. D. V. Potdar has examined several volumes of the Modi records in the Pudukkoṭṭai Durbār office,

from the capital, and finally established his seat in Kumbhakoṇam on the banks of the holy Kāverī, where Tuljāji and his minister Dabir Paṇḍit gave him all the facilities he required. The Toṇḍaimān accepted the Āchārya as his ***guru***, and until the merger of the state with Madras, the *Āchāryas* of this ***pīṭham*** were accorded royal honours and were paid ***kāṇikkai*** or tributes annually during important festivals. The 18th century witnessed the rise of a galaxy of Védāntins in Tanjore. Easily the foremost of them all was Sadāṣivendra, a native of the Tanjore State who sojourned in Pudukkoṭṭai and blessed Vijaya Raghunātha Rāya Toṇḍaimān. Many charities in Pudukkoṭṭai are associated with the name of Sadāśivendra. Gangādhara Makhi and his sons, Rāmabhadra Dīkshita, Bhāskara Dīkshita, Śrīdhara Veṅkaṭeśa, popularly called Ayyāvāḷ (the 'Venerable Ārya'), Krishṇānanda Sarasvatī and Rāmānanda Sarasvatī were some of the outstanding personalities of the time. Vijaya Raghunātha Rāya Toṇḍaimān adopted as his family guru Mahābhāshyam Gopālakrishṇa, one of the Tanjore galaxy; the descendants of the latter were hereditary *Rājagurus*. The Navarātri *sadas* (or assembly of scholars) held annually in Pudukkoṭṭai attracted scholars to that Court, particularly from Tanjore.

The Tanjore Marāṭha Rulers patronised Telugu scholars, and the Toṇḍaimāns did likewise. The history of the Toṇḍaimān family was written in Telugu by Venkaṇṇa and his son in two poems, the *Toṇḍaimān Vamśāvaḷi* and the *Toṇḍaimān Vijayamu*. The output of Tamil literature, particularly Tamil Poetry, in both the States included folk-songs extolling the valour of the Rulers or their generals, and dance plays called *Kuravañji*. A veritable monument of the cultural greatness of Tanjore is the famous *Sarasvatī Mahāl Library* founded by the Nāyaks and fostered by the Marāthas. It now boasts of more than 20,000 volumes including thousands of very rare manuscripts in many languages on a variety of subjects. Pudukkoṭṭai organised its *Sarasvatī Mahāl Library*, which was later attached to the Vēda Śāstra Pāṭhaśālā.[7]

Tanjore was the renowned repository of Karnāṭic music, and the Nāyaks and Marāṭhas were unstinting in their bounties to musicians. The *Saṅgīta Mahāl* in the Tanjore palace has marvellous acoustic properties. The Toṇḍaimāns vied with the Tanjore chiefs in honouring the masters of Karnāṭic music. Kavi Mātrubhūtamayya, Pallavi Gopālayyar and his disciple Pachamiriam Ādiyappa, Saint Tyāgarāja and Śyāmā Śāstri are among the celebrities of Tanjore whom the Toṇḍaimān invited to his Court.

With a fairly considerable Marāṭha population in the capital town of Pudukkoṭṭai it is no wonder that Marāṭhi was looked upon as the

7. After the merger of the State, the manuscripts of this library were removed to the Oriental Manuscript library in Madras.

language of culture for more than half a century. Successive Rulers learned the language, and Ramachandra Toṇḍaimān, a passionate lover of Marāṭhi, gathered round him a band of Marāthi scholars. *Bhajana* songs in Marāṭhi, such are sung in Paṇḍharpūr, *abhangs* and couplets in the *Ārya* metre are on the lips of every other musician in Pudukkoṭṭai. Harikathā recitals have for their themes the lives of Tukārām, Nāmdev and other Marāṭha saints. A Marāṭha *maṭha* enjoys State endowments, and its object is the propagation of Marāṭhi Harikathā and bhajana performances. Musicians from Tanjore, who settled in Pudukkoṭṭai, introduced North Indian musical instruments such as the *dōlak*, *suranda* and *svaragat*, and the time is not now far when there was in Pudukkoṭṭai, a coterie of Marāṭha adepts with a band of local disciples, skilled in playing these instruments.

Credit is rightly due to the Nāyaks and the Marāṭhas for fostering the arts and crafts for which Tanjore is famous. The specimens of delicate wood carving in some of the old palaces and houses of Pudukkoṭṭai show the hand of Tanjore artists and their local disciples. The Tanjore school of Painting has an individuality. The wall-paintings, and portraits on cloth, glass or wooden tablets are remarkable for their astonishingly delicate and even tints. The designs are from Purāṇic stories and sacred legends. The Brihadambā temple in Pudukkoṭṭai has a number of panels exhibiting paintings of this school. The portrait gallery in the Pudukkoṭṭai old Palace, which is represented by three schools - the Tanjore school, the Western school and the school of Raja Ravivarma, has nine portraits of Toṇḍaimān Rulers painted by artists of the Tanjore school, which like the portraits of the Marāṭha Rulers in the Tanjore palace gallery, have a special appeal to the art connoisseur for boldness of outline combined with delicacy of features and a pleasing colour effect.

Pudukkoṭṭai ran close with Tanjore in finding a home for the Marāṭhas in the Tamil country. There are still houses in Pudukkoṭṭai built by Marāṭha nobles and officers and a temple dedicated to Viṭhoba, and in the capital town still live Marāṭha families who carry in their manners an old world courtesy and affability coupled with shrewdness and a right sense of values. Long after the princes and administrators who flit across the political stage of Tanjore and Pudukkoṭṭai are forgotten, save on the pages of history, indeed for long ages to come will a grateful and admiring posterity cherish the noble cultural heritage common alike to the native Tamilian and the Māraṭha settler.

THE CHINESE ORIGIN OF THE WORD RICE

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Fowler and Fowler in *The Concise Oxford Dictionary*, give the origion of the word rice, from Ris in Old French, through the Italian Riso, again from the Latin Oryza and finally from the Greek Oruza. The Greek U is pronounced like Y in Latin so that Oruza and Oryza, appearing different in spelling, are pronounced alike. Thus Syria, which is pronounced See-riya, is spelled in Greek as Suria. Accordingly Oruza would be pronounced O-riza. Such a phonetic transliteration would greatly help tracing the real origin of the word inspite of its differnt spellings. Further, the other two names, Riso and Ris have their S expressed like Z which makes this pair akin to the Greek and Latin words. These four words would then be O-Rysa or O-Rueza, Rizo and Riz as actually heard. Assuming the Greek word to be the oldest of them all, the object is to find the source immediately preceding it. The same *Dictionary* states that Oruza is a loan-word in Greek from some Oriental source not traced so far. So much has been written on classical philology that if the historical method were at all applicable for solving such a problem we should have known by now what the missing root really is. Ancient writings pertain to objects of a very serious nature, chiefly to religious topics and national conquests. On the contrary, to deal with objects of common use was to invite ridicule, as when Aristophanes, in *The Frogs*, 959, accuses Euripides for "presenting common things with which we live and which we use." Thus the origin of cultural words cannot always be supported from past records. To remedy this defect a method has been introduced of guessing systematically (J. B. B. R. A. S., Oct. 1947), which gives some solution where none has been forthcoming so far. "This synthetic :method" is being applied here to show that the word rice can be traced to Chinese.

When we take the above mentioned words, Oryza, Oruza, Ris and Riso and add to them the Arabic name, in its simplest form as Ruz, we find that the sound Z is common to them all. It would be seen that the original Chinese designation actually contains it. Another observation, which has not been given the importance it deserves, is that in Portuguese rice is Arroz, while in Italian it is Riso. Of the two the Portuguese word is nearer the Latin Oryza where the suffix O can be assumed as having been modified into A of Arroz. Italians, as

descendants of the Romans, were expected, on the contrary, to have a word more akin to that of Latin while Riso is not. However it would be seen that the history of their words is entirely different. The Portuguese as well as the Spanish got their word probably late and after their contact with Moorish Arabs ; but Italians, much earlier, from the proletariate Chinese themselves.

Greece, as compared with Rome, is nearer Asia so that the former must have been the first to accept Oruza as a loan word. Going eastward, the cultural centre nearest to Greece, with which its people also came in contact, was Iran. B. Laufer in his *Sino-Iranica*, 1919, p. 372, discusses that rice was not grown in ancient Persia and that no word for it occurs in the Holy Avesta. The word is likewise absent in the Rig Veda and appears later only in classical Sanskrit. Laufer himself leaves the origin of the word rice to an open question. If the historical method be considered as the only one which can solve such a problem it would continue to remain so even in the future. Sir George Watt, in his *Commercial Produce of India*, 1908, p. 825, after consulting the best authorities on the subject, came to the conclusion that " inspite of the temptation to derive the Arabic Uruzz, Greek Oruza and European names Riso, Riz, etc. from the Tamil Arisi, modern philologists are agreed that they cannot be so derived ; but come from the old Persian word Virinza, the modern equivalent of which is Birinj." But we have just seen that the word for rice does not exist in ancient Indian or Iranian literature to which must also be added its absence in ancient Tamil.

Yule and Burnell, in their *Hobson Jobson*, published in 1903, p. 762, or five years before the above mentioned work of G. Watt, supply part of the information critically utilized by the latter. The former authorities mention that the "Tamil Arishi (meaning) rice deprived from husk, (has been) ascribed to a root Ari to separate ". This reminds me of a similar forced attempt to derive the Arabic word, Taun, meaning plague, from the root Taan, meaning nothing better than smitten. But what is more, Yule and Burnell mention, that " it is quite possible that Southern India was the original seat of rice cultivation" in support of a Tamil origin of the word rice traceable to Ari. On the contrary, Sir G. Watt disposes off this possibility by stating that " writers are agreed that the earliest mention of rice cultivation is connected with China where a ceremony was established in 2800 B. C. by Emperor Chin-Nung in which the sowing of five kinds of grain, one being rice, is the chief observance ". A distinction has to be made between rice as a cultivated crop and wild varieties of it from which grain is collected, much as bamboo seed, during times of scarcity. Just as there is no

special name for Bamboo seeds the so called genuine Indian names for rice all signify grain and have come to mean rice by mere usage. These words sound different to rice and the two series of names must not be confused. Condolle, as quoted by Watt, definitely says that "rice cultivation in India, though a valued crop since the classical period is (nevertheless) subsequent to that of China".—The sentence has been reconstructed although the wording remains the same.

There are many words which represent a part for the whole. For example, Bread, the main article of diet, means Food as in North India where Roti-Khana, to eat bread, means to take food. The contrary also occurs, although to a much lesser degree, where the whole represents the part, be it the major one. In Hebrew, the word Lahem, literally Food, has the current significance of Bread. E. Edersheim in *The Life and Times of Jesus, the Masiah*, Vol. II, p. 206 (1901), writes that "The Babylonian Jews were content to make a meal without meat... Bread was regarded as the mainstay of life without which no entertainment was considered as a meal. In a sense it constituted the meal, for the blessing was spoken over the bread and this was supposed to cover the rest of the food that followed". In common with Hebrew the word Lahem in Arabic also means food, but, by usage, it has come to signify Meat, being the main article of an Arab's meal. Thus Lahem, literally Food, means Bread to the Hebrew and Meat to the Arab. A parallel is found in Southern India where Food means rice. It is necessary to appreciate this point as more than one word for Food in Chinese has given rise to derivatives meaning rice to foreigners.

In the city of Hyderabad Telugu culture predominates with rice as the staple food. The more educated Andhras use the Sanskrit word Annam for cooked rice which originally means Food. The less literary classes prefer the Telugu word Bua which really means Food but in colloquial use has the restricted meaning of cooked rice. Comparable with Bua there is the Hindustani word Khana. In classical Urdu it means Food but in the local dialect of Hyderabad it conveys rice ready for eating. Amusing stories have been recorded up north where guests from Hyderabad were asked by their hosts if they had enjoyed their food. These were surprised to hear that no Khana or Food was given whereupon it was revealed that meals were served but without rice; for them there was no Food without Rice. In North India the word Chaval is exactly like rice and stands for both grain rice and cooked rice, while in Hyderabad, Chaval means merely the grocer's article. Comparable with the Hyderabadi word Chaval there is, in Telugu, Biyam which again means rice as grain. The origin of this word interests us here as it seems to be either Austric or Chinese. Pandit Suryanarayan Sastri of Amalapuram suggests that it is derived from Bijam, meaning seed.

J changes into Y so that Bijam becomes Biyam. Another origin is discussed in the following paragraph.

Giles, in his *Chinese English Dictionary*, character No. 3422, gives the word Fan. He translates it in the first instance as Cooked Rice and secondarily as Food, while I feel, the order should have been the reverse. Pronunciations of words in Mandarin or Classical Chinese were different before 600 A. D. According to B. Karlgren's *Analytic Chinese Dictionary*, Item No. 19, Fan was then pronounced as Biwan. His transliteration is difficult to reproduce here but it is quite easy to see how the short vowel W can be changed into Y and Biwan can be altered into Biyam. But it appears far more difficult to accept that Biwan can give rise to the modern Chinese word Fan. Phonetically these two words are poles apart and Fan must be looked upon not as a modification but as a substitution of Biwan. Incidentally I might record that changes not so obvious are all cases of substitution rather than of transformation. Even if Biwan is an Austric word it was reintroduced, along with rice from China and converted into Biyam in Telugu. That the word Biyam should occur only in Telugu is also explainable. The early navigators from India, visiting China, appear to be Andhras. In the island of Hainan, South China, the word for India is Kalinga, the ancient name for Andhra Desa, showing that the Telugu people were the earliest visitors to ancient China.

From a comparative study it can be established that words meaning food may connote the main article of diet, whatever that may be e. g. Lahem in Hebrew means bread, Khana in Hyderabadi-Urdu means rice and the same applies to Chinese where Biwan and Fan mean Food principally but cooked rice secondarily. In this sense let us examine another word for Food or Ssu, character No. 10294 in Giles. Like Fan Giles renders Ssu also first as rice and next as food generally. Food is more or less an abstract idea, best represented by the chief component in its concrete form. Thus we can say that what we know is food and what we see is rice, in the case of the Chinese as well as of the people of Hyderabad. This explains how European Sinologues translate Fan and Ssu as rice while they mean food to the Chinese. It would be apparent how the less initiated Greeks and Romans, as strangers to a diet of rice, erred in looking upon "the" Chinese food as rice. At least W. Lobscheid in his *English Chinese Dictionary*, p. 853 does correctly translate the word food, as Ssu, although he transliterates it as Sz instead. In Chinese the proper word for rice as grain, is Mi, character No. 7802. In the character Ssu this Mi is not incorporated showing definitely that Ssu means food and not rice. But just as Khana in Hyderabad means both food and a dish of rice

character Ssu has two different connotations; in one case it represents the word Shih, character No. 9971, meaning only food, in the other it means Ssu, with its double meaning, food first and: cooked rice afterwards. Along with the word Kan, character No. 5809 in Giles, he cites the term Kan-Fan, Fan, being character No. 3421, meaning food. Kan-Fan is translated as " dry food; food without gravy." The meaning becomes more intelligible if the Chinese phrase is tendered as " dry food, being rice without gravy." This term is the exact parallel of the Urdu word Khuska, the derivative of the adjective Khushk, or dry, which signifies plain boiled rice and means only plain cooked rice, a word more precise in its meaning than the more complimentary word Khana colloquially used instead. Comparing the Hyderabadi word Khana with the Chinese word Ssu we find that Khana means 1. to eat, 2. food, 3. cooked rice and Ssu as written character stands for two spoken words: 1. Ssu, No. 1024, cooked rice and food, and 2. Shih, No. 9971, to eat and food, so that altogether Ssu as written and Khana as spoken are identical with each other. Shih, on the contrary, corresponds with Khana as used in classical Urdu up north and means only food. While Fan and Ssu are both Food and cooked Rice, Shih is merely Food. Just as Biwan, a synonym of Fan, has given rise to the Telugu word for rice-grain or Biyam, Ssu, another synonym, has given birth to many derivatives meaning rice, both as grain and as cooked article of diet. Now these names for food, of Chinese origin have become in foreign languages words signifying rice. Ssu seems to be the main Chinese word with several derivations.

Giles gives the word Li, character No. 6958, which, as a written character, incorporates the radical Mi or rice grain, the type for grain in general. The phrase, Pu-Li-Ssu, has been translated by Giles rather freely as " Not a morsal to eat." A more accurate translation would be " Not a grain of food." The shorter term, Li-Ssu, would then mean a grain of food to the Chinese and a grain of rice to any foriegner.

Much has been written on the ancient silk route from China to Syria. The caravans started from the province of Nanking where the Ningpo dialect is spoken as it also happens to be the main silk growing area. A word meaning good in Chinese is "E," character No. 3315 in Giles. In Ningpo it is pronounced "Ou." Apparently it is the same adjective as O, in the Japanese phrase O-Ch'a, meaning Fine-Tea. According to the synthetic method if we coin the term E-Li-Ssu it would mean Fine-Grain-Rice as viewed by a foreigner. In the Ningpo dialect it would be pronounced Ou-Li-Zz and Ou-Li-Zih, for Ssu has two variations in Ningpo, Zz and Zih. These two forms may be noted as they are responsible for the different loan words of other languages. The middle word Li can easily become Ri while Zz, which is a mere sound, is best converted into the syllable Za. Thus

Ou-Li-Zz becomes O-Ri-Za which has given rise to the Greek word Oruza which is pronounced O-Rue-Za.

While the silk caravans passed north of Afghanistan its merchants have met the Chinese somewhere in Bokhara and directly heard the term Ou-Li-Zz, for fine rice. The Afghan word for rice is best transliterated as U-Ri-Zja. The first syllable is almost the same as in the Chinese original and better preserved than in the Greek word Oruza; Ou of the Chinese has become " U " in Pushto which appears to differ as tranliterated in Roman characters rather than in reality. The second syllable " Ri " is certainly nearer the Chinese original than is the case with the Greek word where U is the diphthong UE. The last syllable of the Pushto word Uri-Zja is an accented J as in the French word Journal. When Ou-Li-Zz is accentuated in all its three syllables it gives rise to the Afghan word which, on the whole, is so near the Chinese that it need not be considered as being derived through any other intermediary stage whether Greek or Persian. I have heard Afghans, born in Kabul, also pronounce the word as Vrizja or Wrizja, which means the first syllable was still more accentuated. When still further stressed V can become B which is a clearer sound and the loan word can become Briza, a rare form of the word, found in Greek. As compared with Oruza the word Briza appears to be an attempt at transliteration by the less educated Greeks who would tend to overstress the syllable. When there is no sound in a language comparable with the French J, the last syllable remained nearer the original " Zz " sound as in the Greek word Briza. It is evident that the Afghan Vrizja and the Greek Briza are very close to each other and the similarity is best explained by the common effect of overemphasizing the original term Ou-Li-Zz.

In certain phonetic constructions a nasal N is introduced: Thus my own name, Mahdi, is pronounced in North India by many, as Manhdi. Likewise Vrizja can take an N and become Vrinzja and as this represents a highly accented form V cannot remain at this stage and automatically becomes B so that the end word becomes Brinzja. A word saturated with overaccentuation is difficult to express and if we take such a hypothetical form and release the accent from the beginning, we get the Avesta form, Vrenja, from which the Persian Brinj is derived and from the end, then we have Briza, the Greek word already mentioned. Hitherto, the following modifications of Ou-Li-Zz have been discussed : O-Ru(e)-Za and O-Ry-Za (Greek and Latin) ; U-Ri-Zja, V-Ri-Zja (Afghan) ; B-Ri-Za (Greek) ; Ve-ReN-Dja (Avesta) ; B-Rin-Dj (Persian).

In Ningpo Ssu has another variation, Zih, so that there can also be a term Ou-Li-Zih. From this model can be derived U-Ri-Zih which, accented at the beginning, can become V-Ri-Zih. Now Z does change

into H; thus the Avesta word Zasta corresponds with Hasta of Sanskrit. Likewise Vri-Zih becomes Vri-Hih or Vrihi of Classical Sanskrit.

In the early days of trade between China and Syria relatively few merchants ventured on the long journey. As petty merchants they must have taken the best rice for their consumption or, if accompanied by a few servants, could have hardly separated them from their common diet. When the Romans paid fancy prices for silk its trade increased and the silk caravans became large enough to be accompanied by a retinue. It can be imagined that the bourgeois class ate fine rice while the proletariate consumed coarse rice. Even in India, to-day, in a large household, the servants take coarse and cheaper rice while their employers enjoy fine and better quality rice. There is a distinct term for such a coarse rice in Chinese which, in Ningpo, is pronounced Li-Zz. In the former term, Ou-Li-Zz, the middle word, Li, was character No. 6958 already discussed. In the term Li-Zz the word, Li, is character No. 6971, which Giles translates as "Coarse with respect to grain." But MacGillivray, in his *Chinese-English Dictionary*, p. 538, translates this term, Li-Ssu, as " Coarse food ; the refuse of pounded rice." Italians as descendants of the Roman proletariate inherited a designation which their ancestors heard from the Chinese proletariate while encamped in Syria. Just as there were two classes of personnel amongst the Chinese there were the Roman merchants and their servants and slaves and likewise two terms, Ou-Li-Zz and Li-Zz, where Li was written differently in each case. The upper class of Romans converted Ou-Li-Zz into O-Ry-Za while their lower one modified Li-Zz into Ri-Za or rather into Ri-Zo as an independent transliteration. This explains the presence of a vowel, like O, in the Roman and Greek Oryza and its absence in the Italian word Riso.

The Arabs got their quota of silk when they went to Syria where they also heard Ou-Li-Zz. This was written as O-R-Z and pronounced as Oruz; only the vowel " I " has been converted into a short " U." They must have also heard the proletariate term Li-Zz which has been Arabicized into R-Z or as Ruz comparable with the Italian Riso. The existence of these two words in Arabic is easily explained by the assumption that Arabs entered the silk trade rather late, by the time when the Chinese caravans were accompanied by a large retinue, comprising of upper and lower clssses of people and each using its own diet. These two words Oruz and Ruz must not be confused with the term Al-Ruz where the prefix " Al " means the definite article " the " in Arabic. Besides this term, Al-Ruz, there is the word O-Ruz which is the derivative of Ou-Li-Zz.

The Portuguese and Spanish term is Arroz, probably acquired by them after the Moorish conquest of Spain. This word can therefore be

conceived as a direct modification of the Arabic term Al-Ruz, pronounced as Arruz. All that has changed in Spanish and Portuguese is the Arabic vowel U giving place to O. Although Spanish is a close ally of the Italian there is a great difference in the history of their words for rice, which shows the absence of O or A in Italian and its presence in Portuguese and Spanish. The Portuguese and Spanish word would seem to be a much later acquisition than that of Italian, a fact open to historical confirmation.

South India also received its silk from China and it must be presumed from Ningpo, the nearest port to the region producing the best silk in China. The sailors who ventured on such voyages must have been very hardy people contented to consume coarse rice or Li-Zz. According to another variation, already discussed, the term can be also pronounced Li-Zih. This should have been modified into Tamil as Ri-Zih but in ancient Tamil, sibilants did not exist, so that the modification was Ri-Chi, which has subsequently Ri-Shi when sibilants were taken from Sanskrit. Further, R and L do not begin a word in Tamil and a vowel has to be prefixed. This makes Ri-Chi into A-Ri-Chi and gives the present name for rice, in Tamil, A-Ri-Shi or Arishi. It has been mentioned that Li, character No. 6971, means Coarse Food so that this word alone was quite connotative for rice. This Li becomes Ri and with A, as prefix, the final product becomes A-Ri or Ari in Malayalam. L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar has an article, entitled "Tamil Arishi and Greek Oruzon" in the *Indian Antiquary*; 1930, Vol. 59, pp. 178–81, which supports the view discussed by Yule and Burnell and thus radically differs from the one presented here.

Prof. Gode of Poona has published a very informative article on three varieties of rice in ancient Bihar in the New *Indian Antiquary*, 1944, Vol. 6, p. 265. Rakta-Shali is red rice, for Rakta means red. It is evident that only rice as grain can be meant by such a term. Maha-Shali is apparently a better kind of rice than the former, while Deva-Shali, the best of the three. The word Shali has no root in Sanskrit which suggests its being a loan word. Taking rice to have been imported along with silk we get the Ningpo term, Li-Zz, which has also given Tamil its word for rice. While Rice, as food or Grain-Food, would be Li-Zz, the reverse or Zz-Li would signify Food-Grain or Edible-Grain. Even a cursory consideration would indicate that the term Li-Zz, meaning Coarse Food and Ou-Li-Zz meaning Fine-Grain-Food, would correspond with, what is also the case in India, Mota-Chaval and Barik-Chaval, Ordinary-rice and Table-rice, as they may be rendered in English. But Zz-Li means grain and this can have at least three varieties if not many more. The word Shali, in the three terms, Rakta-Shali, Maha-Shali and Deva-Shali, has now to be considered,

The sound Z does not exist in Sanskrit and therefore the sound, Zz of Zz-Li, was first converted into the syllable Za which was pronounced as Sha, being the nearest approach to the original sound. Li remained unaltered so that Zz-Li became Sha-Li.

There are various words for rice in different languages of India, Tandul in Marathi being one of them. Tandul, at least, means grain and no more. By usage it has come to specify rice. Just as there is no word for Bamboo-seed there is no proper word for rice in India.

For some information incorporated here I am obliged to Prof. Shnkaran and Mr. Ganesh Sundaram of Poona, who are Tamil scholars and to Dr. Unwala of Bombay, the Avesta scholar.

SUMMARY

Rice was first cultivated in China. The merchants who brought silk from China also took rice with them. The province exporting the best silk uses the Ningpo dialect. The Ningpo term Ou-Li-Zz means Good-Grain-Food. It signifies a dish of fine cooked rice as the staple Chinese food. What was food for the Chinese was rice to the uninitiated foreigners. Ou-Li-Zz became O-Ri-Za or Oryza in Latin, as an example. When Imperial Rome paid fancy prices for silk, the caravans that brought silk from China increased and the retinue now comprised of a large proletariate class which took coarse rice as food for which there is a different term Li-Zz, where Li is written differently. Li-Zz, coarse food, was seen most by the Roman proletariate class which, as parents of the Italians, gave rise to the modification Ri-Zo, written as Riso. Arabs who came later into contact with the Chinese caravans halting in Syria acquired both, the terms Ou-Li-Zz and Li-Zz and there are consequently two Arabic forms O-Ruz and Ruz. Spanish is very closely related to Italian yet the word for rice in the former language is Arroz which is apparently taken from Arabic after the Moorish conquest of Spain.

Ou-Li-Zz in the Afghan language became Ou-Ri-Zja and further accentuated into V-Ri-Zja. In some phonetic constructions N is added, when Vrizja can become Vri-Nzja. From such a hypothetical word have been derived Vrindja in Avesta and later Brindj in Persian ; also Briza in Greek in addition to its Oruza.

According to another variation in Ningpo the term Li-Zz can be pronounced Li-Zih. Sibilants are absent in ancient Tamil hence Li-Zih became Ri-Chi and later Ri-Shi. Li, of the term Li-Zih, means coarse food and in itself is connotative enough. This Li became Ri. Now in Tamil and Malayalam words with R take a prefix like A so that Ri-Shi became A-Ri-Shi in Tamil and Ri became A-Ri in Malayalam.

If Li-Zz means Grain-Food, Zz-Li means Food-Grain, and Grain as such can be subdivided into varieties. Zz-Li became Sha-Li as there is no Z sound in Sanskrit. Almost all words for rice are traceable to Chinese terms meaning food.

THE ṚGVEDIC ṚṢIS

VIŚVĀMITRA AND KUŚIKA

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Viśvāmitra is the reputed author of the Third *Maṇḍala* of the Ṛgveda. How far this claim is sustainable is more than doubtful. Take, for instance, the *sūkta* 43 of this very *Maṇḍala*. Viśvāmitra is said to be the *Ṛṣi* of this *sūkta*. In the 5th *mantra* of this *sūkta* the author, whoever he may be, exhorts Indra to make him the leader of men, to make him a king, a *Ṛṣi* etc.; and this, in spite of his confession that he is कुवित्—an ignorant fellow. Does this description in any way correspond with the attributes with which the popular Viśvāmitra is credited ? Viśvāmitra, as we know him, was both a *Ṛṣi* and a *Kṣatriya* and, therefore, the protector of people. He was certainly not a कुवित्. It seems the author of this verse—provided it is detached from its present context—was some one poor and ignorant, who aspired to be rich, to command people and to be admitted to the sacrificial session, so that he may drink *soma* there to his heart's content (पपिवांसं सुतस्य).

Similarly, the last verse of the same *sūkta* is a puzzle. Here the Mitrāvaruṇa, being praised by Jamadagni, are requested to take their seats on the sacrificial altar for drinking *soma*. It appears as though Jamadagni is the composer of this *Ṛk* and it is his sacrifice. The Viśvāmitras do not seem to have any concern therein. Or, are we to suppose that Viśvāmitra and Jamadagni were joint worshippers ? This assumption cannot be ruled out as untenable in view of 10-167-4, where Jamadagni is bracketed with Viśvāmitra and both are jointly addressed by the author of the hymn. The alleged authorship of the *sūktas*, therefore, seems to be of a doubtful character.

The names of Viśvāmitra and Kuśika, few as they are, are to be found mainly in the 3rd *Maṇḍala*. The word Viśvāmitra occurs six times in this *Maṇḍala* and *Kuśika* eight times. Outside this *Maṇḍala* Viśvāmitra is mentioned twice in the 10th *Maṇḍala* ; whereas Kuśika as such is not found anywhere else, though we find Kauśika mentioned in the 1st *Maṇḍala*. Thus in the whole of the Ṛgveda Viśvāmitra figures specifically in eight places and Kuśika (including Kauśika) in nine. In the majority of cases the plural number is used, as for instance विश्वामित्राः, × विश्वामित्रेभिः, × विश्वामित्रेषु, × कुशिकासः, × कुशिकेभिः, × कुशिकाः. It is note-worthy that Kuśika in the singular is nowhere used save in 3-33-5, where the expression is कुशिकस्य सूनुः ; like-wise, the alternative nominative plural form of विश्वामित्र, viz. विश्वामित्रासः is not to be found anywhere.

The name Viśvāmitra, as was customary in the Ṛgvedic times, had become cognominal. Otherwise the nominative plural form विश्वामित्राः cannot be satisfactorily explained. Such a use pretty nearly precludes the possibility of the original or first *Viśvāmitra* being alive when the hymns were sung. It is true that there is a reference, as already observed, to the son of Kuśika by which, according to Sāyaṇa, Viśvāmitra is meant. But it is equally possible that Kuśika's son was Kuśika or Kauśika as in 1-10-11. Surely we do not get any positive evidence in the Ṛgveda to say that Viśvāmitra was the son of Kuśika. The parallel use of Viśvāmitras and Kuśikas, on the contrary, negatives any such assumption. If, however, we understand the reference to 'Kuśika's son' to mean the first ancestor of Viśvāmitras then the inference is forced upon us that Viśvāmitra—the son of Kuśika—separated from his father and founded a separate dynasty. We cannot conceive a possible reason for this,—certainly no angry contest. For, it is arguable on the strength of 3-53-9 that Kuśikas and Viśvāmitras were on friendly terms. This verse informs us that Indra endeared himself to the Kuśikas when Viśvāmitra carried Sudās safely across the river. This affords sufficient evidence to prove intimate relations between Kuśikas and Viśvāmitras, if not their identity. Nevertheless, if we read 3-53-9, 10, 11 together they can rationally enough support the prevailing belief that Kuśikas and Viśvāmitras are identical. For, it is worth remarking that Viśvāmitra and Kuśikas are described by three identical epithets, viz. *vipra*, *ṛṣi*, and *nṛcakṣasaḥ*. Likewise, Kuśikas are exhorted to let loose the sacrificial horse of Sudās and we know that the latter was helped by Viśvāmitra in passing to the other side of the river which was in spate.

Again, 3-1-21 and 3-26-3 are of a similar import. The same Agni is kindled and worshipped from generation to generation both by the Kuśikas and the Viśvāmitras. The words used in 3-26-3 are युगे युगे (in every *yuga*) while those used in the former are जन्मं जन्मन्, which I translate 'in every generation.' Sāyaṇa takes the expression to mean मनुष्येषु (amongst men). Though the fire was ancient it was kindled in every home separately (3-1-20, 21). This leads to the inference that Viśvāmitras and Kuśikas were living in separate houses in family groups. See also 3-29-15, where the words are एकएकः referring to the worshippers.

There is nothing in the Ṛgveda which countenances the widely held view that Viśvāmitra was a *Kṣatriya*. On the other hand Kuśikas are styled as *vipra* and *ṛṣi* (3-30-20 ; 3-53-10). So also in 3-33-6 the addressee, who is supposed to be Viśvāmitra, is designated as *vipra* though it must be conceded that *vipra* does not necessarily mean a *Brāhmaṇa*. Contrast with this 3-43-5 to which allusion has been made at the outset.

It is said in 3-29-15 that Kuśikas were first-born (प्रथमजाः). What precisely this statement signifies is more than one can guess. Sāyaṇa understands that they were born before *Brahmā*—the creator of the universe. This, however, makes no sense. For, it is immediately stated that they knew the whole world. It is not possible for the Kuśikas to know the universe before it was created. I prefer to take ब्रह्मणः as genitive case going with विश्वम्. They knew the universe of *Brahmā*, because they were प्रथमजाः (first-born). I think it is a poetic language and may convey an idea that the Kuśikas were the first tribe to arrive on the Indian soil; or that they were the oldest amongst all the *ṛṣis*. Detached study like this would not enable us to answer such questions satisfactorily.

Like Sudās the Bharatas seem to be closely allied to the Viśvāmitras. The poet explains that his hymn protects the भारतं जनम् (the people of Bharata) (3-53-12). Here the *ṛṣi* is Viśvāmitra himself. The sons of Bharata are again referred to in 3-53-24. Sāyaṇa understands them to be the Viśvāmitras. We do not, however, get any corroboration of this from the Ṛgvedic text. Elsewhere (7-33-6) Bharatas-are identified by Sāyaṇa with तृत्सुs (तृत्सूनामेव राज्ञां भरता इति नामान्तरेणोपादानम्). If Sāyaṇa is correct Viśvāmitras must be taken to have been known by several names such as Kauśikas, Bharatas and Tṛtsus.

It seems Viśvāmitras had a rich inheritance of ancestral names. Besides the aforesaid appellations they were recognized as गाथिनाः (Gāthināḥ). This we learn from the ऐतरेय ब्राह्मण (7-18). We do not find a trace of it, however, in the Ṛgveda except that authorship of some of the *Sūktas* of the 3rd *Maṇḍala* is ascribed to गाथिन् by tradition. The word is written both as गाथिन् and गाधिन as in the ऐ. ब्रा. and later on as गाधि in the Purāṇas. Sāyaṇa in ऐ. ब्रा. says गाथिन was the name of Viśvāmitra's father. Therefore गाथिनाः means विश्वामित्राः. ऐ. ब्राह्मण further identifies *Gāthināḥ* with *Kuśikāḥ*. All this is utterly perplexing.

There is a hymn (3-53-7) which invites our attention. It speaks of a sacrifice in which others have participated along with Viśvāmitra. The singer prays, "These Bhojas and Aṅgirasas may bestow wealth and long life on Viṣvāmitra." The word इमे (these) points to their presence at the sacrifice and they are requested like gods—human beings though they are—to give Viśvāmitra wealth and health. The sacrifice was a horse-sacrifice which is indicated by the word '*sahasrā-sava.*' Aśvamedha lasts for a year and, taking into account the usual three *savanas* (extracting *soma* juice and drinking the same) per day the number one thousand (*sāvas*) can be appropriately accounted for. It is hard to state with any degree of certainty what part Viśvāmitra performed in this sacrifice. It is obvious the donors were *Bhojas* and *Aṅgirasas*.

Ṛgveda is in parts poetry. The 33rd *sūkta* of the 3rd *Maṇḍala* can be cited in proof of it. It purports to record a conversation between the rivers (Vipaś and Śatudri) and what is highly probable—Visvāmitra. The rivers are besought to sink a little in order to make way for the carts of Viśvāmitra, Sudās, or Bharatas who desired to go over to the other side for *soma* drink. The poet displays high imaginative powers.

Indra seems to be the favourite god of the Viśvāmitras and Kuśikas, since all their hymns are addressed to him save only five which are addressed to Agni.

The two hymns, viz. 3-53—23, 24 are rather unintelligible provided we leave aside the information traditionally supplied by extra-Ṛgvedic literature. There is no overt reference to Vasiṣṭha and his unfriendly relations with Viśvāmitra much less to the alleged notorious feuds between the two. It is quite probable that the hymns mentioning the inveterate enmity between—these two celebrated Vedic *ṛṣis*—are lost to us. But even assuming that the story has an authentic origin, the question to which Viśvāmitra or Vasiṣṭha it relates remains indecisive. We are apt to take wherever these two names occur, the original ancestors who transmitted their own names to their sons and grandsons,—a fact which has occasioned not a little confusion in later literature.

AFGHANISTAN AS A FACTOR IN INDIA'S DEFENCE

DR. BISHESHWAR PRASAD

"It is now our policy to keep Afghanistan intact and undivided and make use of her as a great buffer state in the defence of our valuable possession, India." (Gervais Lyons).

Traditionally India has been vulnerable to foreign incursions on her north-west frontier. From times immemorial, migrating hordes of Central Asia have sought passage through Afghanistan to settle in the rich plains of India. Beginning from Alexander of Macedon, twenty-one invaders have been counted to have brought their armies into this country from the north-west. And with the extension of their dominion in India up to the Indus in the nineteenth century, constant dread of another invasion from that direction was entertained by the British rulers. Alexander's march through Afghanistan compelled the first major imperial dynasty of Magadha to embrace the lands up to the Hindu-Kush within its territories and to have friendly relations with the rulers beyond. Danger not reviving for many centuries, Indian rulers neglected to guard the gates, though the existence of none too weak principalities in Kabul and Kandahar in the early medieval times was a guarantee of the security of Indian plains. In the eleventh century begins again the process of invasions, Afghans, Mongols, Turks and Persians; but except for the Mongol raids which passed off as the flight of locusts, all other invading forces had their base in Afghanistan which had been brought under their sway. Babar fully realised the importance of Afghanistan for the security of India and his successors did not fail to hold it with a firm hand. That accounts for the absence of trouble in that most vulnerable region till the hand that held the sceptre in Delhi became feeble again. The invasions of Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah Abdali and his son in the eighteenth century brought home the realisation of danger; but the threat had come from Kabul itself.

It will be clear from this brief sketch that India's security in the past had been menaced from the north-west by the fact either of neglecting to fortify the defences of Afghanistan or by failing to have friendly rulers on the throne of Kabul. The existence of a strong unfriendly government there was a danger to the peace of India, as the presence of a weak, unsupported government was a temptation to the invading hordes beyond the Hindu-Kush. These truths were not lost upon the British governors in India when in the nineteenth century

they were brought face to face with the problem of India's safety in the north-west.

Napoleon's ambitions of eastern conquest and his shortlived pact of Tilsit with the Czar frightened the British into seeking the good offices of the Shah of Persia and the Amir of Kabul to block the roads leading into India. Here was the beginning of a British Central Asian policy which with the passage of time more and more hinged on converting Afghanistan into a subordinate ally. The danger from France was soon eliminated, but the bogey of Russian invasion has haunted the British Chanceries like a nightmare since then. In the earlier years Russian activities in the Caucasus indicated the direction of her march through northern Persia to Herat and thence to India. Herat was then termed the "key to the gate of India" and control over Kabul Government was deemed essential to keep hold of the key. In later years, however, Russia spread over the whole of Central Asia dominating the northern reaches of her Oxus. Caspian and Ferghana regions became the bases of her further advance. Herat, Kandahar and Kabul equally became important for the defence of India, for it was the high wall of the Hindu-Kush which could keep the "octopus" away. To keep Russian armies distant from the frontiers of India and to prevent the Czarist influence from being established near the Indian outposts, it was essential to maintain friendly British influence in Kabul, either by making the Amir a subordinate ally or by breaking him and dominating his country up to the Hindu-Kush. The exigencies of the defence of India against their Imperialistic rival, Russia, swayed the destinies of Afghanistan and determined the British frontier policy in India.

That the danger was not merely imaginary will be evident from an examination of the topography of the intervening region and the routes leading into India from beyond the Hindu-Kush. In the nineteenth century Russia had by rapid movements extended her possessions from the Caspian Sea in the west to the mountains of Tian Shan in the east, her boundaries running parallel with those of the Chinese Empire. The southern-most limit of this mass of territory extended along a line formed by the Atrek river, Sarakhs, Kushk, Andkhui, the Oxus and Pamirs. To the south-west of it lay the tableland of Khorasan, Seistan in eastern Persia and Baluchistan, a region inhospitable for any invading armies. To the southeast of it lay the highland of Kashgar which is separated from India by a range of high mountains barring entry to the unfriendly forces. Undeveloped routes on either side, though negotiable by trade caravans, have remained unsuitable for military movement. Hence defence could always ignore the approaches other than those in the central region which is covered by Afghanistan, which

also is dominated by the Hindu-Kush on its northern frontier. The Hindu-Kush is a "barrier of high mountains, 650 miles in length and 24 to 120 miles in breadth as far as the Hajigak Pass from which Pass westwards it is 180 to 240 miles broad". To the east the Hindu-Kush merges into the high Pamirs flanked by the great Himalayas with their average altitude of 20,000 feet. The Hindu-Kush cuts all lines of communication from Central Asia to the Indus. " The severe climate, lack of resources, want of roads, height of the passes and width of the system render the employment of large forces extremely difficult" and limited in the past the movement to four directions: —

"(a) The route from the valleys of Balkh and Khulm through the Bamian and Hajigak Passes and on to Kabul, via the Unai Pass.

"(b) The route from Kushk over Hazrat-i-Baba Pass, Herat, the Shahbed-Sarai Pass, Sabzawar, Farah to Kandahar.

" (c) The Ferghana route by the passes Baroghil, Dorah or Nuksan on Gilgit or Chitral, with Faizabad and Kuleb as bases.

" (d) A route alternative to (a) from Merv to Herat and across Northern Afghanistan to Kabul".

Out of these four routes, the one leading from Ferghana through Badakhshan to Chitral was not believed by the British to be practicable for large armies owing to the high altitudes to be traversed and the undeveloped line of communications. The other three converged either on Kabul or Kandahar and were believed to be feasible for invading armies.

Controversy has raged on the possibility of a Russian invasion of India and opinion has been divided on the practicability of these routes for a modern army as well as on the military resources of Russia in Central Asia which she could hurl against India. Optimism has alternated with pessimism and sentiment and dogma have affected dispassionate and factual analysis of this question. Some have magnified the difficulties of the lines of communication and taken shelter behind the illusionary complacence that Russian forces even if they succeeded in traversing the desolate gap between the two Empires by way of Herat, Farah and Kandahar, would have been so completely decimated by terrain and the hounding tribesmen that no more than a small rabble would be left to counter the mighty arm of the British on the Khyber-Bolan line or the Indus river. Others have taken pains to show that the Herat-Kandahar-Bolan route is easily negotiable for wheeled traffic, the terrain is capable of railway construction and the Helmand Valley is a granary which can maintain a large force. They consider Herat as the main gate which once pierced, the flood of invasion would sweep unhindered and deluge the defences of India.

With the construction of the Caspian railway from Krasnovodsk to Merv and extension to Kushk Post, and its connection with the Central Asian railway connecting Termez, the distance which divided the Afghan frontier from the Russian bases was eliminated. The danger to Herat on one side and the possibility of an approach on the Hindu-Kush on the other, whether towards Kabul or through Faizabad to Chitral came to be practical realities. In latter years with the advance of science, the desert and the mountain could not remain impassable barriers as they were in early days. Thus a group of publicists and strategists have not without reason believed in the pregnability of the Indian frontiers through Afghanistan, more particularly by the Herat-Kandahar route. Similarly, as regards the Russian military potential, there have been conflicting views. Boulger in 1879 pointed out that while Russia could not release more than thirty thousand men from her bases in Tashkant-Feghana area, she could easily assemble a force of one hundred fifty thousand in her Trans-Caspian regions and maintain it on the Herat line. The problem was not so much of manpower as of maintenance of the forces on a long, inhospitable and possibly hostile line of communications. With the development of railways and roads and the exploitation of water transport, the difficulties were greatly resolved in the area up to the Oxus. Yet the problems of administration remained no less acute in Afghanistan, if she did not align herself with the invader.

Thus among the militarists in the nineteenth century two groups were formed, one exaggerating the difficulties of the route and thereby discounting the prospects of invasion, the other conveniently making light of them and for ulterior motives raising the ghost of Russian invasion. While the one, therefore, was prepared to make a stand on the Indus or the mountain ridge that divided India from Afghanistan on this side of the mighty passes, the other would advance to meet the enemy at the gate of Herat or beyond the Hindu-Kush in the plains of the Oxus. For one the defensible frontier was the Indus, while for the other the scientific frontier was the Hindu-Kush. This diversity of opinion arising out of the difference in their strategic outlook affected the whole course of diplomacy towards Afghanistan and influenced the policy of defence which hinged on the attitude of the Afghan rulers towards India. The practicability or otherwise of the rampart of the Hindu-Kush and the necessity of offering resistance to hostile forces at Herat have made Afghanistan an important factor in the defence of India.

Whatever be the strategic line of resistance, it was essential that no hostile influence should preponderate in Kabul, for once the Russians were established there the base of operations would shift from beyond the Oxus to the neighbourhood of the frontiers of India. Britain would

then be compelled to maintain considerable forces in the North-West Frontier, financially a serious drain. Close vicinity of Russia was also dangerous for the political stability of their rule. All these considerations prompted the policy that the Afghan ruler should be friendly and amenable to British influence. From Bentinck to Curzon, every Governor-General cherished the same policy but difference arose in the method of achieving it or in the extent of control to be exercised. Essential motive was the protection of Herat—Hindu-Kush frontier which one group desired to secure by leaving the Amir to himself while the other was prepared, if possible, to locate British military outposts, and construct roads, railways and telegraphs either by coaxing and subsidising the Amir or breaking him into submission. Two wars and considerable diplomacy were employed to secure this end.

British diplomacy was late in realising the importance of Afghanistan for the defence of India and in the early years of the nineteenth century concentrated on Persian friendship. It was natural too, for, firstly any danger from Russia at that stage could be apprehended merely through the Caucasus ; and secondly, Herat was then a separate state balancing itself between Persia and Afghanistan. The gradual drift of Teheran towards Russsia and the Shah's ambition to acquire Herat, allied with the inability of Herat to subsist as an independent state for long, directed British attention towards Kabul and made Afghanistan a vital factor in the protection of the frontiers of India. It was left to Auckland to initiate a definite positive policy thereabout. The basic conception underlying his policy was sound ; for, a friendly Amir strengthened by British support could be a guarantee against hostile encroachments in that direction. But his implementation of it was unwise, impolitic and inappropriate. The choice of his instrument was injudicious and governed more by sentiment than reason. The result could not be otherwise, and for many years not only was there a lacunae but the lessons of the war long cast their shadow on subsequent policy.

Circumstances made Lawrence the architect of the new policy which held sway for more than twenty years in mid-century. European complications with Russia leading to the Crimean War, and the renewed Persian ambitions against Herat and Kandahar, egged on by Russian intrigues, compelled the Government of India to reinitiate a policy of friendly approach towards Kabul. Lawrence, as the man responsible for the governance of the frontiers of India, became the chief agent for its implementation. The Treaty of 1855 ensuring friendship between India and Afghanistan, guaranteeing the territories of the Amir of Kabul and postulating an attitude of non-intervention in the domestic affairs of Kabul, was signed by Lawrence. It was a right step which if

rationally followed, would have brought lasting peace and positive security to the borders of India. But neither Lawrence nor his immediate successors, nor even the Liberal Government in England could adjust their policy to the changing situation. In the fifties, Russian dominions were far distant from the frontiers of Afghanistan and the steamroller of Russian imperialism had not yet started on its way to crush the feudal medieval Khanates of Khokand, Bokhara and Khiva. By the end of the sixties, Russia had subordinated the rulers of Khokand and Bokhara and the frontiers of the Czarist Empire infringed on the northern borders of Afghanistan. The seventies saw the annihilation of the independence of Khiva, occupation of Merv and the extention of the Russian Empire from the Caspian Sea to the confines of China. The boundaries of this vast Empire ran parallel with those of Afghanistan throughout their southern length, and strong military bases, effective means of communication and huge armies were developing in close vicinity to Herat or Kabul and thus were threatening the security and integrity of the Kingdom of Kabul. It was natural in these circumstances for Amir Sher Ali to entertain fears of the designs of Russia and to seek positive assurances of help from his ally, the Government of India. These fears were no nightmares, but real, concrete dangers to which Afghanistan at the moment was exposed. But Lawrence in his shortsightedness could not appreciate the situation, hence Mayo and Northbrook or the British Government of which he was the adviser failed to react to the necessities of the altered circumstances and were responsible for a war which was both unnecessary and inopportune.

The need of the moment was to strengthen the Kabul Government by effective agreements of concrete support. Sher Ali desired money, arms, and guarantee for his dynasty and territories. These given, even in moderate dosage, would have restored his confidence and reassured him of the *bona fides* of British friendship. He had no faith in vague promises whose renewed elucidation exploded their very substance. But the British Government influenced by Lawrence's dogmatic, out-of-date wisdom, refused to see beyond their nose and failed to retain the loyalty of the Amir. Sher Ali could not long endure the existing state of uncertainty and failing to achieve the loyal and positive co-operation of the British was prepared to purchase his security by reluctantly turning to Russia. Yet there is no evidence to denote his definite truck with Tashkand. Lytton and his conservative employers wanted to retrieve the situation, but while the Viceroy's conception of Scientific Frontier was not unsound, his brusque manner, uncompromising prejudice against Sher Ali and inveterate insistence on the posting of a British Resident in Kabul and agents elsewhere hurled him into a most uncalled for war which demolished the prospects of achieving the

Scientific Frontier. If Russia was the danger and if India's borders had to be permanently ensured against encroachment, then the only sound line of defence could be that of Herat, Balkh, Mainna etc. on the Oxus, beyond the Hindu-Kush. But direct manning of these outposts by British-Indian troops and complete subordination of the Kabul Government by having a super-ruler in the person of the Resident there, were not the only means available for securing the object. Lytton, a die-hard imperialist as he was, was intent on making Afghanistan a feudatory state, and therefore was unable to win the confidence of Sher Ali and enter into an equal and peaceful agreement of mutual defence of the Scientific Frontier. Undeniably his analysis of such a frontier and his comprehension of strategy and means of defence were an important contribution to the understanding of this problem. But his method of implementation was unsound, and his resort to war was positively unnecessary and injurious.

The settlement with Amir Abdur Rahman though appropriate at the time, did not go far enough. Yet it led to peace for long, and to the building up of a sound edifice of friendship between India and Afghanistan. The Declaration of 1882 had subordinated the foreign relations of the Amir to the wishes and dictates of the Government of India, but there was no clarification about the means by which in a crisis the Government of India could either render support to the Amir, or institute military measures to stem the advance of Russian encroachment. In the period up to the rise of Amanullah, the successive Viceroys in India had tried to secure the elucidation of these, but had failed to get any recognition of their right to send troops or build lines of communication to the Oxus frontier or to adopt any positive measures to check the Russian armies beyond the Oxus. All these years, however, schemes of the defence of India hinged on the security of the northern frontiers of Afghanistan. As Russia could threaten the security of India, through Afghanistan, the protection of that country had become a positive policy of all strategic action by India. And as long as ever, any danger is expected from the north-west, the same policy would have to prevail. Friendship between India and Afghanistan, depending on the integrity of their interests of defence, is an essential element in the security of India and of her most exposed frontiers.

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NASAR-UD-DIN KHUSRU SHAH

PRINCIPAL SRI RAM SHARMA

One of the enigmas of medieval Indian history centres round Nasar-ud-Din Khusru. His origins cannot be easily determined, his earlier career is unknown, the nature and the extent of the revolution which his accession to the throne brought about is shrouded in mystery. It is time an attempt was made to state the questions that arise in this connection, even though it may not always be possible to get all the answers.

Till recently it was customary to dismiss the whole episode as the story of 'a wretch' who had bewitched Mubarak and thereby succeeded ultimately in desecrating the throne of Delhi by occupying it.[1] The earliest published account we had, was that of Barni. It was added to and embellished later on by Badayuni, Bakshi Nizam-ud-Din and Firishta. Elliot's translation provided the last stick that broke the camel's back.

Khusru was described as a Parwari (scavenger) from Gujarat enslaved and converted to Islam during Ala-ud-Din's reign.[2] He could have been brought to the Court between 1299 and 1306 A. D., the dates of the two invasions of Gujarat. The next we hear of him is of conducting the government of the country as Prime Minister of Mubarak and successfully leading the royal armies in the south. When we come to the end of Mubarak's reign Khusru changes colour and becomes 'a vile wretch' till he ultimately ascends the throne. Then he becomes some thing still more sinister till Ghias-ud-Din Tughlaq defeats him and has him killed.

As it was, this account left two things unexplained. How was it that a beautiful young man with his comely face alone to recommend him to his master carried on successfully the burden of administration during Mubarak's reign? Even if we dismiss Barni's statement that there was neither rebellion, nor Mughal invasions, nor famine nor floods to trouble the people during Mubarak's reign as too sweeping a generalization, the fact remains that whatever disturbances there were in the country Mubarak was easily successful in putting an end

1. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, 120.
2. *Ibid*.

to them. It is a great tribute to Khusru's talents that Mubarak was able to keep the entire south under him besides the whole of northern India. Not a square inch of territory did he lose to any aspiring rebel. If anything, he riveted Delhi's authority all the more firmly in Gujarat, Maharashtra and the south. When we remember that Mubarak demolished in its entirety the all too comprehensive totalitarian government of Ala-ud-Din, Mubarak's-or Khusru's-success in keeping peace in the country was a great achievement, all the more so if we believe Barni who describes Mubarak as a licentious youth entirely given to pleasure.

Khusru's accession to the throne cannot be dismissed simply as an unwelcome interlude which was soon over. If he had only brother 'Parwaris' to support him on the throne of Delhi, he could not have ascended it, let alone occupy it for five months.—or a year and five months according to certain accounts.

Luckily some new material is now available—it has in fact been available for several years past—to enable us to reconstruct the story. The publication of the text of *Taghlaq Nama* of Khusru, the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* of Yahya, and the *Futuh-us-Salatin* of Isami helps us now in evaluating earlier authorities better and fill some, at least, of the gaps left in the story as told so far.

Khusru was by origin a Hindu enslaved during the military expeditions of Ala-ud-Din's reign in Malwa.[3] His original home seems to have been in Gujarat. He was Baradau, Parau, Parwar, or Parwari by caste. The original Hindu designation seems to have become a victim of the Arabic script. But Baradau in *Khusru's Tughlaq Nama* seems to be the nearest approximation. Isami describes him as a Paran.[4] Baradaus were no unclean pariahs whose touch was defiling to the sanctimonious Hindus of the day.[5] No Persian authority describes this caste as unclean. On the contrary Amir Khusru describes Khusru and his fellow castemen as belonging to a tribe that was usually employed by princes as their body-guard and was known both for its devotion to princes and its bravery.[6] Firishta describes him as a wrestler from Gujarat.[7] Khusru's original name is unknown; but he was named Hasan on his conversion to Islam. He served under Malik Shadi, deputy Hajib of Ala-ud-Din's armies. He was a beautiful young man by all accounts. We know nothing of the office he held at the time of Malik Kafur's death. One authority describes him as a door-keeper or a watchman.[8] This term, however, seems to

3. *Tarikh-i-Mubarak-Shahi*, 86.
4. Isami, 362. 5. *C. H. I*, III, 120.
6. *Tughlaq Nama*, 19. 7. *Tarikh-i-Firishta*, 126.
8. *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, 82.

have been used more as an antithesis to the exalted office Qutb-ud-Din confered on him than a factual description. Not even Qutb-ud-Din's infatuation could have fashioned a successful commander-in-chief and a great prime minister out of a mere watchman. On Qutb-ud-Din's accession to the throne on April 1, 1316, he became the commander-in-chief and prime minister and was now styled Khusru Khan.[9]

He had no light task to face. The totalitarian government of Ala-ud-Din had been followed by[10] Malik Kafur's virtual rule during Ala-ud-Din's dotage. Thousands of public servants were in jail. Ala-ud-Din's irksome restrictions seem to have held the people in their grip, the Hindu masses were suffering under the grinding poverty which Ala-ud-Din had imposed on them. Khusru undid all that. More than seventeen thousand prisoners were let off. All galling restrictions on trade and property were removed. Social intercourse became free. Hindus heaved a sigh of relief that overtaxation and anti-Hindu measures of Ala-ud-Din became a thing of the past. Reversal to pre-Ala-ud-Din's policy must have constituted a peaceful counter-revolution as great in its comprehensiveness as Ala-ud-Din's totalitarian scheme. All this was accomplished successfully without a single incident.[11]

Mubarak had succeeded to an empire which embraced the whole of India. Khilji authority had not yet been consolidated over all this vast territory, particularly in western and south India. Khusru had no easy task to perform here. Delhi's authority was challenged in Gujarat, though not successfully, thanks to Khusru and ultimately to his brother's resourcefulness. In the south, Khusru accompanied Mubarak in one expedition and served as a leader in another. The objective of the second expedition seems to have been attained[12] though there are contradictory statements as to who nursed rebellious designs against Mubarak. It is difficult, however, to believe the story told by Barni that Khusru Khan intended to disavow Mubarak's authority when he was in Malbar.[13] We are asked to believe that Khusru did not intend returning to Delhi, but the loyal Muslim officers forced him to go there. According to the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* they brought him to Delhi, and if Isami is to be believed they brought him in fetters. They hoped that on reaching Delhi Khusru would be suitably punished

9. *Tughlaq Nama*, 18 ; *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* (Barni), 381 to 391.

10. *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, 83, 86 ; Isami, 347 only gives the year 716 A. H.

11. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, 382, 383, 385. *Futuh-us-Salatin*, 346 to 360.

12. *Futuh-us-Salatin*, 356 to 360; *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, 84, 85.

13. *Tarikh-i-Firoz-Shahi*, 399, 400 ; *Tarikh Mubarak Shahi*, 85, *Futuh-us-Salatin* 360, 361.

for his evil designs. But this account accords ill with Barni's supplementary story that when Mubarak heard Khusru was coming, he had a *posse* of palanquin bearers stationed on the road from Deogir to Delhi in order to speed Khusru on his journey.[14] Both the stories cannot be true. If Khusru had been forced to return to Delhi, he could not have sent word of his return there to the king. Without such advance information it could not have been possible for the king to have made all the arrangements he is said to have made. It stands further to reason that if Khusru informed the king of his projected return to Delhi his opponents could as well have informed the king about his evil designs. This they obviously did not, because they were only hoping that when Khusru reached Delhi he would be severely taken to task.[15] Barni had no occasion to invent the story of the arrangements made to bring Khusru speedily to Delhi. He could easily have invented the story of Khusru's intended rebellion writing as he did after Khusru's death. Isami declares that Khusru intended decamping with the treasures he had collected across the seas. The watchfulness of his subordinate commanders led him to change his mind and he came to Delhi. When Khusru reached Delhi, he complained against the conduct of his subordinates to the king who punished them all. Despite several rebellions of Alai nobles Khusru succeeded in keeping his master firmly on the throne.

Khusru's main prop during this period was the large number of his kinsmen from Gujarat whom he gathered round him. The chronology of Mubarak's reign is a little confused but it does not seem probable that Khusru invited them to Delhi after his return to the capital. While in Malabar he is said to have consulted his 'fellow-travellers' about his alleged designs.[16] As said earlier they formed a martial group. When his brother was in Gujarat as its governor, he is said to have surrounded himself with a large number of his kinsmen in the fashion of the day.[17] It seems improbable that Khusru should complain after fighting several successful actions that unlike other commanders he had no troops of his own as Barni makes him say.[18]

That Mubarak spent all his time in pleasure is probable. But the ridiculous and indecent scenes of which Barni speaks could have happened, if at all, towards the end of his reign only. This is borne out by the fact that Mubarak is said to have met his death less than a month after ordering Shaikh Nizam-ud-Din to attend his court once a month. It is difficult to believe that Amir Khusru would call Mubarak a Khalifa if, during his reign, Muslim ceremonies had been altogether banished from the court. He certainly could not have given him that

14. Barni, 11. Yahya, 85. 15. Barni, 400. Yahya 85.
16. Barni, 39. 17. Firishta, 126. 18. Barni, 402.

designation to Mubarak—as he frequently does in the *Nuh-Sipihr*—if he had known Mubarak to be guilty of the practices of which Barni accuses him. The *Tughlaq Nama* mentions no backsliding in his observance of Islamic rites by Mubarak, nor does it even make a reference to the strange and indecent behaviour of Mubarak in court which Barni delights in describing. The worst that Amir Khusru says about Mubarak is that he was unkind.[19] Yaha is also silent about it all and so is Isami.

Khusru at least got disgusted with the sodomic practices of the Sultan.[20] He gathered round him a group of discontented persons, several of them Muslims.[21] On April 14, 1320, Khusru's plans were complete. Mubarak was done to death. Many of his personal attendants perished. Ibn-i-Batuta suggests that Khusru Khan asked Qutb-ud-Din's permission to present to him a large number of his kinsmen who wished that they be converted to Islam. As usual the king gave permission that they be pemitted to enter the palace. Once there they set upon the royal guards, killed them and then murdered the king.[22] Khusru could not be tenderer to Ala-ud-Din's sons than their brothers had been. All the princes who had escaped with their lives at the two earlier revolutions were now done to death or blinded so that not a single scion of the house of Ala-ud-Din escaped unharmed. Among those who were now killed or blinded must have been Mubarak's young son barely two years oid.[23]

After a good deal of hesitation, Khusru at last allowed himself to be pursuaded that now that he had killed his tormentor he should ascend the throne himself. He proclaimed himself[24] king on April, 15, 1320 and took the title Nasar-ud-Din Khusru Shah.[25]

It was but natural that on his accession to the throne he should go back to his original faith. He lived in the royal palace of his predecessors and with the accession of a Hindu king, Hindu rites of worship displaced Muslim rites in the palace. Like Ajit Singh of Jodhpur in the eighteenth century, Khusru did not take a Hindu title as a reigning king. Just as Ajit Singh copied the Mughal emperor's titles including that of Ghazi-slayer of infidels (Hindus) - Khusru called himself Nasaro-ud-Din (author of victory of the faith), though he could content himself by saying that the faith his title proclaimed was other than Islam. Contemporary historians mention some 'back-sliders' among his chiefs, commanders who went back to their original faith. But the stories of his desecrating mosques or treating copies of the Quran with contempt find no mention in Amir Khusru's

19. *Ishqiya*, 273. 20. *Tughlaq Nama*, 149.
21. Firishta, 127, Isami, 364. 22. Ibn-i-Batuta, II, 80, 81.
23. *Tughlaq Nama*, 22 to 26, 47. 24. Barni, 408. Yahya, 91.
25. Isami, 365.

Tughlaq Nama.[26] All that Ghias-ud-Din charges Khusru with is his rebellion against Qutb-ud-Din or his executing descendants of Ala-ud-Din, male and female.[27] It is unlikely that if Khusru had been guilty of the 'henious' crimes Barni saddles on him, Amir Khusru should not have mentioned them. They should have formed a part of the reasons which Ghias-ud-Din advanced in his letters to other Muslim commanders when he incited them against Khusru. Not a word is said in them about any disrespect shown either to mosques or the Quran.[28] Of course, Amir Khusru and Barni mention that he married some of the wives of Qutb-ud-Din.[29] There was nothing unusual therein. Malik Kafur and Qutb-ud-Din[30] had done the same before him and Khusru could only have refrained from such evil practices had he been wiser than his age.[31]

As a ruler Khusru gathered round him an able group of administrators, both Hindu and Muslim. Ain-ul-Mulk Multani, Yusuf Sufi, Hatim Khan, Kamal-ud-Din Sufi, Fakh-rud-Din Tughlaq, Mughalati, Muhammad Shah, Bahram Abaya, Yaklakhi, Hoshang, Shaista Khan, Khizr Khan, Kafur, Shahab, Hardev, Amar Dev, Rai Ramdhol are mentioned as some of his great administrators. His rule was accepted and respected throughout the Punjab, Sind, Oudh, Central India and Multan.[31] There is no reason to doubt that his writ ran equally successfully in other parts of his empire.

Khusru's only title to the throne lay in the length of his arm and the fullness of his purse. He used both manfully and distributed the riches which Ala-ud-Din had collected among his followers. He tried to secure the loyalty of his chiefs by exalting them in rank, by rich presents and above all, in some cases, by keeping their families in Delhi. Some modern European writers have advanced curious reasons for Khusru's failure to become the centre of a successful Hindu reaction. Khusru did no more represent a Hindu reaction at large, than did Hemu in 1556. When the test of battle came he led a large composite army of Hindus and Muslims against Ghias-ud-Din

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26. *Tughlaq Nama*, 150-21.
27. Cf. *C. H. I.*, III, 125, which asserts that Muslim historians record with indignation the gross insults offered to their faith. The only contemporary writer mentioned in the Bibliography to this chapter is Barni.
28. *Tughlaq Nama*, 149. 29. *Tughlaq Nama*, 57 to 70. Cf. *Futuh-us-Salatin*, 367, 368.
30. Yahya, 86; Barni, 410-411.
31. *Ishqiya*, 274, 275 mentions Qutb-ud-Din's demand on Khizr Khan to part with his wife, Kamala Devi and to hand her over to Qutb-ud-Din.

Tughlaq.[32] Tughlaq's army also contained some Hindu soldiers.[33] Situated as they were, Hindu rajahs who had been subdued but recently by Ala-ud-Din could have little welcomed any move at Delhi to draw them more closely thereto.

Among the Amirs at Delhi was Fakhr-ud-Din, son of Ghias-ud-Din Tughlaq, Governor of Dipalpur. His presence at Delhi was a guarantee of his father's loyalty. He was master of the king's horse. One day when called by the king, he was found missing. Nasar-ud-Din, at once sent a detachment after him in hot pursuit. His officers were however unsuccessful in capturing Fakhr-ud-Din who at last joined his father Ghias-ud-Din Tughlaq at Dipalpur.

Ghias-ud-Din learnt from his son the details of the last turn of royal fortune at Delhi. He was told that not a single scion of Ala-ud-Din's house was living. Ghias-ud-Din had always lived dangerously on the outskirts of the empire, exposed to Mughal attacks. His mind now turned to reaping a rich harvest out of the events of the last few months. He decided to challenge Nasar-ud-Din's title to the throne of Delhi and head a rebellion for the purpose.

With this end in view, he sent his emissaries to Ain-ul-Mulk at Delhi, Mughalati, governor of Multan and his own superior officer, Muhammad Shah of Sivistan, Bahram Abaya of Uch (Sind), Yaklakhi of Samana and Hoshang of Jalore. Of these six, three refused to take part in the conspiracy. Yaklakhi sent Ghias-ud-Din's letter to Nasar-ud-Din. Amin-ul-Mulk showed his copy to his master; Mughalati upbraided his subordinate at Dipalpur for his treacherous designs. Bahram of Uch alone promised to participate readily and actively in the rebellion Ghias-ud-Din was about to head.[34] Ghias-ud-Din was not down-hearted. He promoted a local rebellion against Mughalati of Multan and established contact with Ain-ul-Mulk at Delhi again. The Vazir now replied that situated as he was in Delhi, he could do nothing to promote Ghias-ud-Din's cause but wished him well and promised benevolent neutrality.[35]

Ghias-ud-Din's attempts to combine the governors of Sind, Jalore, Multan and the Punjab thus came to nothing. This is an eloquent testimony to Nasar-ud-Din's hold on his empire. The failure of this conspiracy is a further proof that Nasar-ud-Din had harmed not Islam but Qutb-ud-Din and the Khiljis. The refusal of his Muslim prime minister to side openly with Ghias-ud-Din rebuts the charge that Nasar-ud-Din had launched a hostile campaign against Islam at Delhi or elsewhere.

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32. Isami, 365. 33. *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, 26; *Tughlaq Nama*, 131. *Futuh-us Salatin*, 369.
34. *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, 8 to 91; *Tughlaq-Nama*, 57 to 70.
35. Ibid, 67.

Ghias-ud-Din however was not to be deterred from his path. Ain-ul-Mulk's promise to desert his master was enough for him. Bahram also joined his army. Ghias-ud-Din therefore decided to proceed with his preparation for rebellion. Before these were completed, however, Yaklakhi of Samana (in East Punjab and Patiala States Union now) moved towards Dipalpur and attacked Ghias-ud-Din. Yaklakhi was however defeated and had to return to Samana.[36]

Nasar-ud-Din at Delhi was not sitting idle all this time. It is probable that the attack made on Dipalpur by Yaklakhi was inspired by him. Rather than wait for Ghias-ud-Din to move, Khusru Shah decided to take the offensive and sent an army under his brother Khan-i-Khanan to oppose Ghias-ud-Din.

Khan-i-Khanan was supported by several great commanders. Qatala Khan, Shaista Khan, Yusuf Khan and Khizr Khan are mentioned as some of the Muslim commanders who accompnied the Khan-i-Khanan.[37] The royal army advanced from Delhi to the neighbourhood of Sarasvati.[38] On account of their inexperience Khan-i-Khanan and Khizr Khan did not attack Sarasvati which Ghias-ud-Din had strengthened. Leaving the enemy behind them, they made a detour to the banks of the river Bias. Here they encamped at Sotba (Sarsa ?) somewhere on the banks of the Bias.[39]

When Ghias-ud-Din heard of the advance of the royal army he decided to march forth. As he was just about to march, a royal caravan carrying the revenues of Sind and the neighbouring territories passed through Dipalpur. Ghias-ud-Din fell upon it and distributed the proceeds among his followers, commanders and soldiers alike so that every one had an advance of two years' salary.[40] Thus emboldened by this stroke of good luck Ghias-ud-Din left Dipalpur and reached the banks of the Bias. He crossed the river at Hauz-i-Bahat and encamped here.

The two armies were now separated by a waterless desert of fifteen miles. They remained facing each other for some time.[41] But Khan-i-Khanan had let himself into the enemy's territories. Sarasvati was in the hands of the rebels and stood between the royal army and the territory held under royal authority.[42] The royal army could not afford to wait indefinitely whereas Ghias-ud-Din was not troubled by any such considerations. Khan-i-Khanan was therefore driven to take the offensive. Late one night he led his army across the waterless desert.

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36. Ibid, 69, *Futuh-us-Salatin*, 370.
37. *Tughlaq Nama*, 97. 38. Ibid, 83, Barni, 416.
39. Barni, 416–417 ; *Tughlaq Nama*, 83 ; *Futuh-us-Salatin*, 371.
40. *Tughlaq Nama*, 77–78 ; Yahya, 90.
41. Barni, 416 ; *Tughlaq Nama*, 92. 42. *Ibid*, 83, Barni, 416.

He had probably intended to take the enemy unawares. But the fates were kind to Ghias-ud-Din. The march across the desert took the whole night and it was only early the next day that the royal army contacted Ghias-ud-Din's forces. Khan-i-Khanan's soldiers were tired and thirsty. Ghias-ud-Din naturally jumped at the opportunity thus provided to face an exhausted army. He ordered his forces to face the enemy and force an immediate engagement.[43]

Amir Khusru would have us believe that Ghias-ud-Din's forces were smaller in number than the imperial army.[44] Barni declares that in military experience and bravery the imperial soldiers—and particularly its commanders—were babes in arms.[45] The inevitable followed. Ghias-ud-Din succeeded in trapping the enemy. He sent an advance guard letting it appear as if this was all the army the imperialists had to deal with . They fell upon it and drove it back successfully. Another Tughlaq contingent now appeared on the scene but before the imperialists had dealt with it, Ghias-ud.Din's main army advanced forward. The imperialists were now between two fires and were tricked into an indefensible position. They were defeated. Khan-i-Khanan now left for Delhi in hot haste. Gulchandra, the leader of the Khakhars killed the bearer of the chhatar—the canopy—took the chhatar from him and held it over Tughlaq's head.

Khusru Shah was not dismayed. If his commanders had been twice unsuccessful against the enemy, he was still undeterred. He decided to march out and meet the advancing rebels outside the capital. But as after his earlier success Ghias-ud-Din was advancing fast on Delhi, Nasar-ud-Din did not go very far out of Siri (Ala-ud-Din's Delhi) and encamped near where later on was built the tank of Firoz Shah Tughlaq.[46] A ditch was dug in front and a mud wall put up at the back of the camp to minimize chances of a surprise night attack. The old fort lay on one side and the royal gardens on the other side of the camp.[47]

Meanwhile Ghias-ud-Din was advancing fast. His initial success added to his self-confidence, the large amount of booty that fell into his hands as the result of the flight of the Delhi army fed the cupidity of his followers. After resting for a week[48] at the scene of battle he led his army towards Delhi. Passing through Hansi, Madira, Rohtak, Mandauti, Palam and Kishanpura, he reached the plains of

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43. *Tughlaq Nama*, 92–93.
44. Ibid, 89–90 ; Isami, however, says (370) that it was only when Tughlaq had gathered a large army that he risked engagement.
45. Barni, 415, 416.
46. Yahya, 91 ; *Tughlaq Nama 78* ; Isami 371 to 373.
47. Ibid, 115 ; Yahya, 91 ; Barni, 418. 48. Barni, 417,

Lahravat with the Jumna to his east and old Delhi to his south[49] and encamped near the tomb of Raziya.[50]

Both sides now busied themselves in preparations for the mortal combat. Khusru Shah was supported by several great commanders including the governor of Oudh, Yusuf Khan Sufi, Kamal-ud-Din Sufi, Shaista Khan, Amir Kafur, Ramdhol, Khan-i-Khanan, Shahab, Kaisar, Amir Umbar, Baha-ud-Din and Maldev. Here again we find that most of the administrators under Nasar-ud-Din are Muslims. The Barbak, the Hajib and the Vakil-i-Bab were the highest offices in the state and were all filled by Muslims. The prime minister's office was filled by Ain-ul-Mulk Multani.[51]

While Khusru Shah was busy making his preparations, Ain-ul-Mulk, his prime minister, quietly deserted him and slunk away to Central India. The Tughlaq-Nama suggests that Ghias-ud-Din so arranged his armies in three commands that they should be able to join battle at intervals.[52] It involved taking risks, but Ghias-ud-Din was willing enough to take them. His plan was successful. His first army was defeated and driven away and the fortunes of battle seemed to be going against him when his second army joined the fray. The appearance of the third command helped him in gaining a complete victory.[53] Isami's account, however, seems to be nearer the truth. He declares that when the two armies met the royal forces defeated and drove away the division under Fakhr-ud-Din who ran away. This led to a general flight in the army of Tughlaq. Nasar-ud-Din now sent an army to attack the camp where Ghias-ud-Din Tughlaq's family was. The battle was almost lost when Tughlaq succeeded in gathering together his flying remnants and made a dead set at Nasar-ud-Din's army. The Khakhars under Gulchandra fought bravely to restore the balance of battle. Nasar-ud-Din's armies were defeated and he ran away.[54] Ibn-i-Batuta suggests that Nasar-ud-Din's defeat was due to the fact that, flushed with their earlier victory, his army was busy plundering when Tughlaq fell on him.[55]

Khusru Shah now fled away and sought refuge in a garden. He was traced thereto and brought before Ghias-ud-Din. He requested his captor to spare his life and be content with blinding him. Ghias-ud-Din would have none of it. He asked Khusru Shah why he had been so cruel to his master Mubarak. Khusru replied that it was Mubarak's sodomy that had driven him to seek his revenge in his own fashion.

49. *Tughlaq Nama*, 113–115.
50. Yahya, 91.
51. *Tughlaq Nama*, 117–118.
52. Ibid, 121 to 131.
53. Ibid, 131; Yahya, 91.
54. Isami, 377, 378.
55. Ibn-i-Batuta, Vol. II, 87.

'Had Mubarak been not so foul towards me,' Khusru Shah declared, 'I would not have committed such deeds'. Ghias-ud-Din paid no heed to Khusru Shah's entreaties and had him executed at the very place where Khusru had murdered Mubarak.[56] Thus passed away Khusru Shah after a stormy reign.

Khusru Shah is usually credited with a short reign of four months and a few days. His accession is put on April, 15, 1320. His date of death, however, has become a matter of dispute. The *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* places it in the year 721 A. H. Firishta followed the *Tarkih-i-Mubarak Shahi* and many modern writers repeated him. The year given by the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* is obivously wrong and goes against Barni and Amir Khusru both of whom place the accession of Ghias-ud-Din in 720 A. H. Even Yahya accords Khusru a reign of four months and some days. But the chronology is confounded again by Isami's statement that Nasar-ud-Din ascended the throne in 719.[57] This would give Khusru a regin of more than a year and four months. But Isami himself assigns a reign of 'some months' to Nasar-ud-Din. It seems possible that some historians were so much upset by the rise of Nasar-ud-Din that in order to belittle him they tried even to shorten the time when 'Islam was not in ascendance at Delhi'.

Nasar-ud-Din Khusru Shah presents a successful example of a man from the ranks rising to the highest office in the state. His stewardship of Mubarak Shah's reign is a great tribute to his admnistrative abilities and military leadership. Amir Khusru in his *Nuh Siopihr* declares that he richly deserved all the honours that the king bestowed on him. He was defeated because Ghias-ud-Din proved himself a greater tactician and strategist. In both the engagements with Ghias-ud-Din Tughlaq, the royal armies carried every thing before them for a considerable time; it was the greater tenacity of purpose of Ghias-ud-Din that ultimately brought him victory. Isami ascribes Ghias-ud-Din's success to the bravery of the Khakhars under their leader Gulchandra.

Nasar-ud-Din's reign is notable for his own reconversion to Hinduism as well as that of a large number of his kinsmen. They must have been accepted as Hindus before they could find Brahman priests to perform Hindu rites in the palace. That in itself represented a revolutionary change in Hindu society. As said before, the loud complaints of the later writers that Nasar-ud-Din treated Muslim sacred books or Muslim mosques with disrespect are not tenable. Isami's declaration that Islam stood defeated under him means no more than that Nasar-ud-Din was a Hindu king. It is not

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56. *Tughlaq Nama*, 151, Isami, 380. 57. Isami, 367.

surprising that orthodox Barni should exhibit so much antagonism against Khusru Shah.

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1. Amir Khusru :

(i) *Nulh-Sipihr. MS.* (ii) *Tughlaq Nama* (iii) *Ishoqiya.* These contain the earliest contemporary accounts of the events described above. Amir Khusru died in 1325 A. D.

2. Isami :

Fatuh-us-Salatin was completed in 1350 within thirty years of the events described above.

3. Barni :

Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi was completed in 1357.

4. Ibn-i-Batuta :

He was in India in 1333 A. D., thirteen years after the events described above. The date of the composition of his *Travels* is not certain. There is nothing to suggest that they were compiled while he was still in India. I have cited the Urdu translation in two volumes, volume II translated by M. Husain.

5. Yahya :

Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi seems to have been compiled about 1433 A. D.

6. Firishta, Badayuni, Bakshi Nizam-ud-Din and several other later writers in their histories of India give an account of some of these events but add little to our knowledge.

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AN ILLUSTRATED EARLY RĀJPUT MANUSCRIPT

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Our knowledge of the origins and early stages of Rājput painting still is very defective, and, in consequence, opinions amongst scholars differ widely. The beginnings of Rājput painting are placed into the early 16th century, and its first flourishing period into the reigns of Akbar and Jahāngīr. Personally I am inclined to regard the end of the 15th century as the preparatory stage for Rājput painting, the early 16th as its formative period, the last quarter of the 16th and the first of the 17th as its Golden Age. But I am aware how complicated the subject is, and that for the time being conclusions depend on long chains of considerations, certain links of which must still remain hypothetical. Under these circumstances only one method can lead to really satisfactory results, i.e. the publication of more material. Especially material of a new type, is most valuable because it offers fresh angles of approach. Such new material is presented also by the illustrated manuscript to be discussed here.

It is a small book in the Śrī Anūp Singhjī Sanskrit Library at Bikaner (no. 81 15). Folios 1-79 contain Kālidāsa's Meghadūta, accompanied by an anonymous commentary in old Western Rājasthānī (Diṅgala), whereas the rest comprises some stray verses in Sanskrit, and Rājasthānī dohās by the mystic poets Seu, Samana and Jawala. Folios 54-62 are illuminated by sixteen miniatures, i.e. Krishna in the company of two gopīs, 2. Bakāsura-Vadha, 3. and 4. Krishna playing the flute, 5. Kāliya-Mardana, 6. Chitra-Harana (Gopī-Vastra-Harana), 7. Floral design, 8. Krishna playing the flute, 9. Rādhā-Krishna, 10. Yaśodā churning Milk, 11.-15. Rādhā-Krishna, 16. Some peacocks and hansas. No writer, copyist or date is anywhere mentioned,[1] and so our conclusions have to be based completely on such evidence as can be extracted from the character of the manuscript and of its illustrations.

It seems probable that the manuscript was written and illustrated at Bīkāner in the seventies of the 16th century. It belongs to the old palace collection. As this latter, still intact, comprises hardly any material originally not belonging to the royal collections, we

1. I have to thank Mr. K. Madhava Krishna Śarma, the librarian of the Anūp Singhjī Sanskrit Library, for these detailed informations.



RĀDHĀ-KRIṢHNA



RĀDHĀ-KRIṢHNA



RĀDHĀ-KRIṢHNA



KĀLIYA-DAMANA



CHIRE-HARAṆA



YAŚODĀ CHURNING BUTTER MILK

P. V. p. 82

must surmise that this manuscript also had been a part of the material accumulated by many successive generations of princes. Thus the primitive character of its illustrations cannot be the result of a provincial archaism, as it is the case with so many manuscripts and picture sets[2] now in our great museums. It must represent rather the actual court style of a comparatively early period. Now we know the development of painting in Bīkāner very well from the thousands of paintings which still are the property of H. H. the Maharaja.[3] And these latter reveal a highly developed art at least since ca. A.D. 1580–90, and a distinct local school since ca. A. D. 1620. Thus our manuscript must belong to Akbar's time, probably even to a rather early phase of his reign.

The first conclusion is corroborated by young Krishan's turban. The jāma with the four points might seem to contradict this, as it appears more often on Rājput portraits of Jahāngīr's time. But such a conclusion is not warranted. For that costume was not Mughal, but the survival of a Sāsānian-Scythian fashion[4] amongst the Western Rājputs. The change of Rājput fashions, however, represented in the Mughal miniatures was due to the rise and fall of the Rājput princes in the imperial favour. Under Akbar, Mān Singh of Amber and, thus, Kachhwāha fashions predominated but disappeared when he fell in disgrace. In the early years of Jahāngīr, Rāi Singhjī of Bīkāner had become the most influential prince, next to Bīr Singh Deo of Orchhā. For both had been the new emperor's partisans in the struggle with his father. Thus we find in the Mughal miniatures of this time not only the pointed jāma which in Amber and Mārwār had already been out of fashion, but also the Mārwārī jewelry button on the forehead of the Rājput ladies.[5] The

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2. Pictures of provincial origin generally combine archaic and later elements, archaic drawing and later colour scheme, archaic composition and later architecture, archaic architecture and later costumes. The time difference between both elements may be up to 200 years. Its cause is to be sought in the fact that the provincial artists generally were (and are) more old-fashioned than those of the capitals. But individual new fashions were introduced by the contact of their employers, the landed aristocracy, with the court. Such pictures, though belonging to a time contemporaneous with the latest features traceable in their composition, are important as vestiges of an older tradition which then was already out of fashion at the leading art centres.

3. H. Goetz, Art and Architecture of Bikaner, Oxford (Bruno Cassirer) 1950.

4. e. g. on the reliefs of Tāq-i-Būstān, on the Kushāna coins, and in Kashmīrī Sculptures.

5. H. Goetz, Die Indischen Miniaturen der Berliner Museen (Cicerone XV. p. 419 ff., 1923).

pointed coat must, therefore, be interpreted not in favour of a later date, but of the Western Rājasthānī origin of our manuscript already evident from the language of the Meghadūta commentary. It is true, the Mārwārī forehead-button is not to be seen in our manuscript, but it is neither generally found in other Mārwārī manuscripts older than the 17th century. These latter show, instead, a pearl-chain along the parting of the hair ;[6] and the peculiar treatment of the "Sārī" in our miniatures may partly have been influenced by this white line over the crown of the head. Also the textile designs of the female costumes in our miniatures are most archaic, standing nearer to the old Gujarātī cotton cloth fragments excavated in Egypt[7] than to the average clothes used by Rājputānīs in this time.[8] In Bīkāner the older Gujarātī architecture still prevailed in the oldest parts of Rāi Singhjī's Fort,[9] though already in his days it was ousted by the early Rājput style.[10] As we may assume that the changes in costume and other fashions, including those in architecture, happened at approximately the same time, the prevalence of the earlier textile designs would place our manuscript before ca. A.D. 1590.

But the general character of our miniatures speaks in favour of an even earlier date. Their crudeness stands very near to the relief on the devalī (pāliyā) of Kalyān Mall, Rāi Singhjī's father, at Devīkund (set up ca. A.D. 1571).[11] But their more developed composition and evident dependence on contemporary Mārwār painting demand a somewhat later date, somewhere about A.D. 1575 when Rāi Singhjī's troops were already fighting in Akbar's service against the brother dynasty of Jodhpur.[12]

Generally speaking, the conception of our miniatures stands

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6. H. Goetz, The Mārwār School of Rājput Painting, (Bulletin of the Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery V, pts. 1-2, 1947-48, p. 48 ff., fig. 2). W. Norman Brown Mss. Illustrations, of the Uttarādhyayana Sutra, 1841, Figs. 71, 86, 87, 116, 135.

7. R. Pfister, Les Toiles Imprimées de Fostat et l'Hindostan, Paris 1938.

8. H. Goetz, Bilderatlass zur Kulturgeschichte Indiens in der Grossmoghul Zeit, Berlin 1933, pp. 25–27.

9. Constructed A. D. 1588–93.

10. H. Goetz, Art and Architecture of Bikaner, Oxford (Bruno Cassirer) 1950.

11. The same.

12. Kalyān Mall and Rāi Singhjī had paid homage to Akbar in A. D. 1570; 1571 Kalyān Mall died; 1573 Rāi Singhjī joined Akbar in the campaign against Mārwār, 1578 he took Jodhpur, 1581 he handed it back to Udai Singh.

nearest to the tradition of the Mārwār school,[13] and especially to what seems to be its early type. A reliable characteristic of Mārwār miniatures in the 17th century is, e. g., the round head of the female figures, with the protruding nose and receding forehead. Further, a certain fussiness and a tendency towards overcrowding the composition, strongly contrasting with the angular head-shape, the simplicity and strong outline so characteristic for the Bundela and Amber schools. This may have been a result of the intensive contact with Gujarāt and its rich art, brought about by the Jain commercial colonies much more numerous in Mārwār than in any other Rājput state. Though at that time the art of Mārwār was no more dependent on that of the Jains, the just mentioned features seem to be a last heritage from them.

But by their side there stand other elements. Most of the floral fillings in our miniatures, e. g., are characteristic neither for Rājput nor for pure Jain-Gujarātī painting. They appear also in certain Jain manuscripts of the middle 15th century[14] and in Vaishnava-Rājput pictures of the 16th[15], and there their original type comes out much clearer. It is the early Muslim tradition of the so-called "Baghdād" and "Rhāy" schools which in Northern India had survived at least up to the Tughluq period, and in Gujarāt through the times of the Ahmedābād sultanate. When in the 16th century the Ahmedābād kingdom disintegrated, Muslim artists from Gujarāt seem also to have found a refuge in Mārwār, and to have there introduced their traditional art. In any case, it can be traced there for some time in various degrees until the early 17th century.

Whether this exhausts the influences contributing to this early Rājput art I feel not sure. The manner how the figure of Śrī Krishna is treated, likewise deviates from the Rājput convention : Arms, scarf, jāma-points, feet, all radiate from the ideal centre of the body in a way which we know only in one other tradition, the folk art of Vijayanagar, such as it appears on the relievos of the Throne Terrace or of the Hazara Rāma Temple at Hampi.[16] But also the female types sometimes tend towards the same Vijayanagar-Deccanī typology,

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13. H. Goetz, The Mārwār School of Rājput Painting, (Bulletin of the Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery V, Pts. 1-2, 1947-48, p. 43 ff., fig. 2).

14. A Kalpasūtra and Uttarādhyayana Sūtra, middle 15th century A. D., both in the Polnā Jñāna Bhandār, Baroda, cp. Moti Chandra, Jain Miniature Paintings from Western India, Ahmedabad 1949, also Sarabhai M. Nawab, Jaina Chitrakalpadruma, Ahmedabad 1936.

15. E. g. in a Krishnalīlā Album in the Delhi Art Trade.

16. A. H. Longhurst, Hampi Ruins, Delhi 1933, fig. 21, 24.—V. A. Smith, History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon, ed. K. de B. Codrington, Oxford 1930, pl. 91.

especially in the treatment of the Sāri and the ear-jewelry. Now, we know today that after the fall of Vijayanagar, this folk style for some time spread to the North, to Bijapur, Golconda and Ahmednagar.[17] At the same time Deccanī influence can be traced, e. g. in metal work, up to Gujarāt and Rājputānā.[18] May we herein recognize a distant echo of the same movement?

On the other hand, however, it is obvious that the artist had drawn his inspiration also from other, not so distant sources, especially temple sculptures. The persistent representation of Rādhā fanning Śrī Krishna with a chāmara is copied from the attendant figures so commonly connected with practically all North-Indian idols of the high Middle Ages. Yaśodā churning milk may go back to similar older scenes such as we know e. g., from Bhuvaneśvar, but may as well be an adaptation from some relief of the "Churning of the Ocean". Śrī Krishna playing the flute in the crown of the tree, in the Chira-Harana picture, reminds of Natarājā reliefs, especially of such in the central panel of ceilings, whereas this whole arrangement of a divine figure in the centre of a roundel had been common in Mediaeval Indian art, and occurs also in old Jain and Hindu temples all over Rājputānā. In the Kāliya-Damana picture, Śrī Krishna again appears in a pose not common in Jain or early Rājput miniatures, so that one is tempted to think of some Trivikrama figure as prototype, or of similar reliefs such as appear e. g. in the sculptures of Rānā Kumbha's numerous temples. It is true that a few similar figures can be found also in the Uttarādhyayana Sūtra;[19] but there, too, they are innovations, and may go back rather to the same prototypes. The Nāgī figure in the same picture likewise looks most absurd, and on closer observation proves merely to be a transformation of the demon Śankhāsura; this explains also the somewhat odd treatment of Śrī Krishna and Kāliya; both have been developed from a figure of Matsya Avatāra. Finally, the peacocks and parrots in our illustrations can be traced in Rājput architecture at least since the early 16th, if not late 15th century.[20] Their connection with the symbolism of the

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17. See footnote 3. Cp. also St. Kramrisch, A Survey of Painting in the Deccan, Hyderabad 1937; H. Goetz, The Fall of Vijayanagar and the Nationalisation of Muslim Art in the Dakhan, (J. Ind. Hist. XIX, p. 249 ff., 1940); H. Goetz, A Unique Early Deccanī Miniature, (Bull. Baroda State Museum, I, pt. 1, p. 37 ff., 1944).

18. See note 10.

19. Norman Brown, Manuscript Illustrations of the Uttarādhyayana Sūtra, New Haven 1941, figs. 132, 139, 140.

20. H. Goetz, Art and Architecture of Bikaner, Oxford (Bruno Cassirer) 1950.

Rādhā-Krishna story must have brought them much in fashion. But they turn up in Rājput art everywhere, and as a matter of fact they belong to the Sāsāno-Indian heritage alive amongst the Rājput since olden times.

Thus our manuscript is most interesting in many respects. Its art is barbarian. But there are strong reasons to accept it as a comparatively early work of a tradition different from that of the " Bundela Rāgmālās"[21] which may be somewhat older, but belongs to a more developed cultural stratum.[22] In any case it shows Rājput painting still in a formative stage. Now, this latter proves to have been completely eclectic. It did not grow from one single tradition, but the artist tried to make use of the most different models. There are last echos of Jain painting, e. g., the treatment of the water in the Chira-Harana scene, and the shape of the heads. There are Muslim-Gujarātī motifs, such as the floral fillings. There are general Rājput elements, such as the parrots and peacocks, or the costumes. There are specific Mārwārī features, such as the general composition, the round heads and the treatment of the Sārī. There are Deccanī echos, in the outline of Śrī Krishna, and even of Rādhā. There are many loans from the iconography of the temple sculptures.

It had hitherto been the habit of scholars to assume that Rājput painting developed from Jain-Gujarāti painting by way of a slow, almost imperceptible transformation. Instead, we are here in face of a far-going syncretism. That our manuscript is not an isolated case, can be demonstrated at the hand of other manuscripts and paintings, and especially of the contemporaneous temple architecture and sculpture in Rājputānā, around Mathurā, etc. where the same syncretism is in evidence.[23] And this leads, by implication, to another conclusion. If Rājput painting developed not from Jain painting, all chronological inferences drawn therefrom are of no validity ; because that transition represents not an intermediate stage between Jain-Gujarātī and Rājput painting, but the gradual absorption of the first by an already existing Rājput art.

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21. A. K. Coomaraswamy, Rājput Painting, Oxford 1916, etc.

22. The Bundela rāj of Orchhā rose to power soon after the overthrow of Chanderi by Bābur in A. D. 1527, whereas Bīkāner at that time passed through a serious crisis because of the invasion of Mal-Deo of Jodhpur, and recovered only much later, as Akbar's ally and vassal.

23. See note 10.

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MARATHA ACTIVITIES AS KNOWN FROM SOME PERSIAN LITERARY SOURCES

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India in the eighteenth century witnessed a long period of chaos and confusion and ruinous wars, involving great destruction of life and property and exposing many innocent people to prey and plunder both in the north and the south. The magnificent Empire of the Mughals had been shaken to its foundations, due largely to the incapacity of the sovereigns and the factious fights among the self-seeking degenerate nobles. The community of Shivaji, the illustrious founder of the Maratha State, became the most formidable and widespread power in India. During the eventful years before the disaster of Panipat the high-spirited and enterprizing people of Maharashtra continued to prosper and to extend the area of their operations and dominions. Their activities in the north greatly influenced the course of Indian history. Details about these have been so long known to scholars from well known contemporary historical works. The official records of the Maratha Governments and the state papers, both in Marathi and English, have greatly enriched our knowledge of the intricate politics of the period. There are, however, many incidental but valuable references to the Maratha activities in some contemporary original Persian works which do not generally attract students of history. A book of letters, compiled for teaching young people the art of epistolary composition, and a work primarily meant for religious and literary enthusiasts, are sometimes found to contain information of historical nature. Such incidental notices as are found in private correspondence or in works containing scribblings and miscellaneous[1] writings of people who were in touch with the officials of the time are of importance as revealing some hitherto unknown facts of history.

1. Such compilations are called Bayaz and an idea of their importance to a student of history can be had from the writer's papers about Bayaz-i-Yusufi and the Bayaz of Zair Husain Khan published in the proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission of Peshawar and Indore sessions respectively. A Bayaz, just before the writer, of Zair Ali Khan, contains among other things, versified chronograms of the reduction of Satara including this one : " Cho Shiva wa Sambha wa Rama Bigati—Ze Hukme Shahanshah Gashtand Para—Alifhay In Har Seh Tara Bayakja—Nawishtem Tarīkh Fathe Satara".

There are some points in them which still await clarification but others will be found to be quite clear in their meanings and contents. The present paper represents an attempt to draw the attention of scholars to such new and hitherto untapped materials of history.

We know the relations between the Saiyid Brothers and the Marathas. Thanks to the treaty of 1718, concluded between Husain Ali and the first Peshwa, through the mediation of Shankaraji[2] Malhar, what had hitherto been the desultory claims of the Marathas, enforced at the point of the sword, were placed upon a definite footing, acknowledged and confirmed by the Imperial Government, and the King-Makers received cordial support and material assistance from the Marathas in playing their part in Delhi politics. But the hopes of the Saiyids to make Chin Qulich Khan Nizamul-Mulk subservient to their views failed. He had been relieved of his Government of Muradabad, sent for to the capital, and then appointed governor of Malwa. The founder-viceroy of Haiderabad, encouraged by his cousin, Muhammad Amin Khan, began to prepare himself for a contest against the Saiyids. The Saiyids, being alarmed, set on foot a scheme to crush Nizamul-Mulk who, defying them, had left for the Deccan, by despatching Saiyid Dilawar Ali Khan from the north and instructing Saiyid Alam Ali Khan to march from the south. Sheo Das[3] has given the text of the correspondence exchanged between the Saiyids and Nizamul Mulk, on this occasion, but neither he nor any authority including the Marathas, has furnished us with the correspondence that passed between the Saiyids and the Marathas. Fortunately the writer had discovered, some years ago a manuscript[4] which contains, among many new things, three letters, addressed by Qutbul Mulk, the elder of the Saiyids, to Raja Sahu and his Peshwa and to Alam Ali Khan, the spirited young nephew and deputy of the younger Saiyid in the Deccan. The literal translation of these letters which speak for themselves, except for a few points that require elucidation is, as follows :—

To Raja Sahu —— " May the grace of God and the royal favours be with you who are of lofty position and high rank and dignity and are the

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2. For a brief account of this " renowned old Maratha Diplomat," a former Sachiv of Raja Ram at Jinji and much later appointed by Saiyid Husain Ali Khan as an 'Ataliq' of Alam Ali Khan his deputy in the Deccan, see Sardesai's *New History of the Marathas* Vol. II pp. 38–39 and Irvine's *Later Mughals* Vol. 1.

3. The author of Iqbal Nama-i-Farrukhsiyar of which the writer possesses a copy. A paper about this valuable ms. was published in the Journal of Indian History, Madras. The writer's ms. carries the readers upto the 28th year of Muhammad Shah's reign. Prof. Nagil Ashraffi's ms. differs from it.

4. See the writer's paper about it in P. I. H. R. C. Calcutta 1940.

essence of a manly mighty family and the progeny of a valorous and intrepid race. Your letter of friendship and unity signifying cordial relation and hearty co-operation and saying how the delay in the receipt of sincere letters bringing the much expected news of welfare caused a good deal of anxiety was delivered by the Vakil. Its contents conveying friendly assurances have given pleasure to such an unlimited extent as is indescribable in words. As regards what you have written, in short, about your original resolve to proceed towards Karnatak[5] and detach troops towards Daruz-zafar (Bijapur) and to march personally from your headquarter for the purpose of reducing the fort of Parnala and halting at the town of Maisur (Masur), which lies between the fort of Parnala and Satara, in expectation of Alam Ali Khan of good fortune, may he enjoy the fruits of life, and about your abandoning the undertaking after the receipt of my letter and that of my respected and affectionate brother, and postponing the regulation of the affairs of that region to some other occasion, in view of the exigency of the situation, it has been noted. There is nothing surprizing at the demonstration of such observance of agreements and obligations by you of high station for the most holy God creates one in thousands in an illustrious family and endows him with excellent virtues. The eminence of the family to which you of high station belong demands the observance of all the dictates of friendship. You have written that I should not feel worried on account of my happy and prosperous Khan for you are with him with your heart and soul. God is my witness that before your dignified self wrote about it, I felt fully assured of it in my heart. When you have set your heart upon fulfilling the demands of the compact to the extent you have described there is no occasion for me to feel anxious about the Khan. These days Nizamul Mulk, the dismissed Governor of Malwa, on account of the bad turn in his fortunes, has proceeded towards the Deccan,[6] in defiance of His Imperial Majesty and, without taking orders from the court, has become a wanderer in the desert of

5. The present writer is unable to throw any light upon what appears here to be a new information and takes this opportunty to invite the attention of scholars well versed in old Marathi records to clarify the point.

6. Nizamul Mulk crossed the Narbada on the 1st of Rajab 1132 or 8 May 1920. The imnetuous Amir-ul-Umra (H. A.) was prevented by his brother, the Vazir, from going in person after the great Mughal grandee. There was a little quarrel between the impulsive Husain Ali and Qutbul Mulk, the former blaming the latter for want of energy and being told in reply that the treatment meted out to Farrukhsiyar was a mistake and that the rising of Nizamul Mulk was only its first fruit (Irvine—L. M. Vol. II).

disappointment. In view of this situation I sent letters frequently[7] before this about the advisability of aiding and co-operating with the Khan, may he enjoy the fruits of life, and in all probability, these must have been placed before you for your perusal. As that bold and hot headed one is harbouring evil intentions, I hope that you of high station, in accordance with what you have written, will join and co-operate with the Khan with your heart and soul so that the indiscreet vain fellow may be prevented from achieving his purpose and he may soon get what his actions deserve. In regard to the execution of the orders about the affairs and incidents of Deshmukhi etc. which on a previous occasion Balaji Vishvanath had requested for, the necessary directions to Diler[8] Khan, Mubariz Khan[9] and Saadat Khan[10] have been delivered to the Vakil and would soon reach there. Else there is nothing to write except expressions of the sense of gratification." (Balamukundanama).

To the Peshwa:[11] "May you, the eminent, dignified, gallant one of friendly disposition, the cream of society, be safe through the grace of God and royal favours ! Ere this, in accordance with the royal command, after giving an account of the insurrection of Nizamul Mulk, the dismissed Governor of Malwa, who owing to his ill fortune, without receiving orders from His Majesty, had left his province and proceeded towards the Deccan with evil intentions, letters, which had been addressed to His Highness Raja Sahu, had asked him to block the path of Nizamul Mulk so as to prevent his entry into the Deccan and to punish him for his misdeeds and also to appoint a suitable army under a trustworthy general to aid and protect the Khan of felicitous fortune, Saiyid Alam Ali Khan, may he enjoy the fruits of life! Another letter had been despatched also to you, the generous one, so that in view of the sincere and friendly relations subsisting between you and my affec-

7. The words used in the letter are "Pesh Azeen Ba Karrat". It is a pity that much of the correspondence exchanged between the two is lost to us.

8. He was an officer who had served under Iwaz Khan. He was killed in the battle of Khandwah.

9. Khwaja Muhammad Shahamat Khan who ruled in Hyderabad for nearly 12 years. He did not pay the Chauth to the Marathas. He was killed at the battle of Shakarkheda-1724.

10. Was he Saaduddin Khan Jahanshahi who ruled in Burhanpur and later joined Nizamul Mulk ?

11. No name is given but the context shows that the first Peshwa was the addressee. The letter is dated 19th Rajab or 27th May 1720 but Balaji had died and his son Baji rao who nowhere figures in these letters had alredy been invested with the office of the Peshwa on the 17th of April. That the highest-grandees of the Imperial Court were so ignorant of the new developments in Maharashtra is strange indeed.

tionate brother, you would impress this upon His Highness the Raja of the illustrious family and endeavour your best that he should take action very soon, in accordance with what had been written to him already. Taking yourself the command of the troops that were appointed for the purpose, you should immediately join the Khan of prosperous fortune and bar the progress of that indiscreet one. I believe that after the receipt of letters addressed to His Highness and to yourself, you would act according to what they contain.[12] As it was, owing to the friendly relations existing of old and also because of the new compact entered into between you and my eminent brother, that the latter left the Khan alone in that country, trusting you to help and co-operate with him, it is incumbent upon you that fulfilling the needs of the compact between you and my brother, you would do what is necessary and give practical proof of your friendship in this time of test. At any rate, the emphasis that is being laid upon this affair is because of the belief in your sincere friendship. As regards the affairs of Nizamul Mulk you know that he does not deserve all this attention and trust and you have seen that with your own eyes during your stay in the Imperial capital. If at this time all that is fit and proper in the matter of rendering aid and help is accomplished, and undertaking the task yourself you join the young Khan and do your best in achieving the destruction of that indiscreet one, it would serve as a lesson for other refractory chieftains of that region who are so many and are evilly disposed towards you. It behoves you to keep all this in your mind, and without making any delay act according to what has been written. You should send a reply so that whatever it reminds me of, the instruction asked for may be sent immediately after that to the officials there. Rest assured of that. Nineteen Rajab, year two". (B. N.)

To Alam Ali Khan: " My happy and prosperous Khan, may you enjoy long life and ease of mind ! News has arrived at this time in the Imperial Court that Nizamul Mulk, the dismissed Governor of Malwa, owing to his malevolence and adverse fortune, and having failed to appreciate the boundless grace and favours of the real patron and benefactor, has set his foot beyond the bounds of obedience and submission, and on account of his evil nature and wickedness has openly begun to travel over the path of defiance and insurrection and harbouring far-fetched ideas in his mind has turned his face towards the Deccan. Hence in accordance with the command of the sovereign, lustruous as

12. Sardesai tells us that Raja Sahu ordered Bajirao to remain neutral and watch the game from a distance so as to turn it to his own advantage. Perhaps the imperialised Raja of the Marathas had received some secret instructions from the enemies of the Saiyids in the name of Muhammad Shah.

the rays of the sun, orders have been issued to the Nazims, Faujdars, and Qiladars of that region that they should bar the progress of that indiscreet fellow and they should not allow him to enter into their jurisdictions and they should strive their utmost to throw that ill-served one into a state of contempt and disgrace. Accordingly you who are a saiyid of felicitous fortunes are also directed[13] to issue on your own behalf letters to the said Nazims and the Faujdars and Zamindars and enjoin upon them with all the emphasis that you can command to act in concert with the agile and able Shankraji Malhar in collecting and recruiting troops. As letters have already been despatched to His Highness Raja Sahu, and to Balajee Vishvanath and need has been emphasized about sending the armies to co-operate with, and help you, it is advisable that you of prosperous fortune also should write to the Raja and to Balajee Vishvanath. If God wills, a suitable army from that side would come to render help to you. Whenever that indiscreet fellow turned towards Khujista Bunyad (Aurangabad), you should first of all ascertain the information about the strength of his forces and then take the initiative to use your adherents and troops for the purpose of repelling and expelling him. You should inflict such chastisement on him that he might not be able to stay anywhere in those regions until the time my respected brother, without any delay, and making forced marches, reaches there at the head of his mighty army for the purpose of effecting his overthrow and destruction. You should treat this as a special injunction from His Majesty and act according to the command. Never, on any account, you should show any relaxation and I and my respected brother are never for a moment oblivious of our duty towards you, may you enjoy the fruits of life! Written the 27th of Rajab. (B. N.)" [13]

Two other Mss., also discovered by the writer, containing espistolary compositions and refined writings interspersed with verses, of Lala Ujagar Chand, poetically surnamed Gharib and Ulfat, a Mathur Kayastha of Patna, and a contemporary of Alivardi, Nawab of Bihar, Bengal and Orissa, furnish us with something of the inside story of Marhatta penetration into the north-east of which we find nowhere else any other evidence. The earlier, and from historical standpoint, comparatively more important of these two Mss, named Insha-i-Gharib, compiled, as the chronogram in the preface "Gulistan-i-Maani Ra Bahare" shows, in 1151 or 1738-39 contains something whichis not only

13. As sooh as Alam Ali Khan received the letter of his uncle at Aurangabad, he set to work to collect an army of the Marathas and of new men (Irvine L. M.). Sardesai tells us that when at the battle of Balapur on 10 Aug. 1720 Alam Ali led the attack on the Nizam he had 1800 Marathas. Shankraji Malhar did his best to win Maratha support for Alam Ali much against Shahu's explicit orders" H. M. II., p. 71.

new and revealing but also gives us an idea of how an average peace-loving co-religionist of the southerners reacted to their activities in the north. The following pieces will bear quotation in full.

(i) " My friend ! God knows how greatly panic stricken and perturbed the inhabitants of this place were and how restless and perplexed they felt when the wicked Bargis and their countless hosts had reached Mirzapur and having arrested and confined Jograj, the Raja of Bindbasini[14] with a view to take possession of the mounds of earth or hilly lands between the broad ways and highways,[15] they were preparing to march to this side. Owing to excessive anxiety and alarm the mansions of men's mind in this city (Patna) had got shaken by this sudden (political) earthquake and many people crossed over to the other side of the river with their family and children and bag and baggage. Owing to the tumult and confusion which resembled that on the day of Resurrection, a number of wealthy people of the city abandoned their fixed residences.[16] The Nawab Sahib Qibla,[17] the Naib Nazim of the city, having enjoined upon Chintaman Dass,[18] who had been in charge of the Sarkar of Shahabad for a long time, to look after the army and be cautious and careful, and keep a vigilant watch over the movement of the luckless, castaway enemies towards the frontier, prepared himself to advance further at the head of the victorious army in order to bar the progress of the unworthy, wicked and contemptible fellows. In the meanwhile, however, news arrived that owing to the predominence of the forces of the Faujdar of Benares and Allahabad and of other notable chiefs and sardars[19] of this side, who in accordance with the parwanas of

14. The presiding deity of Mirzapur after whom the city was named.

15. The original expression in the text is " Benabir Iftatah-i-Kuttal-i-Bain-us-Shaware ".

16. We may compare with this the consternation and confusion, and the hurried despatch of women and children by families of note, across the river Ganges, to Hajipore, on the occasion of Balaji Baji Rao's march through South Bihar, in February 1743 (S. M. 523).

17. There is no doubt that the Nawab referred to here was Alivardi, then in Bihar (1732-39). The Maratha menace to parts of U. P. contiguous to Bihar, and the alarm of Patna populace in the thirties, appears to be new and a very interesting information. This would tend to show that the danger of Maratha invasion of Bengal and Bihar, which loomed so large before Warren Hastings, and influenced his Oudh relations has at least a tradition of about half a century.

18. See the writer's paper entitled" Some Bengali Officers of mid-eighteenth century Bihar " in Bihar Herald. Also S. M.

19. Saadat Khan Burhanul Mulk, the founder of Oudh, ruled over a wide area including Korah and Jahananbad (in Allahabad) and

Nawab Burhanul Mulk Bahadur, had obstructed the progress and engaged the enemies, the latter, after being defeated, had dispersed and taken to their heels. They gave up their resolve to march to this side during the rainy season in compliance with the written instruction of that villainous fellow... (Moreover) they hastened back to their inauspicious accursed city[20], in order to preserve their reputation and protect their territories which were being blockaded by Nawab Ghaziuddin Khan, son of Nawab Nizamul Mulk. The residents and native inhabitants of the city were relieved afresh on the receipt of this news, but the information about the bargis having returned and pitched their camps near the river Kalpi, where they propose to stay till the end of the rains, has again thrown the populace into consternation and alarm." (27 b I. G.)

(ii) "Rai Saheb...[21] Rumour is thick that when the abominably bad Bargis and death-deserving Deccanies, with their host resembling the reptiles of the earth, raised their head of mischief, with their futile design and foolish projects of realising Chauth, it caused a tremendous tumult. Nawab Saadat Khan, Burhanul Mulk, in accordance with the imperial mandate, sallied out from the city of Oudh, at the head of his numerous forces, for the purpose of chastizing the vile, oppressive fellows. The villainous Baji Rao who is at the head of the bad Deccanies, and leads a countless force, was thirsty for blood...A severe engangement took place. The wretched enemies[22] not being able to

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the modern district of Benares, Jaunpore, Azamgarh and Ballia and the eastern portion of Mirzapore. (The two Nawabs of Oudh, Chap, XVIII, p. 260). It is interesting to know that his father had died and was buried at Patna (Begampur Mohallah) and so he had paid a visit to this city soon after his migration from Persia. The fact that once he requested to be appointed to Bihar in addition to his old province of Oudh so as to make northern India free from the Marathas is also significant. Fortunately Bihar enjoyed the vigorous rule first of Alivardi (1732-39) and then of his able nephew, Haibat Jung (1739-1748).

20. It may have been somewhere in Bundelkhand for we know that Raja Chatarsal, before his death (I. G.) in 1731, had bestowed ⅓ of his territories, including the Mahals of Kalpi, Sironj, Gunah, Gavra, Kot and Hirdainagar upon Peshwa Bajirao as a reward for his rescue from the clutches of the Nawab Bangash.

21. The present writer begs to be excused for giving these literal translations.

22. Bhagwant Singh Udār, Rajput zamindar of Ghazipur (Kora of Jahanabad) had entered into an alliance with the Marathas at Banda and had with their help baffled the Vazir Qamruddin Khan. He was defeated and killed in Nov. 1735 by Saadat Khan of Oudh. The incidents mentioned in the letter above obviously take us to the battle of Jalesar on March 23, 1737 in which Malharrao Holkar suffered an utter defeat at the hands of Saadat Khan.

stand up to the sword of the Nawab, adopted the road of flight and the whole of their baggage and equipment with choicest goods and clothes fell into the hands of the valorous Nawab. Thus the slave of His Imperial Majesty obtained a complete triumph. The victorious Nawab sent the heads of the vanquished Sardars to, and was honoured by, the emperor with the title of Shamshir-i-Hind (the sword of India). When the fire of this violence[23] was extinguished by the water of the Nawab's sword, such and such Rajah who was on the look-out for an opportunity for creating mischief and tumult raised an insurrection, owing to his bad nature and adverse fortune, and excited the dust of disturbances and disaffection. In order that the demolition of the power of this foolish luckless fellows might serve as a warning to others, Nawab Burhanul Mulk sent Fakhruddin[24] Khan Bahadur from Shah-Jahanabad (Delhi), at the head of a considerable force to effect the overthrow of that wicked evil-doer. The Khan has arrived near that body of unbelievers and an engagement may have probably taken place by now" (I. G.).

The other letters in Insha-i-Gharib have got Nizamul Mulk as the central figure and record the measures that he adopted or proposed to take against an unnamed refractory chief (perhaps the Bundellas) and also with regard to the Marathas and Nadir who was just threatening India with his invasion. Only a sentence or two in these long and otherwise important letters will suffice for the present. Nawab Mukramat Khan was informed that :— " After Nawab...Nizam ul Mulk had finished his expedition against Satarsal it transpired that the vast hordes of the death-deserving Deccanies had crossed the river Narbada; and on another side, Tahmasp Quli Khan, the Commander in Chief of the Persian Kingdom, had arrived near Qandhar... ......The illustrious Nawab (N. M.) submitted an Arzdasht to His Majesty, the Caliph, to the following effects :—"that the responsible authority at the Court should apppoint Ghaziuddin Khan, the son of this hereditary slave, and Raja Chain (Jai) Singh and other grandees as the leaders of the victorous armies for the purpose of crushing the despicable Deccanies so that the insolent evil doer and the rejected and cast off wretches might be completely overthrown and crushed; " (I. G.)

23. This probably refers to Raja Nawal Singh of Tiloi and the Raja of Amathi who, according to the author of Tabsiratun Nazirin had rebelled against Saadat Khan when he was engaged against the Marathas. The Nawab of Oudh sent his nephew, Abdul Mansur Khan, with 12000 horse who defeated and expelled their chiefs, and took their strongholds—July 1737.

24. The author of S. M. mentions one, Fakhroo, the faujdar of Sambhar (100 miles from Delhi) who felt the full weight of predatory power in 1748. But neither the name nor the date is helpful to us.

" Nawab Mukramat Khan " appears to have possessed a Jagir in South Bihar and he was informed that " Hundies worth 10,000 drawable on Hukumchand Sahu had been already despatched. By skilful handling the Amil had effected much improvement. But some villages of the Mahals, which fall in the Jagir of the Sarkar, were devastated by the visits of the Bargis." Lala Ujagarchand Ulfat, in a letter which is found in his second collection and which was written on behalf of Moulavi Md. Hussain, the son of his teacher and poetical guide, Moulavi Md Alim, Tahqiq, and addressed to "Nawab Zainuddin Ahmad Khan Bahadur Haibat Jang " says " I, the poor man, on account of the disturbances created by the evil omened Bargis had set out from the town[25] of Bihar with my family and dependants and arrived in this city under the shadow of your prosperous auspices but owing to my defective eyesight I could not have that good fortune of seeing you. At last I have dragged myself to this place to pay my respects to you." (I. U.)

In another letter, addressed to Lala Bilas Ray Rangin, Ulfat tells us of his reaction "on the occasion of the march of Balajee, the chief of the roving Bargis at the head of a large force and an immense horde and his threatened advance[26] on Patna. He says that at first he had thought it advisable to leave the city and therefore he had " set fire to all his household furniture and goods including some of his new wearing apparels and leave the rest as an offering to them". But later he thought that his "destitution was his best citadel" for "there is no danger in this world to an utterly indigent person ".

Ulfat is more informative about a later event in his letters which he addressed to his friend, Lala Sobha Chand, perhaps an official of Burdwan, "What should I write about the disturbances and uproar created by the luckless, useless, Bargies in the territories of the Subah of Bihar ; for the town of Bihar, Ghyaspur, Manair,[27] Arrah, Shahasram and other villages and towns of this land have been ravaged and plundered by these despicable imprudent fellows, the enemies of quiet and tranquillity. Not a single ear of corn except the pleiades in the sky have remained safe at their hands and no sown field has escaped their ravages except the empyrean heaven. A world has been destroyed by their blood-thirsty swords and numerous people have been either killed or wounded. The news is abroad that these-confusion creating luckless

25. See also the reference to " the advent of the Bargis " in the Bayaz or scrap-book of Daud Ali Khan (P. I. H. R. C.).

26. Patna fortunately escaped from the ravages of the Marathas, thanks to the efforts of the father of the Patna historian who was then in charge of Bihar. (S. M.)

27. These details are to be found nowhere else,

fellows are about to move towards that district. As on the previous occasions, you should not be apathetic towards their ravages and allow yourself to be taken unawares.'' (I. U.)

We know that while the policy of some of the Marathas was to strike at the root of the Mughal tree, leaving the branches thereof to fall of themselves, others preferred to chop off the branches so as to make the roots useless. We have also read about the repeated attempts of the Bhonslas of Berar to extend their influence, exactions, and dominion and about the astonishing and continuous energy displayed by Alivardi, the very old but brave and able Nawab of B. B. and O. But a letter of Alivardi about some of his engagements with Bhaskar and the notices of the Maratha activities and the hardships and sufferings of the people they caused and references to the agreements about the payment of chauth which we find in different collections of letters compiled by some contemporary Hindu writers, are being placed here for the first time before the readers.

Ruqaat-e-Mutafarriqat contains the following letter of Nawab Mahabat Jung which was addressed to the intrepid and strong Raja Sundar[28] Singh. "May you remain safe and sound ! I, the well wisher of God's creatures, with my fully armed and victorious army marched, on the 2nd of Rajab, from Chuna Khar in the jurisdiction of Murshidabad, for the purpose of chastising the malefactors. Delivering a bold assault on a body of twenty thousand cavalry of vicious oppressive fellows who had thrown up intrenchments at Pallasey and blocked up the paths, I compelled them to leave the place. They fled towards Katwa and I, too, by making forced marches arrived on the bank of the Bhagirathi. Bhaskar, the chieftain of the Bargis who had been lying encamped at Katwa[29] with his guns, cannon and swivel guns, for 9 days and had been expecting the arrival of boats to cross over to the other side, was brought to bay, with the grace of God and the assistance of the spirits of holy personages-may peace be upon them !- and with the victory-giving aid of His Majesty, on the sixth of Shaban I crossed the river with ten thousand horse and equal number of musketeer foot soldiers, on boats, leaving the rest of the army in charge of war materials and baggage and inflicted such a defeat upon those villainous people as to send thousands of them into the dwelling of perdition and leave many of them fatally wounded. The accursed Bhaskar with

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28. Raja of Tikan in Gaya District who died in 1758.

29. The letter refers to an important event on the occasion of the first invasion of the Marathas into Bengal. See *Alivardi and His Times* by Dr. K. K. Datta.

those who had escaped death fled like jackals precipitately and became wanderer in the deserts of adversity. By the grace and favour of God, the real giver of victories, I, the well-wisher of His creatures, got a complete victory. You, possessed of strength and intrepidity should offer thanks-giving to God and being at rest in your mind should remain in attendance upon Nawab Zainuddin Ahmad Khan Haibat Jung who is the light of my eyes and is better than my life, may God the most High preserve him, and continue to be engaged and active in realizing the revenue. You should obey and be submissive to him. If God wills, you shall, in lieu of good services you render, receive further favours." (the writer's manuscript)

A Persian manuscript, Majmooa-i-Ruquat, contains a letter of one Bechu Ram addressed to Lala Lai Bihari whom the writer first congratulates on his appointment as the Faujdar of Pargana Bal in the Sarkar of Saran and then goes on to narrate, "the particulars of those regions" and the situation created by the assemblage of "the worthless Bargis, innumerable as ants and locusts" "in every place whether barren lands or garden" and "the ravages" done by "these blood-thirsty men-destroying people". In this long account what attracts our notice are the choicest epithets showered upon the Bargis or the Marathas, the ups and downs in their frequent engagements with the troops of Mahabat Jung ; the straits to which the latter was reduced at times, at the hands of the invaders; the successful appeals he made to the various chieftains of his armies like Mustafa Khan, Omar Khan Baluch, Sardar Khan and Shamshir Khan Rohila, Karam Khan, Raham Khan, Bundel Singh[30] Bundela; the personal bravery displayed by the old Nawab of Bengal in maintaining his ground in the midst of confusion; the expulsion of the enemies beyond the borders of Bengal; the scarcity of grain so much so that one seer of rice sold for one rupee; the great relief felt on the arrival of 70 to 80 boats laden with grain from Murshidabad; the arrival of Nawab Murid Beg[31] from the Imperial Court, at Sita Coal to demand the royal treasures from the Nawab of Bengal; his return to Azimabad (Patna) and despatch of an Arzdasht to the Court saying that Mahabat Jung was unable to pay the money on account of the situation created by the Bargis; the march of Safdar Jung, at the command of the emperor, towards Bengal; his advance from Koilwar to Azimabad; his highhanded activities such as appointing sentinels upon the houses of "Mutasaddies, Umara, Mansabdars, Mahajans, Goladars, French, English, and Dutch factors, Surrafs etc.; his issuing a common currency combining those of Oudh and Gorakhpur with "Muradi Patna," his doing one good thing by punishing the pro-

30. A new name. 31. See S. M. M. N.

fiteering[32] Goladars who were placed on the back of asses with their faces plastered with quick lime and were exiled from the city which immediately made the grains cheaper and more abundant than before; and his attempts to cross over to the Sarkar of Tirhut in North Bihar from Rajghat, but being prevented from doing so by the bridge built on the Ganges going down. The letter concludes with the information that a sum of four crores of rupees, in the usual treasure, together with one crore as Nazrana, was sent to the court through the Vakil, named Raja Jugal Kishore. (The MS. of O. P. L. Patna)

Another MS., "Insha-i-Gada" by Haldhal Singh, a Srivastava Kayastha of Padmoul of Pargana Basarh in Tirhut, compiled for the instructions of Lala Duman Singh, son of Lala Champat Rai Naib Kanungo of Tirhut in 1193, contains interesting things about "the disturbed conditions in Bengal ". It says how "Bhaskarun and Sis[33] Roy and Ali Bhoy and other Sardars were engaged several times " by "lion-overthrowing veterans " and "fled fox-like into holes." We are told further about "Raghu Bhosla" and the advance of "Bala Rao" (Balajee Baji Rao) against him in Bengal and also about the fall of "Mustafa Khan Afghan" at Jagdishpur and also of Shamsher Khan who had allied himself with the " Bargis."[34] But the most interesting things in this letter are the references to " the Chauth of Raja Sahu" described as "a black stain on the spring tulip of the Taimuriyas." The writer recalls the previous period and contrasts it with his own age and bemoans " Perhaps the Caliph, who occupies the throne has forgotten in these evil days the misfortunes of the creatures of God." The writer next refers to "the investings by the Bargies which happened not once but several times." He makes a somewhat incorrect statement when he says that " Raja Sahu always deputed a few thousand Bargies horse soldiers in this country so that they should gather the grains of this land as best as they could. My brother," he adds, " in this gathering of grains from the creatures of God, the whole land from the Ganges to Medinipur (Midnapur), from Medinipur to Murshidabad, from Murshidabad to Ramgarh, and from Ramgarh to Karamnasa has been completely ravaged and devastated." In conclusion the writer tells us that negotiations had been going on for the settlement of the question of Chauth from the end of the month of Shaban ; ultimately the Nawab agreed, in *Z*iqad, to pay a sum of Rs. 12 lakhs as Chauth of Orissa."

Aliveady gained many successes against, and pursued the

32. There is a letter of Raja Ram Narayan which gives an account of Safdar Jung's activities in Patna and Bihar, bu tthe details given here are not found elsewhere.

33. He was installed as Governor of Hugli. 34. S. M.

Marathas from place to place. In 1749 he regained Cuttack and again lost it. There was another invasion of the Marathas in the following year and though the Nawab could pride himself on keeping them out of Bengal the constant hostilities and incessant warfare as also destructions caused by the rebellious activity of his impetuous spoilt grandson,[35] Sirajuddowla, compelled him to conclude a definite agreement with Raghujee Bhonsla, practically ceding Cuttack to him on condition of Mir Habib being appointed as Governor of Orissa on his behalf to preserve the semblance of his authority. The Chauth of Bengal, also agreed to, was commuted for an annual payment of 12 lakhs. Even Bihar had to contribute towards it, for a letter of Raja Ram Narayan, Deputy Governor of this Province, which will be quite new to the readers, says, " Order had been issued that as the whole of the Suba and the Jagirdars and Zamindars within and without the jurisdictions of the Nizamat had been suffering from destruction at the hands of the Marathas, your Highness, keeping in view the need of repose and tranquility for all concerned had settled the question of Chauth with Raghujee and the remittance of the agreed amount is necessary. I, the child of the slave of Your Highness, had been directed to perform my duty by arranging for the realisation of the amount of the Chauth of this province, just as that already arranged for so satisfactorily in Bengal. May Your Highness, my beneficent master, be safe and sound in health! Previously, in reply to the command, I had made my submission and requested that I should be informed about the arrangements made by the Mutasaddis (Clerks) in Bengal. For the present the child of the slave of Your Highness had sent Dastaks and issued injunctions to all the Jagirdars here but Tour Highness knows the conditions of the Imperial Jagirdars and it looks advisable to issue recommendatory letters from there so that they may be sent to the Imperial metropolis through Hakimul Mamalaik[36] and Raja Jugal Kishore Bahadur. to the people concerned. " (Dastur-ul-Insha)

Elsewhere we find numerous references to the presence of the Marathas in and about Patna and Bihar of which nobody appears to have taken any notice of. The Persian ms., Tazkiratul Kiram, which is a religious work giving an account of Hazrat Shah Mojib, called Tajul Arafeen,of Phulwari Shariff, and of his spiritual guide and his successors, contains several references to this Sufi saint of the eighteenth century Bihar, who had been forced many a time to leave his home

35. There are very interesting references to the attempt of Siraj to take by force the government of Bihar in the letter of Raja Ram Narain D. I.

36. See S. M. and writer's papers relating to Raja Ram Narain in Indian Historical Quarterly, Calcutta.

and take shelter in the old city of Patna with the Kashmiri traders Ashraf Khan[37] and others, on account of the raids of the presence of the "Bargis". Unfortunately, there is no date given to such occasions. But on page 94 we read how "Hazrat Ghulam Naqshband was compelled by the disturbances created by the troops of the Bargis to accompany his father-in-law and Pir Tajul Arafeen to leave his home with his dependants and proceed to the city of Patna. It was during his stay there that he was seized with his fatal illness. He died at Azimabad in the middle of the night of the third Ziqad 1173 A. H and "Inspite of the stoppage of traffic on account of the disturbances caused by the fights between the Nazim of the City and the chiefs of the Bargis the bathing and the shrouding ceremonies of the sacred corpse were performed at that very place and it was carried to Phulwari and buried near the tomb of his revered father Hazrat Khwaja (Imaduddin Qalandar)." The presence of the Marathas, in Patna in 1173 or 1760 has been mentioned by other authorities. The letters of Raja Ram Narain, the Naib Nazim of Bihar, contain many references to the attempts of the "Shahzada" (Shah Alam) and his French and Maratha supporters to capture the city of Patna. One of the letters dated 21 Ramzan, Thursday gives a long account of the 2nd siege of Patna by the "Shahzada (Shah Alam) and the French and Maratha and Kamgar, be the curse of God upon him!" and says that "while on the 3rd day of the siege, and at night time, the French made an assult on the gate of Begumpur, on the 4th i. e. yesterday, two hours before the end of the night, Kamgar and the Marathas and the French, proceeding from the west, and the Jalla, and the Rohillas and Zainul Abidin Khan Vazir and Madaruddowla marching from the east attacked the citadel and many skirmishes occurred and deeds of valour were performed." Elsewhere in the same letter which gives a graphic account of the massacre and bloodshed in Alamganj, Sultangunj, Mahendru, and Dargah of Shah Arzan Saheb, "may God sanctify his spirits," we are told that "according to the estimate of the English gentleman the Marathas are about 1000 in number, but from what has been seen here, they are about 6000 horsemen" (D. I. 46-47). Munna Lal, the historian of Shah Alam, mentions Khande Rao as the name of the Maratha Sardar of the Imperial pickets (O. P. L. Ms.). Sir J. N. Sarkar refers to "two Maratha Commanders of character, Sheo bhat and Babu Jan, who with the Raja of Bishunpur had come to join the emperor." "The junction of so much light cavalry put Kamgar upon exerting himself" (F. M. E. II). A letter of Raja Ram Narain refering to Shah Alam says that "that personage is staying with Kamgar and the Marathas at Birbhum" (D. I. 5). Mons, Law, Kamgar, and the Marathas are again referred to in a letter

37. Calendar of Persian correspondence Vol. I.

dated the 27th of Ramzan (D. I. 62). There is yet another reference to Shah Alam, Kamgar, Main, the Marathas, the French and Captain Knox (D. I. 120.). But the difficulty lies in the difference of about a month, 27th of Ramzan and 3rd of Ziqad when the saint died. The danger had passed, but the panic probably prevailed.

As regards other references in Tazkirat-ul-Kiram to the disturbances arising from the advance of the " oppressive Bargi troops " which compelled Hazrat Tajul-Arfeen to leave his village-home at Phulwari with his relations and associates such as Makhdum Alam, Shah Khuda Bux, Shah Muhammad Karim and Shah Ismatullah etc. and take refuge in Patna City, we are not in a position to provide any clue or date thereto. Once some men had returned to Phulwari and begun to rebuild their houses when the Bargis again came and plundered their materials. The historian, Khairuddin, refers in Tuhfa-i-Taza to Narain Rao Maratha of Jharkhand (Chotanagpur in Bihar) who had been invited at the head of 5000 foot and horse soldiers by Raja Balwant Singh of Benares to fight against Daim Khan of Keera Mangror and his supporter, Rajrup Singh, who had their estates on the borders of Bihar. This happened in 1167. A still more relevant reference in the same ms. is to " the Maratha troops in the vicinity of Azimabad " who had been invited to Benares and Ghazipur on the occasion of Shujauddowla's advance against the refractory Benares ruler, Balwant Singh. This event occurred after the death of Safdar Jung in 1169 A. H.

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SOME SANSKRIT WORKS RELATING TO MARAṬHĀ RULERS

Dr. A. D. Pusalker M. A., LL. B., Ph. D.

Works in Sanskrit constitute an important source for the reconstruction of the political and cultural history of India. After being subjected to careful investigations and scrutiny the Purāṇas are now considered as worthy of credence. The so-called historical works in Sanskrit are, in conception and execution, deliberately meant to be elegant poetical works rather than sober historical or human documents; and the attitude of the ancients towards history was quite different from what we have today. These historical kāvyas will not stand the test of modern standards of historical criticism: nonetheless they contribute not a little to our knowledge of ancient history. There are also biographical works called *Charitas*, such as the *Harshacharita*, *Navasāhasāṅkacharita*, *Kumārapāla-charita*, etc., which supply ample historical data. Besides the above, there are Sanskrit works eulogising or glorifying the author's patron, or recording some notable event or events of the period relating to the ruler or important personage. Writers on poetics sometimes compose stanzas in illustration of figures of speech, which describe the life or glories of their patron or deal with contemporary topics. Catalogues of Sanskrit Manuscripts and Histories of Sanskrit Literature refer to a large number of works which can be used with advantage for the particular topic or period. The present paper purports to invite attention to some works in Sanskrit which refer to Marāṭhā rulers. Some of these works, especially those about the Bhoslas of Mahārāshṭra, have been utilised by historians.

In the following pages Sanskrit works are considered under two main divisions: Bhoslas of Mahārāshṭra, and Marāthā kings of Tanjore.

(i) BHOSLAS OF MAHĀRĀSHṬRA

Paramānanda's *Śivabhārata* describes in 31 chapters the exploits of Śivājī, the founder of the Marāṭhā Empire, in the form of a dialogue. The expedition and capture of Parṇālaparvata (Panhālā fort near Kolhāpur) is narrated by Jayarāma in 5 ullāsas in the *Parṇālaparvata-grahaṇākhyāna*. Keśava Paṇḍita's *Rājārāma-charita*, in 5 cantos, sketches the life of Śivājī's son Rājārāma, and describes in detail the struggle for Marāṭhā independence in Karnātak. *Śambhurājacharita* of Hari

Kavi, a Deccani Brahmin resident of Surat, was written at the instance of Sambhājī's minister Kavi Kalaśa, whom the poet calls Kṛishṇa Paṇḍita. It deals with the life and times of Śambhurāja (Sambhāji), the son and successor of Śivājī the Great. *Rādhāmādhavavilāsachampū* by Jayarāma mainly describes the lives of Kṛishṇa and Rādhā, and incidentally portrays the court-life of Śahājī Bhosla. Purushottama's *Śivakāvya* describes the Marāṭhā rule from Śivājī to the abdication of Bājīrāo II. Purushottama Bandeshṭi (1766–1856) was the resident of Peḍgaon in Ahmednagar District. There is an interesting work on poetics relating to the Peshwā period. *Alaṁkāra-mañjūshā* by Devaśaṅkara tells about Mādhavrāo I and Raghunāthrāo. The poet was a Gujarātī Brahmin, surnamed Purohit, son of Nāhanābhāi, and a native of Rāner (Rander ?). The work was composed at Urahpattana (Olpad). In the illustrations to the Alaṁkāras the poet sings the glories of Peshwāde Mādhavrāo I (1761) and his uncle Raghunāthrāo, who is spoken of as Rāghava. The Peshwās are spoken of as kings (*Mahendra*). The following etymology of the word Peshwā, given in the work, will be found interesting:[1]

पेषणं रिपुगणस्य महाजौ यश्चकार बहुधोद्यतखङ्गः ।
वाति पेषमिति पेशलमर्थं पेषवापदमुपैति वदत्तं ॥

(ii) MARĀṬHĀ KINGS OF TANJORE

Ekojī or Veṅkojī, brother of Śivājī the Great, was the first Marāṭhā king of Tanjore. Śahājī, the second ruler, was a patron of Sanskrit learning, and bore the title "Abhinava-Bhoja". He presented Śaharājapuram (modern Tiruvisanallurd) to a band of 46 learned pandits. Some of the rulers, besides patronising scholars, were themselves authors. To Sarfogi II (1800–1832), almost the last of them, goes the credit of rendering the greatest and permanent service to the cause of Sanskrit learning by his plan for increasing the usefulness of the Palace Library. Whilst on a pilgrimage to Banaras, he purchased every valuable manuscript that was available and engaged a host of pandits to transcribe those that could not be purchased. As a fitting tribute to this patron the library has been named Tanjore Maharajs Sarfoji's Sarasvati Mahal Library.

In *Kosala-Bhosalīyam*, Śeshāchalapati describes in six cantos the reign of king Śahājī along with the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in double entendre. Though the work is named *Kosala-Bhosalīyam*, it mainly deal-with Śahājī. The author was a Telugu Brāhmaṇa, son of Veṅkaṭapatya, mātya, and bore the title Āndhra-Pāṇini. King Śahājī rewarded him with Kanakābhishekam and a palanquin, etc. Like Śeshāchalapatia

1. *Bhandarkar's Report*, 1887–91 (Bombay, 1897) p. lxiv.

Gaṅgādhara, the author of *Bhosalavaṁśāvalī*, was a protégé of Śahāji.[2] This work, though expected to give the story of the Bhosalas and their complete geneological list, concerns itself in the main with Śahājī. *Bhosalavaṁśāvalī-Champū* by Naidhruva Veṅkaṭeśa Kavi summarises the story of the ancestors of Sarfoji I and deals with his life and glorious reign in full. The author was the son of Dhamarāja, a resident of Manalur. He was patronised by Sarfoji I and a title "Sāhityabhoga" was given to him. The work is available in the first Āśvāsa only. *Śṛiṅgāramañjarīsāhājīya* by Appa Dīkshita is a drama describing the life and history of king Śahājī, and it was staged at the Chaitra festival at Tirūvaiyur (Tiruvadi). The author, also known as Appā Śāstrin or Periya Appā Śāstrin, was the son of Chidambara Dīkshita, and lived in Kilayur near Tanjore. Chokkanātha, son of Tippādhvari and Narasāmbā, of Bharadvāja gotra, lived in Tanjore under the patronage of Śahāji. He described the marriage of king Śahājī with Kāntimatī in his drama *Kāntimatīpariṇaya*. *Sāhendravilāsa* by Śrīdhara Veṅkaṭeśa, known as Ayyāval, in 8 cantos, immortalises the name of his patron. The author was the son of Liṅgarāya, and was one of the 46 donees of the village of Sahājīrājapuram. Ḍhuṇḍhirāja's *Śāhavilāsagītam*, based on the model of the *Gītagovinda*, praises king Sahājī in 8 cantos. Ḍhuṇḍhirāja was a Marāṭhā Brāhmaṇa of Banaras, son of Lakshmaṇa of Vyāsa gotra, and disciple of Tryambakarāya. He calls himself Abhinava Jayadeva. He was patronised by Śahājī, and was the state Paurāṇika (*Śrīsāhamahārāja Paurāṇika Ḍhuṇḍhi Vyāsa*) residing at Swamimalai. Lakshmaṇa Kavi was the court poet of Śahājī whose merits he illustrates in the verses of his *Śāharājīyam*. The work deals with various aspects of literary criticism of the type of Vidyānātha's *Pratāparudrīya*. Lakshmaṇa hailed from Kāśī, and was the son of Viśveśvara Śāstri and Bhavānī. Bhūminātha or Nallā Dīkshita, son of Bālachandra of Kauśika gotra, was a disciple of Rāmabhadra Dīkshita. His *Dharmavijaya Champū* deals with the life and history of king Śahājī, whom he calls modern Bhoja (*Abhinavabhojarāja Śāha Mahimahendra...*). *Sumatīndrajayaghoshaṇā* by Sumatīndra is in praise of king Śahāji. Sumatīndratīrtha was a Madhva Brāhmaṇa, and a disciple of Surīndratīrtha and Veṅkaṭa Nārāyaṇa. He was patronised by Śahājī, and provided with a maṭha near Tiruvadamarudur. *Śāharāja nakshatramālā* by Nārāyaṇa has 27 stanzas in praise of his patron Śahājī, and three more relating to himself and his connection with the king. *Śāharājāshṭapadī* by Śrīnivāsa contains certain phrases in praise of Sahājī set to a particular kind of

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2. *Des. Cat. of Skt Mss. in the Tanj. Sarfoji's Saras. Mahāl Lib.* (Ed. P. P. S. Sastri), Vol. VII, 3725. According to Krishnamachariar (*Hist. Class. Skt. Lit.*, pp. 246f), however, Gaṅgādhara was a minister of Ekoji.

tune. Of the same type is the *Śāharājasabhāsarovarṇinī* by Lakshmaṇa, son of Viśveśvara Śāstri, whose *Śāharājīyam* has already been described earlier. *Śahajirājāshṭapadī* is an incomplete manuscript, without the name of its author, and is a panegyric on Śahāji. Bhāskara, the author of *Sahajipraśasti*, was a protégé of Śahājī. The king presented him with a village of 40 houses Bhāskararāyapuram, on the Kāverī ; but he distributed all houses to his disciples.

Śarabharājavilāsa by Jagannātha, son of Śrīnivāsa of Kāvala family, gives the history of the Marāthā kings of Tanjore. Jagannātha was attached to the court of Serfoji (1711–28) and has immortalised his patron in this work composed in Kali 4822 (= 1722 A. D.). He is quite distinct from his namesake, the celebrated author of the *Rasagaṅgādhara*. Narasiṁha's *Guṇaratnākara* is a work on Alaṁkāras in glorification of king Sarfoji. Anantanārāyaṇa, the author of *Sarabhojicharita*, was the son of Mṛityuñjaya and Brahadāmbā, and belonged to the family of Anantayajvan. After coming to Tanjore, he requested Sarfoji to add him to the four poetic gems of the court as the fifth, and consequently gained the title Pañcharatnakavi.

Sāhityamañjūshā by Sadājī, composed in Śaka 1747 (=1825 A. D.), gives a description of Śivājī and his family. The author was a contemporary of Sarfoji (1800–1832). *Śarabhojimahārājajātakam*, which does not mention the author's name, gives a complete life reading of Śarabhoji II, with whose name, as already stated, the Tanjore Library is associated.

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EARLY LIFE OF NARO VISHNU APTE

PROF. T. S. SHEJWALKAR B. A.

The vogue of family histories in Marathi began with a history of the Apte family published in 1914 and the first branch with which it began happened to be a Sardar family of Gwalior. Those were early times and the writers of such histories had not then been sophisticated so as to suppress evidence which would not be favourable to the historical characters they treated in their histories. Naro Vishnu is reported to have begun his life as a shagird or personal attendant with the Sardar Patwardhan family of Sangli. Naro Vishnu rose in life because he was " clever, cunning as well as courageous".[1] He is reported to have begun his life "by collecting under him equally clever people of dubious character who would be doing their ordinary duty by day and be committing robberies at night. By these means Naro Vishnu gained power and wealth and became a problem to the Government officers responsible for maintaining law and order in the Southern Maratha Country". If such a life was possible for a Brahmin clerk under a Brahmin Sardar of the Brahmin Peshwa rule, it does not speak well of the rule of those times. The first exploit of Naro Vishnu mentioned by the writer of this family history is the taking of the fort of Belgaum by a night attack ostensibly without any reason. This was in the times of the last Peshwa Bajirao after he had become an ally of the English by the treaty of Bassein. No direct historical evidence was then available of this affair from historical papers, as this incident is ostensibly mentioned from heresay oral information of later times. With the publication of Khare's volumes however, new light is thrown on this affair.

The fort of Belgaum was in the charge of the Biniwale family since it was bestowed on Visaji Krishna Biniwale some forty years earlier. Siddheswar Mahipat, the adopted grandson of Visaji, was living there in 1804. He was not devoid of valour and had full pride in his important charge. He was acting as a loyal servant of the Peshwa Bajirao and not taking shelter behind the English as the Patwardhans were doing to save themselves from the antagonism of Bajirao. Naro Vishnu was at this time in charge of Shahapur, just adjoining Belgaum, as the agent of Chintamanrao Appa Sanglikar. As Biniwale and Patwardhan were both officers of the Peshwa Bajirao, there was no cause for any antagonism

1. Apte Family History, p. 3-4.

between them. Siddheswar Mahipat was acting as a gentleman, as can be seen from his letters, and wished to be on friendly terms with his neighbouring officers. It seems Naro Vishnu asked for a loan of some cannon pieces from Siddheshwar Mahipat in order to punish the Desai of Jambot in the Jagir of the Patwardhan family. Siddheshwar, remembering the friendship between the families for three generations, consented to hand over some guns. Accordingly Naro Vishnu with his men came to take delivery of the guns on Thursday, 30th August 1804.[2] Visaji Raghunath, serving under Biniwale, was sent with the guns to the gate of the fort of Belgaum to deliver them to Naro Vishnu. It was evening when the gun was delivered. After taking possession of the cannon, Naro Vishnu asked for permission to see Siddheshwar Mahipat. He was given permission to come with ten men of his party only.[3] Naro Vishnu entered with a party of Arab infantry and violently made way through the second gate, and coming to the third gate, cut off some Northern Indian men who were guarding that gate. Firing began between the two parties. It seems to have been the intention of Naro Vishnu to approach Biniwale's mansion, capture Siddheshwar and thus in the confusion to take possession of the fort by treachery and violence. But the men in the fort were vigilant to stop the mischief then and there. Keeping presence of mind, they cut off and defeated the Arab party. It was now night and Naro Vishnu escaped in the dark by climbing the wall near the gate and leaping below outside. In this skirmish some men in the fort fell or were wounded, but Naro Vishnu's party had already taken charge of Visaji Raghunath and sent him to Shahapur. It was also reported that some men even tried to cut his neck but the Arabs did not allow that atrocity. Visaji Raghunath had received ordinary wounds of javelins. These happenings were reported by Siddheshwar Mahipat himself to Chintamanrao Sanglikar and his uncle Gangadharrao of Miraj.

This affair illustrates the times as well as the particular character of Naro Vishnu Apte. The affair did not end here, however. Though Siddheshwar again reported the matter to the two Patwardhans, they had not taken any action against Naro Vishnu. He continued the mischief he had begun and tried to take possession of the town of Belgaum near the fort. Siddheshwar would have punished Naropant, but Chidambar Dikshit Swami of Gurl-Hosur who was respected as a religious head in those days, wrote to Siddheshwar that he would write to Chintamanrao Appa and settle the matter amicably. He sent Anandrao Lagu for that purpose to Sangli.[4] Though waiting for a reply from Chintamanrao meant guarding the fort of Belgaum with additional

2. Khare XV 6927, 7092. 3. Khare XV 6960.
4. Khare XV 6960.

infantry necessitating uncalled for additional expenditure, Siddheshvar, out of respect for the Swami and hoping for the good, waited for the time being. Chintamanrao sent one Dajiba Limaye to Belgaum. Siddheshwar proved the treachery of Naro Vishnu to that person and asked him to punish Naropant or at least send him away to some distant post. Dajiba accordingly sent away Naropant to Turukwadi with his troops, but he would not stop his mischief. Siddheshwar again complained to Dajiba and asked for the surrender of the treacherous persons. Though Naropant had removed himself to Turukwadi at a little distance from Belgaum, he continued to receive ammunition and provisions from Shahapur in charge of Dajiba Limaye. Limaye refused to surrender Naro Vishnu and his men as he said ;Naropant was not serving under him. Not only would not Limaye urge on Naropant the necessity of departure from the place to a distant post, but on the other hand advised Siddheshwar to pay something to Naropant for his satisfaction. Naro Vishnu ransomed and looted one village dependant on Belgaum and carried away cattle which were grazing outside the walls. He moved to Uchgaon and Ambewadi from which place he continued the mischief. Residents of Belgaum guarded their cattle by accompanying them with guns while Naropant continued to receive cash and ammunition from Shahapur and men of his party came back and lived in Shahapur. On another occasion Naropant came to old Belgaum and from thence proceeded to Hasur. There he ransomed some villagers and got money by illtreating them. On this, the troops sallied out of the fort and defeated Naropant who ran away. Seeing that the mischief would not end and the presence of treacherous persons so adjoining to the fort as at Shahapur was dangerous to the safety of the fort, Biniwale took charge of that town. He still asked Dajiba Limaye to settle the matter amicably. But he with Naro Vishnu withdrew themselves under the protection of the Peshwa's Sarsubhedar of Karnatak, whence they continued their machinations as before. By these activities Siddheshwar was put to unnecessary expenditure from a subject of the Peshwa. The town of Belgaum under him suffered heavily. Biniwale had to contract a debt of more than a lakh for this affair. Hearing of this discomfiture, Chintamanrao Appa thought of sending troops against Siddheshwar to take back Shahapur, which was administered by Siddheshwar in Patwardhan's name as before. He continued to write to Sangli and Miraj about the affair in an humble manner, so that the thing may not be carried to further trouble. But he had to do his duty to guard the important fort of Belgaum as a commandant of the Peshwa.

Though Siddheshwar suspected the hand of the Patwardhan Sardars behind this aggression, from Chintamanrao Appa's letter to his uncle it does not seem to be so. Naro Vishnu was a clerk originally in the keeping of Sakharam Dhonddeo Kale, an important relation of the

Patwardhans. He had acted on his own initiative and would not budge an inch when Dajiba Limaye approached Shahapur. Apte asked for payment of the expenditure he had incurred in checkmating the rebel Desai of Jamboti, for which work he had asked the loan of cannon from Biniwale. Seeing that Limaye was coming with a strong force, Apte removed himself to Turukwadi, an inam village of Vithal Vishram Sabnis, taking charge of the post without any title. Limaye took charge of the vacated post of Shahapur on the Dassara day (14th Oct. 1804). Apte continued to spread his mischief to other places as well and is reported to have invaded Here-Chandgad, another post belonging to another Jagirdar. Naro Vishnu had a force of some 1500, including Arab infantry and Gardis.

At this time the whole of the Karnatak area was very unsettled and rebellions were occurring everywhere. The suppressed Desais of that region brought under submission by the Peshwa during the last 60 years had raised their heads, and taking advantage of the weakness of the Central Government under the Peshwa Bajirao, tried to get back their rights as feudal lords. They sided with the English when Wellesley came from Srirangapattan to Poona through this region. As the Patwardhans had also sought the protection of the British, Bajirao had not any love left for their territories which had become semi-independent. Knowing this, the local Desais tried to take possession of the Patwardhan Jagir by aggression, knowing that the Peshwa would not send an army to the help of Patwardhans. Seeing that every body was having a hand in the pie, Naro Vishnu, taking a clue from the times, himself began a career of aggression as mentioned above. Finding that the Patwardhans would not allow him a free hand in their territories, he boldly went over to the side of Kolhapur, at that time desperately trying to make itself free from the power of the Peshwa and the shackels of the Patwardhan Sardars. In October 1805, that is, one year afterwards, he is reported to have collected troops from Kolhapur and made Daddi his centre of activities. From that place he again began his aggression against Belgaum. As the strong fort of Belgaum was the centre of Peshwa's power in this region, all rebels wished to take this post, so as to be free to go on with their career without any hindrance. The Desai of Anagol helped Apte with money and allowed him to come to Ambewadi, so as to be nearer to Belgaum. The Chhatrapati of Kolhapur always thought this region as his personal domain, which had been illegally occupied by the Peshwa and his sardars. No doubt he had a title to this region according to the treaty of Warna of the year 1731, but what was the use of this title when he could not make good his to claim the teritory by actual possession during the last: 75 years ? At this time Ratnakarpant Appa was the chief advisor of the Kolhapur

Chhatrapati and being a valiant man he tried to make good the claims of his master by leading expeditions into that region, during the anarchy that set in with the advent of Bajirao to the Peshwa's masnad. He was not the person to lose an opportunity to get his end by supporting an ambitious, unscrupulous and bold person of the type of Naro Vishnu. What happened afterwards is not noted in the papers published upto now, but Biniwale seems to have lost the post of Belgaum and Bajirao seems to have sequestered his saranjam. As a matter of fact this loyal servant of the Peshwa had tried to maintain Peshwa's direct authority over the region during these troublous times against great odds. He had, in April 1804, defeated and slain in battle Mira Desai of Pachhapur, who had risen in rebellion, thus re-establishing Peshwa's rule there[5]. As the pass of Pachhapur is the entrance to Southern regions for armies coming from the North, the holding of this keypost was an important point in the strategy of this region.

But loyalty and integrity had no place in those troublous times. Adventurers of the type of Naro Vishnu had a chance to rise under those conditions. Later on, Naro Vishnu was entertained in the service of the Peshwa Bajirao who seems to have thought discretion better than valour. Naro Vishnu was one of the trusted captains of the last Peshwa during the last years of the Peshwa's career and after his defeat followed him to Brahmavarta in his exile. Afterwards he took service under Daulatrao Scindia at Gwalior. There also we get a glimpse of his boisterous and bold nature in the civil wars that followed the death of Daulatrao. He died at Indore in 1843. The descendants of this rebel adventurer rose in status to be the equals of the Peswa family, when his grandson was married to a daughter of the Peshwa Bajirao at Brahmavarta after his death.

Naro Vishnu, to judge from his portrait and also the portraits of his descendants, seems to have been not a fair and good looking man as described by the writer of the family history, but a completely dark man with a face befitting a bold and unscrupulous adventurer such as this man was throughout his career. The very fact that he became and could go on as a confidential servant of the Peshwa proves his way of life. Since the rise of Shivaji, his example of a bold adventurer was imitated by many men in Maharashtra and it finally became almost the only way to rise in life. As none of these imitators of Shivaji possessed his idealism, principles and character, they helped to create disunion and finally anarchy in the Maratha State. How in a particular epoch, a particular way of life becomes the ideal of the people, which finally degenerates into a nuisance to society, is well illustrated

5. Khare, 6821 and 6828.

by such examples from Maratha History. This lesson of history has use for all time. We are seeing before our eyes the dangers of the faked imitation of Mahatma Gandhi and his way of life. We also see the imitation of the first industrialists and merchants who helped the cause of Swadeshi and thus laid the foundation of the economic independence of India, and the ways and means of their successors at present. All and sundry people who are rising before us from the dust are imitating in the political, social and economic fields the ways of supposedly good men, but the results of their activities while raising them personally to a higher status in life and making them to some extent historial characters also, are proving very detrimental to the good of the people as a whole. Nor does it seem that any one can put a stop to such a cycle, just as in the 18th century none could stop the various adventurers who created anarchy in India and ultimately paved the way for the rise of the British power in this country. Let us hope that such a fate does not await us in future !

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MUHAMMAD QULI QUTB SHAH'S CAMPAIGNS AGAINST KALINGA

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One of the main incidents in the reign of Sultan Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah of Golconda is his re-conquest of Kalinga on the east coast of the Dakkan. Ferishta gives a rambling account of this event[1] but his information is vague, incomplete and wrong in several respects. Briggs in his translation of Ferishta's account assigns the "successful operations against the Hindoos along the eastern coast north of Cossimkota" to 1599 A. D. This date is arbitrary and against both Ferishta's account and a number of other sources. An attempt is made in this paper to discuss the Qutb Shahi conquest of this region in the light of all available sources.

The coastal strip in eastern Dakkan was under the Gajaptais of Orissa in the first decade of the sixteenth century. Krishnarāya, the celebrated emperor of Vijayanagara, conquered it from Pratāparudra Gajapati between 1513-16 A. D. but returned the territory to the north of the Krishna.[2] Rāmachandra, a son of Pratāparudra, was stationed at Koṇḍapalli and Rāmānanda, a trusted officer, was posted as governor of Rajahmundry. After the death of Krishṇarāya, Sultan Quli Qutb Shah of Golconda sent an expedition against the east coast. The efforts of his generals were unsuccessful to the south of the Krishna but they resulted in the conquest of Ellore and Rajahmundry to the north of that river.[3] Pratāparudra Gajapati died in 1540 A. D. and his dominions were plunged into confusion and disorder. Jamshed Quli succeeded to the Golconda throne in 1543. He maintained his hold over Ellore though Rajahmundry fell into the hands of a certain Vidiadri. Subsequently the local chieftains grew bold and aggressive. When Ibrahim Qutb Shah came to power the situation was alarming. Sītāpati, Raja of Khammammet and Vidiadri, Raja of Rajahmundry, besieged Ellore. Dilawar Khan, the governor of the town, appealed to the Sultan for help. Ruffut Khan was sent from Golconda in order to set matters

1. Briggs...*Rise of the Mahommedan Power* Vol. III. pp. 463-66; 69-74 and 79-81.

2. Nilakanta Sastri and Venkataramanayya—*Further Sources of Vijayanagara History*, Vol. I pp. 201 & 210.

3. Briggs *op. cit.*, Vol. III. pp. 360-64.

right. This general built the fortress of Neerdol or Nidadavōlu and from there launched an offensive against Rajahmundry. He crossed the Godavary, bye-passed Rajahmundry, took Dhowlesar or Dhavalēśvaram, entered the Godavary delta, took Tāṭipāka and returned victorious. Ferishta assigns this campaign to 1564 A. D. Two years after the battle of Taḷḷikōṭa, in 1567 A. D., the general returned to this region, repeated the former campaign and finished by capturing Rajahmundry itself. He then marched north up to the northern border of the Ganjam district and concluded the campaign. Ferishta ascribes this to 1569 A. D. Among the chieftains that submitted to this Golconda general in this campaign were Sarwaraj and Bhaybulundur, the powerful chieftain of Cossimcota.[4] The dates given by Ferishta for the two campaigns of Ruffut Khan do not seem to be correct for, a very powerful and influential ruler named Mukundadēva Gajapati was the ruler of this region up to Rajahmundry in the south between 1560-68 A. D.[5] Ruffut Khan's first campaign must have been concluded by 1560 and the second campaign could not have been started before 1568 A. D. Ferishta does not mention any reason for Ruffut Khan's second expedltion into the Godavary region or for his march further north. It is very likely that the rise of Teliṇga Mukundadēva Gajapati, mentioned above, to power in this region, and the consequent defiant attitude of the local chieftains induced Ruffut Khan to invade this region after the death of Mukundadēva. The rise of the Bāhubalēndras might have been an additional reason. The expansion of Qutb Shahi power to the north of the Krishna is indicated by other sources also. An inscription from Dharmavaram in the Guntur district[6] states that a mere general of Ibharāma *Chakravarti* took Rajahmundry and other fortresses in the Gajapati kingdom. Another record from Juttiga in the West Godavary district[7] mentions that the idols in one of the local temples were desecrated in the time of Ibharām Shāh.

Muhammad Quli became the Sultan of Golconda in 1580 A. D. and ruled till 1612 A. D. There was plenty of trouble during his reign in Kaḷinga and the entire region had to be reconquered after many campaigns. A certain Mukundaraj *alias* Mukunda Bāhubalēndra was the chief enemy of the Qutub Shahis in these campaigns.

It is necessary to discuss the political condition of the east coast in detail in order to bring out the significance of the Qutb Shahi conquest of this region during the reign of Muhammad Quli.

4. *Ibid*, pp. 411-12 ; 421-26.
5. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, Vol. I. pp. 341-47.
6. S. I. I., Vol. X. no. 753. 7 *Ibid.*, no. 749.

Pratāparudra Gajapati died in 1540 A. D. as stated above. Two of his sons ruled after him for less than two years. The Gajapati throne and title were then usurped by Govinda Vidyādhara, the earstwhile minister, in 1542 A. D. This usurper and his successors are known as the members of the Bhoi dynasty in the local records. The rule of this family was also short lived and was brought to an end in 1559-60. A Teliṅga or Telugu chieftain named Mukundadēva, accompanied by four of his brothers, came to Kaḷinga, put an end to the last member of the Bhoi family and himself usurped both the throne and the title of the Gajapati. He was a powerful ruler. He consolidated the former Gajapati dominion under his leadership and tried to oppose the Afghan chiefs of Bengal who now began to harass Orissa.[8] He is known to have extended his influence up to Rajahmundry in the south[9]. Towards the end of his reign a certain Rāmachandra, the commander of Sarangarh, defied Mukundadēva's authority and after his death carved out for himself a small independent principality with Khurda as his head-quarters. Mukundadēva died, fighting the Muslims from the north for the sake of the independence of the Gajapati dominion, in 1568 A. D. For 24 years after his death there was confusion and disorder all over his dominions. He is known to have had two sons but they do not seem to be men of any mettle. Meanwhile Akbar, the great Mogul emperor, launched an offensive against the Sūr chieftains of Bengal and his general Rāja Mān Singh invaded Orissa in 1590 A. D. and conquered its northern part by 1592 A. D. In the settlement that followed the Gajapati territory was divided into several zones. The territory up to the Mahānadi was retained directly under Mogul rule. The region between Mahānadi in the north and the Ganjam district in the south was given over to Rāja Rāmachandra of Khurda and was allowed to assume the title of Gajapati. A little to the south were the fortress of Āl which was given to Rāmachandra, son of Teliṅga Mukundadēva and the fortress of Sarangarh which was assigned to Chakauri Bhowerber, his brother. Further south were the two divisions of Kaḷingadaṇḍapat and Rajahmundry.[10] Details about the rulers in these two divisions are not available in contemporary Mogul records. The account of Ferishta mentions a Bhaybulundur and his son Mukundaraj as the chieftains of Cossimcota to whom Sītāpati of Khammammet and Vidiadri of Rajahmundry looked for help and support.

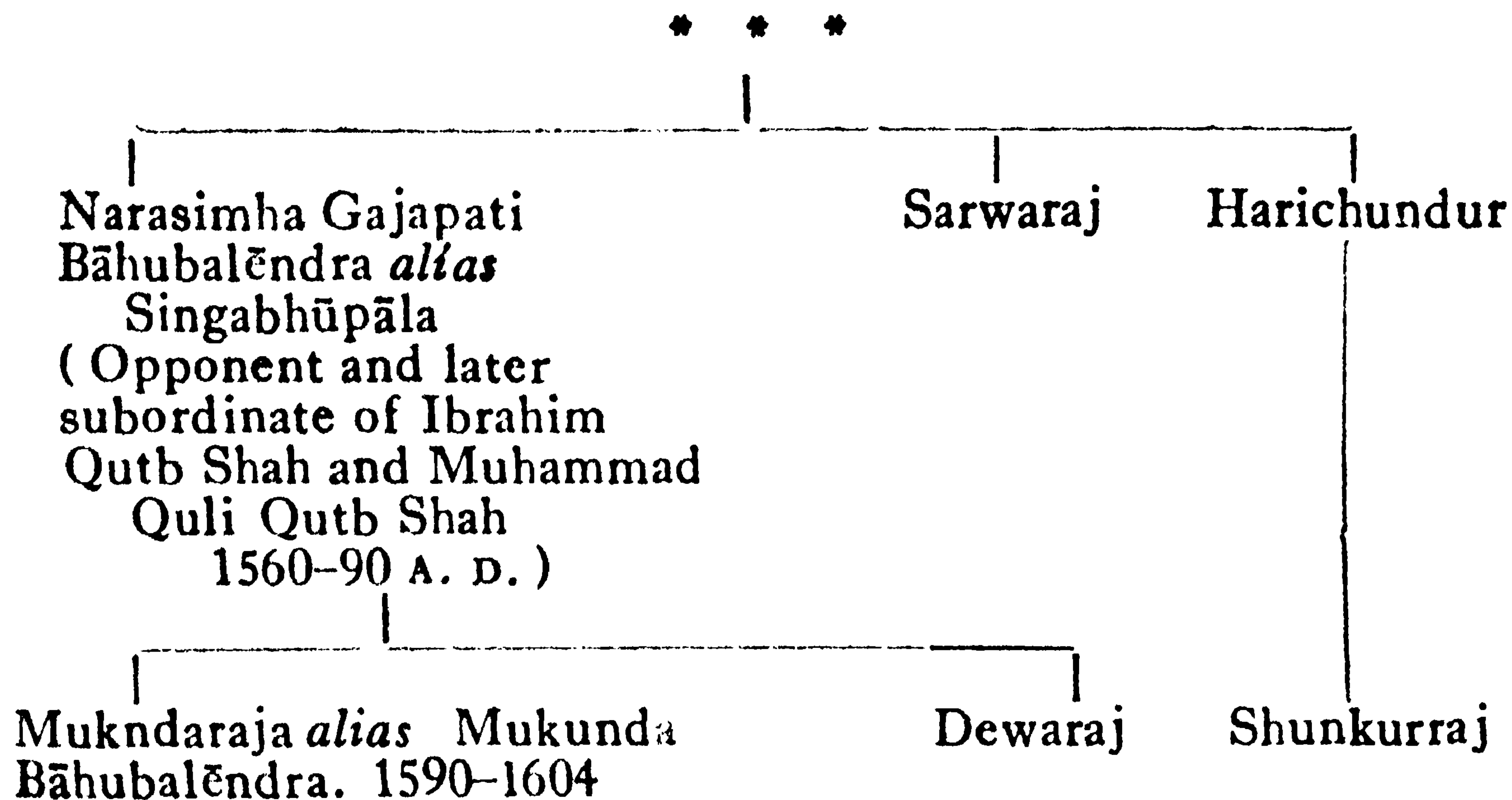
Several chieftains bearing the name Bāhubalēndra are known from contemporary inscriptions in Kaḷinga. The Bhaybulundur of Ferishta may therefore be taken to be Bāhubalēndra. The Muslim chronicler does not mention the personal name of the father of Mukundaraj but simply

8. Banerji, *Hist. Oris.* I. Ch. XXII. 9. S. I. I., Vol. X. No. 739.
10. Banerji, *Hist. Oris.* II, p. 16.

calls him Bhaybulundur or Bāhubalendra. One Bāhubalēndra is known to have made a grant in 1512 A.D. and flourished in the reign of Pratāparudra Gajapati.[11] An inscription from Boḍagula in the Ganjam district mentions Narasimha Gajapati *alias* Singabhūpāla of the Bāhubalēndra*kula* or family and the Sāḷuva lineage in 1590 A. D. He was a Golconda feudatory[12]. Ferishta mentions a Bhaybulundur, raja of Cossimcota, a tributary of Golconda who died about 1589-90. He also mentions his son Mukundaraj who had the title Bhayabulundur.[13] The Narasimha of the Boḍagulo inscription claims to be the ruler of Rajahmundry and Kaḷinga and Ferishta's Bhaybulundur was approached by Vidiadri of Rajahmundry in the time of Ibrahim Qutb Shah. The chieftain of the Boḍagulo inscription is not heard of after 1590 and the Bhaybulundur of Ferishta died about the same time. For these reasons the Bhaybulundur of Ferishta may be identified with Narasimha Bāhubalēndra of the Boḍagulo inscription. It is very likely that this chieftain usurped the title of Gajapati after the death of Mukundadēva, the Telugu chief of Orissa. It is also likely that he came into conflict with Ruffut Khan, the general of Ibrahim Qutb Shah, and was subjugated by him. He may be assigned to 1560-90 A. D. Ferishta mentions that this chieftain had two brothers Sarwaraj and Harichundur and a nephew named Shunkurraj. Bāhubalēndra's elder son was Mukndaraj and the younger one Devaraj.[14] An inscription from Srīkūrmam[15] mentions that the Golconda general Aminul Mulk drove out a certain Mukunda Bāhubalēndra. Two more inscriptions, one from Śrīkūrmam[16] and the other from Simhāchalam,[17] mention that Aśvārao, another Golconda general, drove out Mukunda Bāhubalēndra in 1604 A.D. There is no doubt about the identity of this Mukunda Bāhubalēndra, the adversary of these two generals and the Mukundaraj *alias* Bhaybulundur of Ferishta who figures in the same capacity. Mukunda Bāhubalēndra may, therefore, be assigned to 1590-1604 A.D. It is not known as to what happened to him subsequently. He does not figure in the transactions in Kaḷinga. His uncle, Harichundur, appears for some time as the opponent of Golconda authority but his ultimate fate too is not known. Probably the Bāhubalēndra family faded into insignificance after the final retirement of Mukunda into Bengal as a result of the relentless pursuit of the generals of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah. The pedigree of this family as derived from the sources mentioned above may be stated as follows:—

11. *Ibid*, I. p. 350.
12. S. I. I., Vol. X. no. 750. 13. Briggs, *op. cit.*, Vol. III. p. 463.
14. *Ibid*, pp. 424, 464, 469 and 470. 15. S. I. I., Vol. V. no. 1312.
16. *Ibid*, no. 1260. 17. *Ibid*, Vol. X. no. 755.

Bāhubalēndra
(Subordinate of Pratāparudra Gajapati. 1512 A. D.)



It was in this atmosphere that the Golconda generals conducted numerous campaigns in Kalinga. The Bāhubalēndras were their main opponents and with their fall the entire region fell into the hands of Muhammad Quli.

The Boḍagulo inscription, referred to already, states that the Sāha king i. e. the Qutb Shah, ruled over many fortresses in Āndhra situated in the middle of Trilinga having conquered it with the aid of Shāh Sūkar Ali Mōhana. The record is dated 1590 A. D. and the conquest must have been over by that date. Ferishta does not mention either this campaign or the general mentioned above. Had Muhammad Quli inherited this region the inscription would not have stated that he took it by the sword. Probably, Shāh Sūkar Ali had to lead a camgaign into this region before 1590 A. D.

The second campaign of the Golconda generals, and the first described by Ferishta is said to have been necessitated on account of the death of Bhaybulundur and the rebellion of his son Mukundaraj. It was instigated by Vidiadri of Rajahmundry. Mukunda retired to Cossimcota and threatened Birlas Khan, the local Muslim governor. The Sultan instructed Mir Zein Abedin, the *Rusumdar* and Amin-ul Mulk to deal with the rebellion. The first engagement was fought at Rajahmundry. Mukundaraj was defeated in it and fled to his head-quarters. There he killed the local Muslim governor and other officials. Aminul Mulk pursued him. Mukunda ran from place to place and sought assylum with Raja Rāmchandra. Not finding much encouragement in that quarter he finally retired into Bengal. The Muslim general stationed Alum Khan, Aasyrow and others and returned to Cossimcota and organised its government. Ferishta says that this

expedition took place after the Sultan built Hyderabad in 1589 A. D. and after the death of Bhaybulundur, which must have taken place in 1590 A. D.[18] An inscription at Śrīkūrmam dated 1599 A. D. states that Aminul Mulk defeated Mukunda Bāhubalēndra, who rebelled against the Sultan, at the pass of Chintapalli, killed all his chieftains, pursued him up to Bāṇāpuram and returned. On the way he came to Śrīkūrmam, destroyed the local temple of Kūrmanātha and built a mosque there. An inscription from Amīnābād[20] in the Guntur district, dated 1592 A. D. states that during the rule of Mahamandu Kulli Pādushā Oḍayaluṁgāru, Bollarāyaḍu, Sābāji, Alam Khān, Khān Khān etc. rebelled in the year *Khara*. This year corresponds to 1589-90. Ferishta mentions that the campaign against Cossimcota took place after the suppression of the rebellion of the jagirdars near Condabir or Koṇḍavīḍu. This campaign may, therefore, be assigned to 1590-99 A. D.

The third expedition was necessitated by the rebellion of Rawut Row and Harichundur, two Golconda subordinates. The latter was the uncle of Mukundaraj. Rawut Row attempted to set him up as the Raja of Cossimcota taking advantage of the preoccupation of the Golconda forces elsewhere. Harichundur obtained the help of Vaijnat Deo, obviously a Bhañja chieftain of that name, and induced his nephew Mukundaraj to return from his exile and attack Joorjora. Mukundaraj followed the scheme with great promptness. The Sultan sent Chungiz Khan to deal with this rebellion. He came and attacked Mukundaraj while Mir Zein-ul-Abedin attacked Harichundur and Vaijnat Deo. These two confederates were defeated at Vīraghōṭṭam. Ultimately the Bhañja chieftain made peace agreeing to become a Golconda tributary. Mukundaraj fled to Julmoor. His uncle came to his rescue. Chungiz Khan defeated both of them here and once again in the woods. Mukundaraj retired once again into Bengal. Very soon, however, Kistumraj, son of Rawut Row, raised a rebellion and invited Mukundaraj to come back. The latter reappeared but was defeated near Mudwara by Chungiz Khan and Dharmarow. A new general, named Syed Hussun, arrived on the scene. He built three fortress outposts in the hills in order to check Mukundaraj. Mukundaraj and his allies attacked these three outposts but were defeated. Having no other go he once again fled to Bengal. The Sultan sent a certain Suryarow who settled the Cossimcota country. Ferishta says that this trouble took place while the Golconda forces were engaged in helping the Sultan of Ahmadnagar when his captal was being besieged by prince Murad Mirza, son of emperor Akbar.[21] This event took place in 1597 A. D. Two inscriptions

18. Briggs, *op. cit.*, Vol. III. pp. 451 and 463. 19. S. I. I., Vol. V. No. 1312.
20. *Ibid*, X. No. 751. 21. Briggs, *op. cit.*, Vol. III. p. 467.

throw further light on this campaign. One of them from Śrīkūrmam,[22] dated 1604 A. D., states that at the instance of the Sultan, Aśvārao took Koppulavārikoṭhāṁ Vīraghōṭṭam and Yeṛṛajerla, drove Mukunda Bāhubalēndra beyond the border, came to Śrīkūrmam on the return march and made arrangements for the restoration of daily worship in the local temple which was stopped for some time. The other record from Simhāchalam[23] mentions the exploits of Aśvārao and records his gift of the village of Narava to the local temple for the restoration of worship in it. This inscription is also dated 1604 A. D. This campaign may, therefore, be ascribed to 1600–04 A. D.

Ferishta mentions another occasion on which the Golconda generals were called to Cossimcota.[24] It is said that when the emperor Akbar sent his son, prince Parviz, to invade the Dakkan, there were rebellions everywhere. Vaijnat Deo attacked Syed Hussun, the governor of Cossimcota. Chungiz Khan and Dharmarao came from Golconda and restored order. Vaijnat Deo died and his nephew was set up. That young man tried to rebel but was promptly put down. Prince Parviz came to the Dakkan in 1610 A. D. and Sultan Muhammad Quli died in 1612 A. D. This campaign may, therefore, be ascribed to 1610–12 A. D.

The Bāhubalēndras were thus the last Hindu chiefs that opposed the establishment of Muslim rule in Kaḷinga. Mukunda Gajapati, the Telinga or Telugu chief, did his best to oppose the aggressions of the Afghan chiefs in the north and the Qutub Shahis in the south. His mantle fell upon the Bāhubalēndra chieftains and they put up stiff resistance. Rāmchandra, the Rāja of Khurda, did not take any active interest in the affairs of the Bāhubalēndras in the south. Mukundraj sued for Vijayanagara help but the kings of that empire were preoccupied with the defence of the Koṇḍavīḍu region against Qutb Shahi attacks and after the battle of Tallikōṭa were engulfed in troubles on all sides. The local chieftains in Kaḷinga were too weak and their resources too limited compared with those of the Sultans of Golconda. Hence the Bāhubalēndras had to carry on a losing fight but carried it on admirably. Mukundadēva Gajapati and Mukunda Bāhubalēndra, thus stand out as celebrated heroes in the mediaeval history of Kaḷinga.

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22. S. I. I., Vol. V. No. 1260. 23. *Ibid*, X. No. 755.
24. Briggs, *op. cit.*, Vol. III. pp. 479–84.

— 18 —

THE MARATHA STATE OF BARODA

PROF. K. H. KAMDAR, M.A., Baroda

I am glad to add, by way of this brief review of the Gaekwars' achievements in Gujarat, humble though they were, as compared with those of their mighty predecessors, the Sultans of Gujarat and the Solankis of Patan, to the many tributes that are being paid in this volume to the work of Mahāmahopādhyāya Datto Vaman Potdar who is the founder of the Indian History Congress and who is the great worker of the Bhārat Itihāsa Sanshodhaka Manḍal of Poona. We, who are interested in the history and culture of India, look upon him as an elder. Personally I have always felt immense admiration for the tenacity of purpose and the simplicity of living which are the most conspicuous elements in his character, as they invariably are in that of every true son of Mahārāshtra.

Maratha administration in Gujarat ended in August 1949 on the occasion of the complete integration of the state of Baroda with the adjoining provice, now state, of Bombay. Many of us who could see at first hand the working of this government through official documents feel that its failures have received undue attention, while its achievements have been usually ignored by writers on Indian history. Much of this indifference and neglect can be explained by the fact that the land of Gujarat where the Gaekwars won their laurels was a corner place on the map of India. The neglect also is explained by :the sectarian, rather provincial turn which Baroda state politics unfortunately received at the hands of narrow-minded and bigoted politicians in the last years of the Gaekwar regime, although it must be said to the credit of Baroda's rulers that their aim was to build up in their scattered dominions, as it were, an intelligent and prosperous nation-state.

In this attempt to assess the performance of the Gaekwars, we should pause a little and examine the background of the state system, as it came to be built up by the Marathas throughout India from the days of the great Shivāji to the end of the Peshwa's regime. This background was in the main religious, if not theocratic and it was dominantly Hindu — it was built up for the "glory of the Devas and Brahmanas." The Maratha horse entered Gujarat, as it entered the rest of India, in order to rescue the Hindu populations from Muslim fanaticism and persecution under the new dispensation. The Hindu in Gujarat including Kathiawar or Saurāshtra, must be able to feel,

through the Maratha occupation, security of life and property not only, but also of religion, worship and culture. The Hindus were expected, therefore, to discard the element of fear which was the principal weakness in the character of the soft and timid populations of south Gujarat.

This new build-up could be effected in two ways — firstly by the expulsion of the Muslim power from Gujarat and secondly by the Maratha government adopting restorative and remedial methods in their policy.

The Moguls and their predecessors the Turks had succeeded in only partly eliminating Hindu power from Gujarat, whose old culture and civilization were still preserved in her temples and Upāshrayas, in her religion, customs and manners, and in her literature. Nāndod in eastern Gujarat, Idar in north Gujarat and Junagadh and Jamnagar in Saurashtra, defied Muslim authority for centuries. Gujarat's martial communities, Girasias, Kathis, Kolis, Waghers, Thakores, etc. remained perpetual sores to the Turk and the Mogul. The nuisance was aggravated by the feudal organization of their society. The Maratha rule destroyed Muslim authority at Ahmedabad, Baroda and other places ; it proceeded to restore the old places of worship in accordance with the avowed policy of the third Peshwa, Balaji Baji Rao or Nana Saheb; lastly, it gave a new turn to the life of the Hindus of Gujarat by encouraging Vedic and Puranic studies throughout its dominions.

With this end in view Damaji Rao Gaekwar and his successors seized Dakor and Sidhpur in North Gujarat, they possessed themselves of the entire bank of the holy Narbada, they took Dwarka and Somanath in Kathiawar. The work was at first destructive. This partly accounted for the shouts and laments of contemporary writers who no doubt shed sincere tears over the destruction of the trade and industry of Gujarat, specially of Ahmedabad, at that time possibly the richest city in India and even Asia, at Maratha hands.

It has been alleged so often that the Marathas never built so profusely and artistically as the Moguls and Turks did or as their Hindu predecessors did. The allegation is perfectly true, but I am afraid, it is made without due appreciation of the perspective and background of Maratha rule. The post-Aurangzeb period of Indian history was singularly barren, dry, sterile and colourless for art and architecture. Further the Moguls purposely neglected Ahmedabad and Gujarat cities which they possibly considered to have been too much saturated with mosques and temples; possibly they feared that posterity should regard their work as inferior to that of the kings and Sultans of Patan and Ahmedabad, who gave to India the rich artistic designs of Sidhpur, Dabhoi, Modhera and Ahmedabad. The Moguls neglected provincial capitals, specially Ahmedabad, Lahore being the only exception.

The Marathas could not be expected to play a better rôle in Gujarat. They regarded their work as mainly restorative and remedial, and not as creative and decorative.

I put in this class of restorative and remedial work the temples and shrines which the Gaekwars and their followers raised throughout Gujarat and Kathiawar. True, a modest attempt was made, as for instance at Somanath and Sidhpur and at Chandod on the Narbada where Malhar Rao Gaekwar built a splendid Ghat, to give a creative turn which necessarily failed, due to want of funds and also lack of craftsmanship. This restorative work continued under plan and modest unpretentious temples and shrines grew up on the banks of the Narmada, on the hill near Parner fort in south Gujarat, along the coast of the Arabian Sea near Somanath and at many other places. Each edifice gave on inscribed stone the year and date of its construction, its actual cost and the name of its builder. The builders were rulers or their relatives, ministers or bankers ; often they spent summer time at these places and their women, specially widows and old ladies worshipped at the shrines.

The result was great indeed. Karnali on the bank of the Narbada became the Banaras of Gujarat. Its temples and shrines were named after those of the great religious metropolis of Hindu India. They were modest and chaste constructions, built after the Hindu idea of temple-construction. Each temple received munificent endowment from the state. Artists were invited from Ahmedabad and other places to decorate their walls with pictures whose themes were borrowed from the epics and the Puranas. The models for dress and figure were taken from Gujarat, Kathiawar and distant Rajputana and Maharashtra. European influence is also discerned. Often the art appears grotesque. Such mural paintings are found at Baroda in the Tambekarwada. The restored temple-hall became the meeting place of Vedic and Puranic scholars who expounded the ancient lore to ignorant but pious listeners in Gujarati. Vedic studies which had practically died out from Gujarat in Muslim times now revived and learned Brahmins from all over India assembled at these sacred places. The chairs thus established were designated in contemporary official records as Vyāsāsanas which extended even to temples situated in neighbourly states, as for instance, Jamnagar. It was no ordinary coincidence that Swami Dayānand Sarasvati learnt his grammar and philosophy at Karnali before he went to Swami Virajananda for inspiration to revitalize Hindu society. The restorative work extended to old forts. In this category I place the shrine of Kalika at Dabhoi and the fort of Dabhoi which were restored by Damaji Rao Gaekwar, the shrine of Somanath which was restored by Ahalyabai at a cost of Rs. 10,000, the shrine of Bahucharaji in North Gujarat which was restored by Manaji Rao Gaekwar, the

temple of Jadeshwar on the hill near Wankaner in Kathiawar and the Ranchhodrai's temple at Dakor which was restored by the Tambanekars.

The achievements were often in imitation of Vaishnava Havelis or " residential shrines " which made their appearance in Gujarat after Akbar who encouraged the family of Vallabha Acharya to extend their sect throughout the empire. Ahalyābai continued this simple tradition when she built the famous shrine of Somanath, posting the *linga* far under the surface of the earth, evidently to elude the fanatical eye of a prospective Mehmud Gazanvi or Aurangzib and covering the edifice under a small modest dome, set with lotus-shaped slabs of Junagadh stone, which impart to it a mellow appearance, served as it is, in the background by the Arabian Sea. Unfortunately, in the succeeding century its holy precincts were encroached by Muslim and Hindu residential quarters.

The restorative work of the Gaekwars comprehended the entire sea-belt from Somanath to Kodinar, hallowed as it was, by the death or देहोत्सर्ग of Shri Krishna and the destruction of his great fraternity—the Jādavas.

This part of Kathiawar had remained the haunt of free booters, *Barvatiās* or outlaws as they are known in the local dialect. It was the Gir forest-tract, infested by lions and panthers with its small undulating hillocks, ever-flowing streamlets, and well-built and handsome population. Kathis, Girasias, Ahirs, Khants, Kolis etc. haunted this place. The Gaekwars conquered part of it from the local chiefs and their great representative, Kathiawar Divanji, Vithal Rao Devaji Dighe, settled it with agriculturists and merchants whom he invited from neighbourly states and from Div, Jafarabad, Cambay, even distant Bombay. Vithal Rao Devaji did much more. He attempted to set up, opposite to Div, a rival port at Velan, which he tried to equip with naval craft and commercial outfits. In the later generation, the Gaekwars established Pedhis or banks which they named after family gods and goddesses, as for instance the Mhalsakant Pedhi after Mhalsakant, the family deity of the Gaekwars, to finance trade and agriculture. They were mismanaged and had to be closed on the accession of the late Maharaja Sayaji Rao III (died 1939).

Selections from the Baroda Records reveal interesting details of Maratha policy as regards control of castes, re-marriage of widows, child-marriage, prohibition of infanticide and Sati etc. The aim was to relax the tyranny of the caste for which Gujarat is even now so notorious. The Gaekwars opened up the aboriginal's abode to the reformer and the administrator in south Gujarat which had remained a sealed corner.

Baroda rulers married in the Rajput families of Gujarat and Kathiawar. True, the matrimonial alliances were political. Probably

the aim was to raise the status of the Gaekwars. The alliances brought territory to the Maratha State, as for instance, Damaji's marriage with a princess of the Gohel family of Lathi, predecessor of Bhavnagar, brought to him a rich dowry of important villages which subsequently developed into the Damnagar Mahāl of the district or *Prant* of Amreli. Sons born of such marriages were necessarily excluded from the right of succession ; often the princelings, like all Rajputs, fomented trouble on the border lands with the help of their relatives and aimed at the establishment of independent status. The records reveal promise of substantial military help from the chief of Kuchch whose princess was married with a Baroda ruler, on the occasion of Mohmmad Ismail's raid on Palanpur in north Gujarat with 25,000 troops in 1793.

The Gaekwars were great patrons of the sect of Swami Nārāyan whom Bishop Heber met in the course of his tour in Gujarat. They patronized Muslim Pirs and saints. Maharaja Khande Rao Gaekwar's endowments to Muslim sacred places outside India were very well-known. The same Maharaja promised good help to the Gujarati poet Dalpram Dayabhai who approached him on behalf of the Gujarat Vernacular Society in 1863 in the following well-known Gujarati verse

दारवे दलपतराम खुदाविन्द खंडेराव।
टुडी गूजराती वाणी राणीनो वकील छुं ॥

Unfortunately the Maharaja could not fulfil the promise, as he died soon after the interview. Maharaja Khande Rao kept in service Vajra Mushti athletes who founded Vyāyāmashālās which became the centres of Indian athletics in Gujarat and Kathiawar. The Gaekwars founded at Baroda after the system of the Poona Darbar the *Shrāvani-Dakshina* examinations which tested scholars in their knowledge of grammar, philosophy, rhetorics, law and astrology and which continued to the date of Baroda's integration with Bombay. The Maratha community gave to Gujarat the system of Haradās Kathā which is now the accepted style of Puranic recitations at Baroda and other cities of Gujarat ; and they founded a new school of music in Baroda.

The Gaekwars did another great thing. They relinquished the English and Persian, and even Marathi languages, and replaced them by Gujarati which became the language of the administration, especially in the age of late Sayaji Rao III in 1890. The replacement of Persian by English was first started by Lord William Bentinck who wrote in March 1833 to the Maharaja of Baroda that he preferred English to Persian, as only in that language he could best express his own sentiments, although the partial use of Persian continued almost to the end of the nineteenth century, the last letter in Persian having been written in 1873 by the ruler of Idar who invited Maharaja Gaekwar to attend his daughter's marriage.

Gujarati literature did react to the influence of the court of Baroda. The best reaction is seen in the celebrated work, *Sarasvatichandra* the celebrated work of G. M. Tripathi, in the third volume of which the author has introduced, in the present writer's humble opinion, young Mani Raj after the ideal of Maharaja Sayaji Rao Gaekwar whose great talents as reformer and leader so much appealed to his contemporaries. I have taken pains to point this out in my critique of the political system of this great work in the first part of my स्वाध्याय or *Studies* in Gujarati. The Maratha community could not but help react to the local culture and we have in the person of Bapusaheb Gaekwar, A. D. 1779-1843, a Maratha poet, writing Gujarati verse in devotion to Vishnu and asking Hindus and Muslims to live in peace and respect each others' culture. Bapusaheb came under the influence of Dhiro Bhagat and he, like Narsingh Mehta of Junagadh whose influence is clearly visible in his poetry, worshipped in the company of Dheds. I give here two specimens of his poetry in Gujarati :

(१)

अमे बगड्या अमे बगड्या, लेजो जाणीरे
भाइ समे बगड्या, अमे वगड्या, लेजो जाणीरे
पारस संगथी पत्थर जोने बगड्या थयो पारस ते जाणे कोक ज्ञानीरे
तमे बगडो तो भाइ एवा बगडजो त्यारे तो मटे चोर्यांशींनी घाणीरे
सद्गुरुना संगथकी सेवक जुओ बगड्यो जेणे सत्नाम लीधुं छे जाणीरे ॥

* *

(२)

राम अने रहेमान तमे एक भाइ जाणजो
कृष्ण ने करीम एक कहीअे रे
विष्णु बिस्मील्लामां भेद नथी लगाड्यो
अने अल्लाह अलख एक लहीए रे

It will be seen that Bapusaheb Gaekwar wrote, like a true son of Gujarat, in good Gujarati. He was employed in the service of the Gaekwars, and had ready access to the Maharaja whose court often listened joyously to the rich devotional *Bhajans* of this Vaishnava poet and devotee.

This short sketch is a humble appreciation of the work of the royal family of Baroda in Gujarat before the age of Sayaji Rao III. The Gaekwars with the exception of Damajirao and the late Maharaja Sayaji-Rao III were rulers much below the average; still they tried to build up a miniature culture-state which was an example to the small principalities of Gujarat and Kathiawar and which deserves attention.

— 19 —

WAS THERE AN ORIGINAL SHORTER GĪTĀ?

SRI. P. C. DIVANJI, M. A., LL. M., Bombay.

I. Introductory remarks; II. Views of foreign scholars as to the homogencity of the work; III. Critical examination of the attempts of Garbe and Otto to make out a shorter Original Gītā; IV. Internal and external evidence as to the work as preserved being the planned composition of one aathor; V. Concluding remarks.

I. Introductory remarks.

The ancient and mediæval commentators of the Indian orthodox schools are unanimous in treating the Bhagavadgītā as a homogeneous work of the author of the Bhārata epic, although they differ as to the purport of the work as a whole and as to the view of the author with regard to the means for the attainment of salvation. This does not mean that they have failed to notice the apparently-contradictory statements contained in different portions of the work on some of the important topics. Almost all of them have taken note of them and reconciled them with the view, which in their opinion is the right one and which, the author had intended to be understood as such. Nor are they unmindful of the absence of logical sequence between the topics dealt with in some of the successive chapters of the work. Whilst each of them has tried to account for it in his own way, there is a general agreement between them as to treating the work as embodying the exposition by a single author of the Vedānta doctrine as interpreted in an age which was subsequent to that in which the earlier Upaniṣads had been composed and anterior to that in which Bādarāyaṇa Vyāsa evolved the Vedānta system on taking a comprehensive view of the principal ones and established its agreement with one set of Smṛtis, in which this work was included. Whatever the other points of disagreement between them, they are unanimous in holding that Veda Vyāsa has, in the first group of 6 chapters, tried to establish that the path of action leads to salvation if followed in a spirit of disinterestedness with the knowledge of the ideal aimed at and with intense devotion towards it in the form of contemplation, in the middle 6 chapters that the path of devotion is likely to lead to the same goal if it is pursued with the knowledge of the true nature of the All-pervading Essence or Deity called Vāsudeva and while continuing to discharge one's duties disinterestedly, and in the last 6, that the path of knowledge is likely to lead to the same objective if the necessary knowledge as to the true nature of the sentient and insentinent creatures, the source of the powers becoming manifest in them etc., is accompanied by a spirit of

intense devotion towards that source and a disinterested discharge of one's duties. It is true that Śankara has put up a tough fight as to knowledge and knowledge alone, which involves physical renunciation, being the immediate cause of salvation according even to the Gītā, as according to the Upaniṣads. But that view is shown to be reconcilable with the above exposition of the inter-relation between the three paths by drawing a distinction on the one hand between the appropriate courses of conduct for an Uttamādhikārī, and a Madhyamādhikārī, such as Arjuna was according to him, and on the other between Vividiśā-sannyāsa and Vidvat-sannyāsa (renunciation made with the object of acquiring knowledge and that made after it is acquired), the former being optional and the latter compulsory, according to his interpretation of Vedānta doctrine even as embodied in the Gītā. None of these commentators ever conceived the notion that the said work as originally composed must be a shorter one recommending exclusive and intense devotion to a personal God in the form of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, as opposed to a pantheistic God or an All-Pervading Impersonal Essence, or Deity called Brahman, either accompanied or not by contemplation as practised by the Sāṁkhya-yogins, as the only way to salvation.

II. Views of foreign scholars as to the homogeneity of the work.

2. European and American scholars have begun to study and reflect deeply over this work ever since Schlegel translated it into Latin in 1823[1]. Most of those who had approached the subject with an unbiassed mind and examined the work in a spirit of inquiry as to what the truth must be as to the contents and import of it, fall into two distinguishable groups. One led by Humboldt is of the view that inspite of the contradictions, which cannot be satisfactorily reconciled, the Bhagavadgītā "is a homogeneous work of an inspired poet, a sage speaking in the fulness and enthusiasm of his knowledge and his feelings, not a philosopher brought up in any school, who divides his material in conformity to a settled method and arrives at the last steps of his doctrines through the clue of a set of systematic ideas" and that therefore it is not right to subject it to a strict logical test.[2] Even so, the names of Humboldt and Hopkins, author of the

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1. Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature* Vol. I, pp. 426-27 (Calcutta edition).

2. Op. cit., pp. 434-35; Garbe's Introduction to his German translation of the Gītā, translated into English by N. B. Utgikar, p. 3, f. n. 5. Prof. Franklin Edgerton of the Yale University in his latest work entitled "The Bhagavad Gītā: Translated and Interpreted" (Harvard Oriental Series, Volumes 38 and 39, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press; London, Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1944) has translated and interpreted this work on treating it as a composite one, ignoring the above controversy altogether.

Great Epic and *Religions of India*, appear amongst those of the scholars who believe that the work in its present form is a revised edition of a smaller one, which must not have been divided into 18 chapters as at present.[3] Out of the two, Humboldt's analysis was somewhat superficial, though his conclusion was definite. According to him, it is primarily a religious work originally ending with the last stanza of Chapter XI.[4] Hopkins had gone deeper than Humboldt and come to the more precise conclusion that it must originally have been an unsectarian Viṣṇuite work ending with the matter contained in the 14th chapter and comprising in all 552 stanzas and was perhaps a late Upaniṣad[5]. When he calls it a " Viṣṇuite " work he does not mean that it had been composed for the glorification of Viṣṇu, the Paurāṇic god, who supports the universe, but Viṣṇu, the All-God. At the time of its revision it was, according to him, given the Kṛṣṇaite colouring which we find in it to-day, and this must have been done when Kṛṣṇa, a tribal hero, was raised to the position of an incarnation of the All-God, Nārāyaṇa *alias* Vāsudeva.[6] The philosophical portions of the work must, in his view, have formed part of the original work and the religious or devotional portions glorifying Kṛṣṇa must have been added at the time of revision. The other group of foreign scholars headed by Holtzmann, consider it, on the other hand, to be " a Viṣṇuite revision of an original pantheistic poem, a philosophico political episode of the old genuine Mahābhārata."[7] According to Holtzmann too, the philosophical portions, including the pantheistic ones, must have formed part of the original poem. But what distinguishes him and his group is their opinion that the portions in which the merit of devotion to Kṛṣṇa has been extolled must be in the original work but the identification of Kṛṣṇa with Viṣṇu must have been made at the time of revision. Bohtlingk did not belong to any of these groups. He found that there was a clear inconsistency between the devotional and the philosophical portions of the work, including even those composed from a pantheistic view-point, and considered it desirable to weed out all of the latter class and restore the Gītā to its pristine purity, as he conceived it. He himself did not however do so and left it to be done by one familiar with all the systems of Indian philosophy after making " an unprejudiced examination of the philosophical contents of the work."[8]

3. Garbe believing himself to be so qualified undertook the task. He, however, on the one hand, did not believe that the School of the

3. Garbe, *Op.. cit.*, p. 2. 4. *Op. cit.* p. 8.
5. *Religions of India*, p. 389 ; Garbe, *Op. cit.*, p. 4.
6. Hopkins *Op. cit.*, p. 399. 7. Garbe, *Op. cit.*, pp. 2, 4.
8. Garbe, *Op. cit.*, Preface.

Bhāgavatas, whose canonical work the Gītā was, had not imbibed the Sāṁkhya-yoga doctrine, and on the other, held the view that the pantheistic passages and those showing an assimilation of the Mīmāṅsā and Vedānta doctrines must have been interpolated at the time of revision.[9] Having therefore culled out 170 stanzas from the whole work on applying that test he relegated them to an Appendix to his translation of the Original Gītā of his conception, assigning a reason on the above line of discrimination to every stanza so eliminated. That translation was published with an introduction explaining in details that Śrī Kṛṣṇa was a historical personality and identical with the son of Devakī and pupil of Ghora Aṅgiras, that he was believed and revered by his followers the Bhāgavatas or Sātvatas as an incarnation of Bhagavat *alias* Vāsudeva, that this cult of the Bhāgavatas was current during the time of the composition of the Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini (between 700 and 500 B. C.)[10], that their approved way of approach to the said deity included the Dhyāna-yoga learnt from the Sāṁkhya-yogins, that the Original Gītā was their canonical work composed in the 2nd century B.C. and that it had been brahmanised in the 2nd century A. D. by interpolating wherever convenient, passages converting the original monotheistic personal deity into a pantheistic one, and establishing his identity with the impersonal Brahman of the Upaniṣads and the necessity of continuing to perform the prescribed Vedic rites even after the rise of knowledge.[11] The Original Gītā as thus conceived was in his view " one of the older episodes of the Mahābhārata"[12] and had been composed during the second phase of the Bhāgavata religion commencing from about 300 B. C. and ending about the beginning of the Christian era, which was chiefly characterised by the identification of Kṛṣṇa with God Viṣṇu, supported by the Avatāra theory.[13] The first thereof was characterised by the promulgation of a new religion as a protest against the Brahmanic religion of sacrifices, in which the object of adoration was Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva, a tribal hero of the Sātvatas and the tenets of the Sāṁkhya and Yoga systems were called into aid for determining the technique of worship. During that stage it had a solitary life.[14] It follows therefore that the statement in Bha. Gī. IV. 1-2 that the doctrine of the Karma-yoga had been taught in a previous age must be deemed to have a historical basis and refers to the said first phase[15] and that the Bhagavadgitā represents an earlier phase of the Yoga doctrine than the Yogasutra of Patañjali, whom he believes to be identical with the author of the Mahābhāṣya.[16]

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9. *Op. cit.*, Intro, pp. 9-11.
10. *Op. cit.*, 11. *Op. cit.*, pp. 4-8. 12. *Op. cit.*, p. 4.
13. *Op. cit.*, pp. 18-20. 14. *Op. cit.*, p. 17.
15. *Op. cit.*, p. 33. 16. *Op. cit.*,

4. Just as in the history of the Purva-Mīmāṅsā system Kumārila Bhaṭṭa had differed from his master, Prabhākara, on several material points relating to the interpretation of the Mīmāṅsāsūtra and founded his separate school, so in Germany too, R. Otto, a pupil of Garbe, differed from him as to the contents of the Original Gītā and having made out his own text thereof, translated it and published it with a long dissertation divided into several chapters[17]. The points of difference between them mainly are:— (1) Whereas Garbe held that the One God of the Bhāgavatas was, like that of the Christians, merely a creator and was not immanent in the universe, Otto came to the conclusion that "the Great Personal God of Bhakti was also a Universal God, who Himself is the universe, which he included in His Own Being."[18] (2) The presence of isolated words of the Brahman-terminology such as "Brahma-nirvāṇa" and "Brahma-bhūya" does not of itself substantiate later interpolations, as " they had for a long time been somewhat loose general equivalents for a transcendent enjoyment of salvation," according to Otto; (3) The Original Gītā was not, according to him, a doctrinal text, not doctrinal writ of the Bhakti religion, but rather Kṛṣṇa's own voice and deed referring directly to the situation in which Arjuna finds himself, which were intended, however, not to proclaim to him any transcendent dogma of salvation, but to render him willing to undertake the special service of the Almighty Will of God, who decides the fate of battles.[19]" His " Original Gītā " accordingly contains the introductory stanzas 1–19 of chapter one and the last 5 of Chapter XVIII, which Garbe had excluded from his work, and all the passages in the subsequent chapters, which contain technical words of the nature above-mentioned, besides those which contain a pantheistic view of the nature of the deity and also some of those which contain an exposition of the doctrine of Prapatti (complete self-surrender). On the other hand it excludes all those in which philosophical doctrines including those of the Sāṁkhya and Yoga systems have been expounded or referred to. His " Original Gītā " therefore contains 128 stanzas only as contrasted with that of Garbe, which contains 530.

5. Naturally therefore he differs from his master as to the object underlying its revision and the number of times it was subjected to that process. The said object, according to him, was "not to brahmanise the work", as Garbe thought, but "to purposely incorporate doctrinal treatises with glosses on some of them and the number of treatises so incorporated therein at different times was eight.[20] He has

17. The Original Gītā by R. Otto translated into English by J. E. Turner (Geo. Allen and Unwin Ltd., London, 1939.)
18. Preface to the Original Gītā, p. 14. 19. *Op. cit.*
20. *Op. cit.*, Ch. VI, p. 203.

discussed the nature and contents of these treatises in Chapters V and VI of his book, on dividing the original work into 2 Parts. In the first he includes Treatises I to IV, which, according to him, are related to the Second Part of the Bhagavadgītā and in the second, Treatises V to VIII, which he believes to have been related to the First Part of the Bhagavadgītā.

6. Dr. Winternitz, another well-known critical student of the Mahābhārata like Hopkins, differs from Garbe and agrees with Otto in holding the pantheistic passages to have formed part of the original work and that it contains "many more interpolations and additions than are assured by Garbe."[21] This is not to say however that he agrees with Otto as to the exact contents of the original work, for, he does not believe Chapter XI to have substantially formed part of it because "Canto XI in which Kṛṣṇa reveals himself to Arjuna in his god-like form, is of the nature of a Purāṇa rather than that of the work of the poet of the first sections". All his remarks are however of the nature of comments on the conclusions of the two previous critics. He does not, like them, examine the original work exhaustively and determine independently the contents thereof and the nature of the teaching embodied therein and with what object, when, and how it was interfered with. Prof. Edgerton on the other hand strikes, by his " Interpretation of the Bhagavad Gītā " in Three Parts, prefixed to the re-production of Sir Edwin Arnold's translation of the work (H. O. S, No. 39, pp. 1-92) quite a different, constructive path. Although he too believes like Winternitz and some of his predecessors in this field, that the whole of this work, composed by another writer a few centuries before Christ, must have been interpolated in the Bhīṣmaparvan, he has the breadth of vision to look upon it as " a religious, devotional poem " requiring to be interpreted " with the sort of sympathy which would be inspired by any exalted poetry," based upon, intuitional, not philosophical, knowledge, and therefore appealing to the emotion rather than to reason. That being his attitude, he has objectively tried to enter into the spirit of the work, on treating it as a historical link between the Ṛgveda, Atharvaveda, some of the Brāhmaṇas and the earlier Upaniṣads on the one hand and the systematic works of the Sutra period on the other. Naturally, therefore, even while reserving his judgment as to the " intellectual opinions " of the author, he has been able to arrive at a fairly correct appreciation of the work, in both its philosophical and devotional aspects. I therefore propose to examine critically and at length only the attempts made by Garbe and Otto to make out that the present Gītā is a revised edition of an original shorter one, as conceived by each of them, after making a few general

21. HIL. Vol. I, p. 436.

remarks as to the way of approach of the foreign scholars to the problems of the apparent contradictions in and want of logical connection between the chapters of the work.

III. Critical examination of the attempts of Garbe and Otto to make out a shorter Original Gītā.

7. It can be seen from the above that except in the matter of the acceptance of the view of Humboldt that the present is a revised version of an original shorter poem there is no agreement between the foreign critics on any point of importance. It can further be seen that the basis for the said inference was not any positive internal or external evidence unmistakably pointing to it but the alleged irreconcileability of the apparently contradictory statements on the same topics and want of logical sequence between the different chapters of the work. It has been stated at the outset that, however much the orthodox Indian commentators may be differing amongst themselves as to the purport of the work, there is a general agreement between them as to the traditional method of solving the difficulties arising with respect to the works of any by-gone age, and that all have applied it and drawn their own conclusions. Similarly, Bhandarkar, Dvivedi, Telang, Tilak and Belvalkar, all of whom had been trained up in the western method of historical criticism, have found no difficulty in treating the work as a homogeneous one and in reconciling the apparent contradictions therein. Garbe has considered thereout the views of Bhandarkar and Telang, accepted those of the former as to the historic nature of the personality of Kṛṣṇa and his identity with the Kṛṣṇa of the Chāndogya Upaniṣad, the pre-Pāṇīnian origin of the Bhāgavata religion, the Bhagavadgītā being a canonical work of that religion, its having been composed prior to the enunciation of the Caturvyūha doctrine of the Pāñcarātrikas and so on, but rejected the view of Telang that the work is a homogeneous one written at one time. Tilak has, in his turn, critically examined at considerable length the question of the form and contents of the work as it must have formed part of the Bhārata epic and come to the conclusions that it is at present in substantially the same state in which it was since its original composition and that it could not have been consciously revised even once since about 500 B. C., when it was incorporated in the Bhīṣma-parvan of the Mahābhārata.

8. The chief reason which has driven the foreign critics to the theory of revision is their inability to reconcile the recommendation to try to attain the highest state of perfection and bliss by singular devotion to Lord Vāsudeva on giving up all Dharmas on the one hand, and with that to try to realise the state of Brahman by the process of meditation, and the denunciation of the ancient religion of material

sacrifices as incapable of leading one to freedom from transmigration, in two chapters of the work, on the one hand, and the expression in the last chapter by the author of his considered opinion on the other, that Yajña, Dāna and Tapas should not be abandoned but must necessarily be adhered to, as they lead to the purification of mankind. This inability is, in my opinion, due to their having been brought up in the European tradition, of there being a perpetual conflict between the Christian ideal of attaining final emancipation on the day of judgment through the intervention of Christ, the one and only incarnation of God, propitiated in this life by leading a pure life and praying to Him as recommended in His Revealed Word, on the one hand, and philosophical speculation, done with one's independent power of reasoning, as to the truth about individual existence, the nature and source of human consciousness, the nature and source of the objects of sense-perception, the degree of reliability of the knowledge derived from the senses, the existence or otherwise of God, if there is any, as a Superior Being having power of control over the individual souls, and the objects, of whose existence as separate entities they become conscious, the nature of the relation between Him and the individual souls on the one hand and the phenomenal world on the other, whether the objects comprised in the said world had come into existence in their concrete forms simultaneously or by a gradual process of evolution and if the latter, what was the nature of the substratum from which the variegated forms were developed, whether the sentient creatures and the forces of nature operating in the objects are subject to any fixed laws, whether and if so, to what extent, the will of the individual is limited by such laws applicable to the beings endowed with the powers of thinking and acting etc., on the other, and the conflicts between the Christian doctrines of monotheism and pantheism and between the ways of approach to the Deity through ceremonies performed through priests and through prayers addressed to Him individually either in solitude or in congregations. These conflicts having remained unresolved during the history of Christianity in Europe extending over nearly 1,500 years, the Western scholars cannot conceive the possibility of there being sufficient room in the work of a single author for the expression of opinion on the said questions of philosophy and for recommending the method of approach found effective for the realisation of the truth arrived at by such reasoning while recommending another easier way of approach for the benefit of those who are either temperamentally unfit or are disinclined to resort to the former, which involved considerable hardship owing to the necessity of sole dependence on the inherent but dormant powers of one's own self while leading a solitary life in a secluded place on breaking off all connections with society and giving

up the porformance of all the traditional rites, which had been so devised as to ensure material happiness in this life and a secure place in heaven after death. This attitude of mind of the Western thinkers becomes easily understandable when we take into consideration the fact that the political thinkers and statesmen of the U. S. A. find it difficult to believe that the Indian statesmen at the helm of affairs today are more effectively promoting the cause :of peace throughout the world by keeping the Indian Union outside both the power-blocs and maintaining good relations with either of them. It is possible that some of them may even be suspecting that they are playing a waiting game and capitalist individuals and firms seem to be refraining from making further investments here owing to the fear that this country may in the event of a major war breaking out, take the side of the Communist group. They cannot realise that under the inspiration of the Mahatma, India's statesmen have been trying to solve the political problem of the world on the same lines on which the sages of the post-Bhārata war headed by the great sage Veda Vyāsa had solved the religio-philosophical problem that had arisen between the inhabitants of the western and the eastern parts of Bhāratavarṣa. The Mahābhārata, which according to a statement contained in the Ādi-parvan[22] is the same as the Bhārata Saṁhitā minus the Ākhyānas and Upākhyānas (illustrative stories, main and subsidiary ones) contains overwhelming evidence of the prevalence of the cult of Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva during his very lifetime and one of the 6 objects, which the author of the Saṁhitā had in view was the exposition of the " Māhātmya of Vāsudeva." Arjuna, trained up in the military science as developed in the west and a personal friend and a relation by both birth and marriage, of Kṛṣṇa and a representative adherent of the cult in which the highest deity was Bhagavat as incarnated in the person of Kṛṣṇa, is shown in the Bhagavadgītā as the pupil to whom Kṛṣṇa himself had pointed out the course of right conduct at a critical moment in his career, on supporting his advice by arguments based first on worldly wisdom and when they failed to have the desired effect, then by those based on philosophical wisdom. Could the Bhārata Saṁhitā be deemed to have fulfilled the said 6th object if the Bhagavadgītā embodying that teaching had not formed part of it? Certainly not. Rightly therefore have most of the Western scholars, including Garbe and Otto, come to the conclusion that it did form part of the original Bhārata epic. The difference between them and the Indian students of the Gītā is as to the form and contents of the work as it was originally composed. As to them too Garbe does not exclude the contents of any entire chapter from his " Original Gītā ". The 170 stanzas which he has relegated to an Appendix appear to have been excluded either on the ground that they

22. Ādi-parvan I. 57-59 (Critical edition.)

contain a pantheistic view of God or that they contain indications of a later attempt of a Vedic priest to harmonise the original teaching with the principles of the orthodox Vedānta system. Although these are his main grounds for the exclusion of the passages occurring in Chapters II to XVII, he has also excluded stanzas 1-19 of Chapter I and 73-78 of Ch. XVIII, on the ground that they do not fit well into the context of the Bhīṣma-parvan in which the Gītā finds a place in the Mahābhārata. I will, therefore, deal with that argument first.

9. It appears that he had drafted his introduction first and forgotten what he had written there when he proceeded to assign reasons for the elimination of different passages, for whereas in it[23] he had stated:— "The Gītā, however, does not belong to later interpolations. The Gītā even in the revised form in which it lies before us is rightly regarded as one of the older episodes[24] of the Mahābhārata (Holtzmann, Op. cit., Pt. II, p. 121) ; Hopkins (Great Epic, pp. 205, 402). Indeed Holtzmann (Pt. I, p. 127) would ascribe the oldest part of the Bhagavadgītā unhesitatingly to the older poem," When however he began to assign reasons to particular passages he said " the whole of the Bhagavadgītā had been interpolated between Mahābhārata VI. 24 and 43"[25] (corresponding to VI. 22 and 41 oft.he Critical edition). Then coming particularly to the first 19 and the last 5 stanzas he says that they must be deemed to have been interpolated because the context shows that Arjuna must already have seen the opposite army. This remark can apply only to the first 19 stanzas and the argument could have been based on the contents of the 2 previous chapters of the Bhīṣma-parvan. They do not however seem to support it. For, they could have done so only if there had been any statement in them suggesting at least an inference that Arjuna had had an opportunity to see the warriors of the opposite army, which was possible only if he had previously taken up a position in the midst of the two opposing armies. This was not surely the case and Garbe seems to agree in this view, for otherwise he would not have adopted stanzas 20-23, containing the request of Arjuna to Kṛṣṇa to post his chariot in such a position that he may be able to see the warriors wishing to fight and with whom from amongst them he was required to come to grips, as

23. Garbe, Op. cit., Part I. The Original form of the Gītā, p. 4.

24. I object to the use of the term " episode" with reference to the Bhagavadgītā, if it is the rendering in English of the term " Ākhyāna " occurring in the above-cited verses of the Ādi-parvan, because it is in the form of the report by Saṁjaya to Dhṛtarāṣṭra of a dialogue which took place between Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa, all of whom are the principal characters in the Epic.

25. Garbe, Op. cit., p. 34.

the very first 4 stanzas of his re-constructed " Original Gītā. " The said chapters contain statements that Saṁjaya had told Dhṛtarāṣṭra that on seeing the array of the larger Kaurava army so designed as to be unbreakable Yudhiṣṭhira had expressed diffidence as to the success of their army and Arjuna who was near him had consoled and inspired confidence in him by reminding him of the advice of Brahmā to the gods on the occasion of a war with the Asuras that it is not the number of troops but the military strategy and the personal valour of the heroes that make for success in a battle and informing him of the confidence of Nārada that they would be victorious as Kṛṣṇa was on their side, as was the case when the gods led by Hari had fought with the demons,[26] and that it was thereafter that Yudhiṣṭhira had posted the different warriors on his side in strategic positions. While describing the Pāṇḍava warriors and their equipments he describes Arjuna and his chariot and charioteer and after the description of the principal warriors is over, he says that Vāsudeva drew the attention of Arjuna standing in the midst of his own division to Bhīṣma, protected by several divisions of other warriors, "eyeing their (Pāṇḍavas') army like a lion ", and tells him that he has to aspire to engage in a fight with that warrior on killing those other warriors. He does not even mention any of them by name and does not state whether Arjuna responded or not to that suggestion and what reaction, if any, the sight of the warriors had in his mind, but immediately thereafter Dhṛtarāṣṭra puts another question and Saṁjaya proceeds to answer it. These are contained in 6 stanzas, and the chapter immediately preceding that beginning with a fresh question from Dhṛtarāṣṭra, with which the Gītā begins, comes to a close[27]. There is therefore no fault of repetition in the first 19 stanzas of the Gītā.

10. In support of the exclusion of stanzas 73–78, Garbe says that they had been appended at the end because the whole poem when inserted in the Mahābhārata was so required to be wound up. As to that reason, I have already pointed out that he had once admitted that the text of the Gītā must have formed part of the Bhārata epic from its inception. The question of its insertion in the enlarged epic does not therefore arise. Moreover these stanzas contain Samjaya's own estimate of the discourse and expression of the elevating effect the vision of the cosmic form of the Deity had on his own mind and heart. If the poet had not inserted those concluding stanzas, Samjaya would have appeared,

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26. MBH. (Critical edition) VI. 21.

27. Op. cit. VI. 22, sts. 1–2 (arrangement of the divisions), 3-8, 12-13 (description of other warriors), 9-11 (description of Arjuna, 14 (introduction of Vāsudeva as a speaker), 15-16 (Vāsudeva's speech), 17-22 (another quostion and answer thereto).

to the reader of the work, as inhuman. There is a similar expression of the reaction which the vision had on his mind in XI. 9–14 but that is of the nature of an objective description of what he had seen while this is an admission at the end of the work of the lasting impression that wonderful experience had on his mind. Holtzmann and Otto have therefore rightly considered these stanzas to have formed part of the original work.

11. Coming now to the question of justification for the exclusion of the remaining 146 stanzas, the reasons separately mentioned in the Appendix can be conveniently considered together, because they can be grouped together under the two headings, Vedāntic or Pantheistic interpolations and Mīmāṅsic or Vedāntico-ritualistic appendages or interpolations or surplusages. These are again based upon the conclusion recorded in the Introduction that in the first period of the development of the creed of the Bhāgavatas, what had taken place was (1) the founding of the popular monotheism by Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva, (2) its being propped up by the tenets of the Saṁkhya-yoga, (3) the deification of the founder of that religion and (4) the deepening of the religious sentiment on the basis of Bhakti.[28] The Original Bhagavadgītā was, in his view, composed on those principles in about 200 B. C. which fell in the second period of the development of the said religion, extending from 300 B. C. to the beginning of the Christian era,[29] and was revised in the third period thereof falling between the 1st century A. D. and the commencement of the 12th, but not earlier than the 1st or 2nd and not later than the end of the 2nd.[30] That revision was, according to him, characterised by the identification of Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu with Brahman.[31] The "Original Gītā" of his conception must therefore have contained those stanzas only which relate to the exposition of the necessity of devotion towards Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu, a monotheistic God in the Christian sense, accompanied by the Sāṁkhya-Yoga discipline but unaccompanied by an insistence on the performance of any ceremonial rites, while the revised Gītā had introduced the necessity of devotion to the same God understood as an Impersonal Being, immanent in all the creatures, as the Upaniṣads describe Brahman to be, accompanied by a disinterested discharge of the duty to perform the Vedic rites.

12. The distinction here drawn between Viṣṇu as a monotheistic God and Viṣṇu as a pantheistic God is obviously based upon a misconception of the nature of the Vedic god Viṣṇu, of whom Kṛṣṇa was believed to be an incarnation. In Ṛgveda I. 154, which is a hymn devoted to the praise of his exploits, he is described as having not only measured out the three worlds but also as having pervaded them by his

28. Garbe, *Op. cit.*, p. 17. 29. *Op. cit.*, p. 19.
30. *Op. cit.*, pp. 19 and 31. 31. *Op. cit.*, p. 19.

three steps, kept them under them and "fixed fast the heavens to be his seat on high," which is "a spring of honey (divine nectar or joy), knowing no decay," as having been "sustaining the three worlds with all that dwells therein" and as having been "praised by all for his said mighty deed." It is clear from this that His character as the creator and the sustainer of all the three worlds together with all that exists therein and his being "immanent in all things" was known to the Vedic Aryans. Even according to the accepted etymology of the word the idea conveyed by the word "Viṣṇu" is that of a god who pervades everything.[32] The Bhāgavata religion in which Vāsudeva was to be adored and concentrated upon exclusively, could not have ignored this primary characteristic of Viṣṇu, for even the word "Vasudeva" conveys by its etymology no other idea than that of "a god who is the inner-dweller" of all things, and is therefore identical with Viṣṇu, the All-pervader. Otto was therefore more able to enter into the spirit of the Bhagavadgītā when he came to the conclusion that Vāsudeva, the God of the Bhāgavatas, must from the very first have been conceived to be identical with the All-pervading Essence, although incarnated for the time being as Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva.

13. Otto was however mistaken in his conclusion that there was no place for any philosophical doctrines in the original Bhāgavata creed and both were mistaken in the view that Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva was the founder of that creed. I have established in my paper on the "Origin of the Bhāgavata and Jaina Religions"[33] that the root of the Bhāgavata religion goes back to the time of the composition by Ṛṣi Nārāyaṇa of the Puruṣa-sūkta (R. V. X. 90) in which the whole creation is described as emerging out of the cosmic fire in which the gods had sacrificed the Virāṭ Puruṣa, that Kapila, who is identified in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa with Vāsudeva, had later on modified the doctrine of the evolution of the universe from the Puruṣa by introducing the theory of the co-existence of the Prakṛti, having the three Guṇas, whose permutations and combinations in varying proportions started by the disturbance of the natural equipoise between them, resulting from the association of Puruṣa with the Prakṛti and that of the necessity for each individual Puruṣa, who is the same in essence as the cosmic Puruṣa, to make efforts to free himself from the vortex of Saṁsāra in which he was involved, and they consisted of attempts to realise the true nature of the All-pervading Deity, Vāsudeva, the source and support of all beings and their ultimate destination. This Sāṁkhya-yoga had been tradi-

32. Vide Sāyaṇa's Commentary, on the Mantras 1, 3 and 5 of the said hymn:— "Viṣṇor vyāpanaśīlasya devasya", "Viṣṇave sarvavyāpakāya", "Viṣṇor vyāpakasya parameśvarasya".

33. Annals of the B. O. R. Institute, Poona, Vol. XXIII, pp. 107-25, and pp. 110-15.

tionally handed down up to the time of Kṛṣṇa in two lines of teachers and pupils who lived in retirement and dissociated themselves from the affairs of the work-a-day world. It had been developed along a third line, which was that of ruling princes. The first two being those of recluses only were but two branches of one Mārga (path) known as the Nivṛttidharma-mārga while the path followed by the ruling princes was known as the Pravṛttidharma-mārga. The dividing line between them was the attitude of the aspirants towards the Vedic rites and their responsibilities in life as the units of the organised social fabric. The first had continued in unbroken succession till the time of Kṛṣṇa but the second was broken after it had continued for some generations. It is this past history that is referred to in Bhagavadgītā IV. 1–2. What Kṛṣṇa had done in his lifetime was to import the Sāṁkhya-yoga doctrine into the western part of Bhāratavarṣa and to teach it to those of his devotees who believed him to be an incarnation of Vāsudeva *alias* Nārāyaṇa on interpreting it in such a manner as to enable them to proceed on the path of salvation without neglecting their social responsibilities and without breaking off their connections with worldly life. It is this adaptation of the Sāṁkhya-yoga to the conditions of the social life as organised on the Cāturvarṇya model, of which the chief characteristics are continued adherence to worldly life as opposed to physical renunciation and the continued discharge of one's duties as determined by one's Varṇa (class, not caste), without a profit-motive, which becomes possible when they are engaged in, in a spirit of service to the Almighty or when after discharging them the fruit thereof, whatever it is, is dedicated to Him, that is called Yoga or Karma-yoga in the Bhagavadgītā. The doctrine of Prapatti (complete self-surrender to the will of the Almighty), which implies total elimination of egoism from all that one does and thinks about, is a special method of the same Yoga, leading to freedom from the bondage of Karma. Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva had, in his lifetime, taught this to his devotees both by precept and personal example and Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana Vyāsa has embodied that teaching in the Bhagavadgītā and illustrated its practical application through the conduct of the principal characters of the Bhārata epic, amongst whom Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva is included. There is thus throughout the Gītā a contrast between the *modus operandi* of the Sāṁkhya-yogins and the Karma-yogins and the purport of the teaching therein is that while the result accruing from both is the same, the former is attended by many hardships as an aspirant has to depend therein on the inherent but unmanifest powers of the Self, which in essence is identical with the Self of the Universe, one can in the latter, count upon assistance from the Almighty, if one's devotion towards Him is intense and undiluted.

14. The ideal and methods of both the classes of Yogins are opposed

to those of the Vedavādins or Traividyas in that the ideal of the latter is the attainment of a higher region called Svarga after death, which involves a fall on the earth when the accumulated merit is exhausted, while that of both the classes of Yogins is freedom from the bondage of Karma, the cause of repeated births and deaths and perpetual peace of mind and happiness resulting from self-realisation. It is therefore quite in the fitness of things that the Vedavādins or the Traividyas should, in Gītā II. 42-44 and IX. 20-21 have been spoken of with words bordering on contempt. That does not, however, imply a contempt for the Vedas themselves. That the author of the work had nothing but reverence for them is amply borne out by the respectful references thereto as the Revealed Word (XVII. 23), the source of knowledge of the Akṣara (VIII. 11), the Works wherein the Lord has been proclaimed as the Puruṣottama (XV. 1, 15-18) and as being His manifestation (IX. 17), and the Sāmaveda particularly as His special manifestation (X. 22). There is however a limit to which the reverence can go, for after all they are a manifestation, and their power to impart knowledge works through the senses of speech and hearing, or to speak in the language of the Sāṁkhyas, they are "Traiguṇyaviṣayāḥ." The highest ideal of a Yogin, the realisation of Him whose manifestation they are, cannot be reached through the senses. He must by drawing his senses and mind inwards and suspending his power of thinking reach that highest degree of spiritual abstraction in which the self reveals its identity and fills that mind with its knowledge derived from direct communion with it in all its glory as the greatest of the great and the smallest of the small and as the source, support and ultimate destination of all. That is the reason why it is said in II. 45-46 that the Vedas are of no use to a knower of Brahman, in VIII. 28 that a Yogin transcends the stage in which the fruits mentioned as accruing from the study of the Vedas, the performance of yajñas etc. can tempt him and in XI. 48 and 53 that the revelation of such cosmic form of the Deity as has been described in the preceding stanzas of that chapter does not take place by such means. There is therefore no contradiction in the matter of the attitude of the author of the work towards the Vedas and the Vedavādins.

15. There are also no conflicting recommendations of the author as to what attitude should be adopted by one who is in the position of an aspirant and what by one who has reached the stage of self-realisation. The very object of composing the work being to show that Kṛṣṇa tried several arguments to dissuade Arjuna from abandoning the fight and renouncing the world and depending on begging for his sustenance because he felt sure that if he commenced to fight seriously all his elders, friends and relations who had been arrayed against him

would be killed and such a catastrophe would have very dire consequences on his family and the society as a whole and those arguments having failed to have the desired effect on his mind he was required to take the discussion to the higher plane of philosophical truth as to the immortality of the self, its remaining unaffected by the changes in the states of the physical body etc., it is in the fitness of things that Kṛṣṇa should be shown as repeatedly exhorting Arjuna to be engaged in the fight. Accordingly, we find him doing so five times between II. 11 and the end of Chapter VIII (II. 19, 31-32, 37-38, III. 30 and VIII. 7). Even the object in showing His Kāla-svarūpa seems to be to impress it on the mind of Arjuna that it was the Almighty who had created the situation in which he had no alternative left but to be engaged in the impending fight and be a mere instrument for carrying out His wish that those who were prepared to fight against him should be killed at his hands, as they had ceased to be useful for the further unfolding of His plan, for that is what the author distinctly says through the mouth of the Lord in XI. 32-34. In Chapter XIII again after describing the nature and functions of the Kṣetra and Kṣetrajña, and the Puruṣa and Prakṛti, and the nature of the higher Puruṣa called the Paramātman in stanzas 27-29 he advances the argument that he alone is the right seer who visualises the Highest Lord residing equally in all beings, remaining imperishable amongst the perishing ones. And lastly, shortly before winding up the discourse, the Lord is made to say that if on resorting to egoism instead of to Him, Arjuna were to make up his mind not to fight, such a resolution would be of no avail, because his inherent nature would goad him to do so, which means that what he would not do out of a conscious wish he would do unwillingly on being overpowered by infatuation, and to give the final advice that he should surrender himself with all his heart to the Lord residing in the region of the heart of all the creatures, Who by His miraculous power turns (the souls of) all of them mounted on machines (wheels), for, by His favour he can attain a perpetual position of peace of the higher variety (XVIII. 59-62). What is meant by such surrender is explained in stanzas 64-66, which follow that in which the Lord is made to leave it to Arjuna to make his own choice on listening to that inner secret. No wonder then that as the result of such continual hammering, Saṁjaya says that Arjuna declared that the delusion (which had taken possession of his mind) had been eradicated, that he had by the favour of the Lord regained his sense, and that he was sitting still before him relieved of doubts and would do his bidding. This clearly shows that Arjuna had on listening to the teaching shaken off the feeling of despondency which had overcome him as described in the introductory chapter, regained his mental composure and come once more to be in a mood to be engaged in the fight, not however, as before, in order to get victory

by heroism but in order to be a willing instrument for giving effect to the will of the Almighty, whose living embodiment he believed Sri Kṛṣṇa to be. In other words he had not attained the "Parama Samsiddhi", had not become "Yogārūḍha" but had been duly qualified to go along the way to it by the method of Karma-yoga, which is the burden of the whole "Song Celestial". He was therefore still a "Yogārurukṣu" and, therefore, according to the dictum contained in VI. 3 his appropriate means of progress along the said path was "Karma", not "Śama". As to what kind of Karma was helpful towards that end, it has been clearly stated in XVI. 23–24 that what should and should not be done has to be determined by reference to the Scripture and that the way of doing what should be done, laid down therein, is to be followed. It is in order to leave no doubt as to the views of the author as to those points that he has mentioned the divergent views and his own considered view in XVIII. 5–6 and in stanzas 40–45 stated specifically that one in the position of a Sādhaka is always under the influence of the three Guṇas of the Prakṛti, that therefore he must be engaged in action appropriate to his Varṇa and that by so doing assiduously one attains Siddhi. This is not however perfection in Yoga but only Naiṣkarmya-siddhi, for the attainment whereof preliminary Sannyāsa as practised by the Sāṁkhya-yogins is an equally effective method according to III. 3 and V. 2–6 but not recommended by the author of this work. This Siddhi, though not bringing perfection, does qualify one for a further stage on the way to it, which is the attainment of Brahman, and the highest state of knowledge according to stanza 50. How that state technically called " Brahmabhūya " can be attained is explained in the next three stanzas (51–53). Although on the attainment of this state one becomes " Brahmabhūta " it does not mean the end of the state of a Sādhaka, for, according to stanza 54, he is inspired by the higher kind of devotion towards " Me " *i. e. Vāsudevva, whose position is higher than that of Brahman in this work.* This enables the devotee, or Yogin to know the Lord intimately as He really is and recognise Him (as his own self). This therefore is the third stage of the Karma-yoga of the Gītā and enables the Yogin to reach the fourth and the final stage, which is that of entering Him *i.e.* of being one with Him. These two stages have been mentioned in stanza 55. Śaṅkara opines that these are not two different stages but one only, for, on the attainment of the direct knowledge of the Lord as one's own Self there can be no further stage of entering it and that therefore after the inspiration of the higher sort of Bhakti there is only the one stage of direct knowledge accompanied by the recognition of the Lord as one's own Self, as stated in XIII. 2 (Kṣetrajñaṁ cāpi māṁ viddhi). Let it be so. As to the attitude of such an inspired devotee stanza 56 says that even if he performs all kinds of acts, including the prohibited ones, he attains the highest state, which

is perpetual, by the favour of the Lord. It is thus clear that one becomes free from the restrictions imposed by the Scripture after the attainment of Brahman, not before it.

16. It is also clear from the above that the term "Brahman" has been used in the passage XVIII. 50-54 in the sense of a cosmic deity lower in status than the Highest Deity, with which Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva has been identified in the Gītā. It is the deity mentioned in XVII. 23 as the one who is designated by any of the three terms "Aum", "Tat" and "Sat" and the one who ordained the Brāhmaṇas, the Vedas and the yajñas (sacrifices). This his character as a Prajāpati is more elaborately described in III. 10-16. His origin from the Akṣara has been specifically mentioned in stanza 15 thereout. In VIII. 3 the Akṣara has been called "Paramaṁ Brahma." The imparter of the teaching "Śrī Bhagavān" speaking in the forms of the first personal pronoun such as "Ahaṁ", "Māṁ", "Me" "Mat" and "Mama" is clearly distinguished in several passages such as VII. 29 wherein "the whole of Brahman" is said to be capable of being known by those who strive to secure freedom from births and deaths, XIV. 3-4, wherein Brahman is said to the "Mahadyoni" in which "I deposit a seed or fœtus", and XIV. 27, wherein it is said "I am the receptacle of Brahman, which is immortal and immutable." He is also distinguished in XV. 16-18 from the "Akṣara", who in relation to the individual organism is the "Kūṭastha" and in relation to the universe the "Avyakta", from which periodically the manifest forms emerge and in which they periodically become merged according to VIII. 17-19. According to XV. 17-19 it is the devotee who knows Him as the "Puruṣottama", who transcends the "Kṣara" i.e. to say, the whole group of beings and is superior to even the "Akṣara", that is said to be worshipping Him whole-heartedly. In VII. 24-26 He protests that ignorant persons not knowing His transcendent immutable nature believe Him to be the "Avyakta" (Unmanifest) reduced to the position of having become "Vyakta" (manifest) but that whereas He knows all the beings, past, present and future, none knows Him. The same protest is repeated in IX. 10-14.

17. Looked at even from the standpoint of the "Gatis" and "Sthānas" or "Dhāmas", which have been mentioned at several places, there seems to be a clear distinction drawn in the work between "Brahman" and the "I" of the Bhagavadgītā. Thus in VIII. 16 it is stated that all the regions beginning with that of Brahman are of a recurring nature but there is no possibility of re-birth for those who attain to "Me." The "Avyakta" is a perpetual entity, which is beyond "Brahman", remains undestroyed while all the beings, which include the latter, are destroyed, and is identical with the "Akṣara" which is

spoken of as the "Paramā Gatiḥ" and His "Paramaṁ Dhāma", on reaching which, souls do not revert (to the embodied state), according to VIII. 20-21. It is the "Avyaya Pada", which according to XV. 5-6 is reached by the souls who are devoid of egoism and delusion, have obtained victory over the blemishes contracted by association, are ever intent on realising the Self, are free from the pairs of opposites, called pleasures and pains, and are ever vigilant. It is again the cosmic state which is illuminated by neither the sun nor the moon nor the fire (but is self-resplendent), and "Mama Paramaṁ Dhāma" on going to which (the souls) do not revert (to the embodied state). The same "Paramā Gatī" which is beyond the "Śabda Brahman" is, according to VI. 44-45, attainable by one who makes continued efforts to reach it and has his heart purified of all blemish, that is to say, by a Yogin. It can as well be reached by a Jñānin, who, according to XIII. 27-28, has developed the faculty of realising the presence of the Highest Lord in all beings equally and is therefore a "Samadarśin." The faculty of Samadarśana is an indication, according to XVI. 22, of one having become free from the influence of the three vices, desire, anger and avarice. And the said state is attainable even by the women, Vaiśyas and Śudras, who on giving up all other considerations seek shelter in Him, that is to say, are singularly devoted to Him, according to IX. 32. That does not mean that He and the "Akṣara" are, in the view of the author of the Gītā, identical, for, in XV. 18 the former has been distinctly stated to be of a superior status than even the latter and has been distinguished from it even in VII. 24-25. The word "Gati" has been used with reference to the former once only in VII. 18 and there it is qualified by the negative adjective "Anuttamā" (than which there is no higher one). In point of fact He is the "Jñeya" described in Chapter XIII. 12-17, as the "Paraṁ Brahman," who is neither "Sat" nor "Asat," and both "Nirguṇa" and "Guṇabhoktṛ," "Sarvendriyaguṇābhāsa" and and "Sarvendriyavivarjita," the "Kṣetrajña" in all the "Kṣetras" spoken of in stanza 2 thereof, the "Paramātman" and the "Puruṣottama" spoken of in Chapter XV. 18-19, who is the controller of even the "Avyakta," which is identical with "Ākṣara" and from which the Brahman of the Gītā, who is identical with the "Prajāpati" of the third chapter, emerges at the beginning of each Kalpa, serves as the "Yoni" in which the Lord deposits His seed for the purpose of creation, and in which he becomes merged at the end of each Kalpa. If any doubt is likely to remain as to there being a substantial distinction between the two deities, "Bhagavān" alias "Vāsudeva" and "Brahman," in the Gītā it is set at rest by the key-stanzas in Chapter XVIII, namely 45-56, which have been explained above. There is therefore no promiscuity, and no conflict between two ideals in the Gītā, which can be held to justify an inference as to the original work

being a shorter one and the present one being a consciously-revised edition thereof.

18. Next as to whether there are conflicting recommendations therein as to the means for the realisation of its ideal. Enough has already been said in passing, which can convince an open mind that there is none such. Still I would state here pointedly that if the methodology of the Bhagavadgītā is studied carefully and with an unprejudiced mind it would be clearly understood that as in the case of the ideal to be realised, there are particular means which are useful at particular stages during the course of the "Sādhana," except the Karma-yoga, which is put forward in the Gītā as useful at all the stages. Thus according to III. 3 there were the two paths of Jñāna-yoga and Karma-yoga traditionally known to be useful at the initial stage and according to V. 5 there is an option as to which to resort to, because both lead to the same goal, which is that of "Naiṣkarmyasiddhi" according to XVIII. 49 and "Naiṣkarmya," according to III. 4. The particular method of Karma-yoga useful in securing this state of inaction is either being engaged in action without entertaining any expectation as to its fruit or to dedicate the same to the Almighty after action, such as that indicated in Chapters III to V. Some knowledge derived from an external source, and devotion to God are, along with the activity of the organs of action, part and parcel of this Yoga. For reaching the second stage of "Brahma-prāpti" one must practise Dhyāna-yoga on keeping the senses and mind under control and the intellect pure, avoiding contact with the objects of sense-perception, casting off attachment and hatred, while living in a secluded place, subsisting on diet taken in a moderate quantity and cultivating the habit of indifference towards the sense-objects, and restraining the speech, the movements of the body as a whole and the mind, while engaged in the practice of the said Yoga. This Dhyāna-yoga is the same as the Abhyāsa-yoga or Ātmasaṁyama-yoga described at length in Chapter VI. 11-32, and VIII. 8-15 and referred to in XIII. 24 and XVIII. 52. While engaged in it, although one has to avoid thinking of the objects of sense-perception, one has to reflect over the kind of knowledge of the nature of the Lord and His relation with the two kinds of His Prakṛtis mentioned in Chapter VII. 4-19 as recommended in stanza 1 of that chapter, in order that the mind may be kept under one's control and be brought again under it even if it surreptitiously slips away and begins to run after the said objects. The Sādhaka is now in the state of a Yogārūḍha and is therefore free to give up the Vedic Karma if so inclined. But the Abhyāsa itself is a sort of sacrifice of a higher type in which the oblations and the fire are of a metaphysical nature as explained in IV. 23-33. The terms "Brahma-prāpti" and "Brahmabhūyatva" used in XVIII. 50, 53 and

the latter used in XIV. 26 mean, according to VI. 28, the attainment of the "Attyanta Sukha" (extreme happiness) resulting from " Brahma-saṁsparśa " (close contact with Brahman). This is the " Parā Niṣṭhā " of knowledge mentioned in XVIII. 50. It makes one contented, that is to say, one does not become affected by the sorrows and joys of life. That does not however mean that after the state of "Brahma-prāpti" is attained one is reduced to the position of a block of stone. One's mind is then overflowing with the " Parā Bhakti" mentioned in XVIII. 54 as surcharged with the intimate intuitive knowledge of the Self who is realised as essentially the same as the Lord. It is immaterial whether on reaching this stage a yogin does or does not become engaged in the Vedic rites and some worldly pursuits. If he does so, he is not bound by " Vidhi-Niṣedha ", for, he has attained a spiritual level at which he can regulate his conduct according to the promptings of his own heart, which is attuned to that of the Almighty at all the moments of his embodied existence and can therefore decide, for himself and others also, what is right and what is not, in given circumstances. No musing, no special effort is required on his part for coming to a decision in any circumstances whatever. There are thus no conflicting recommendations in the Gītā in this respect also and therefore there is no justification for drawing an inference that there was originally a shorter Gītā and that it was subsequently revised and enlarged by a person other than the author of the original.

IV. Internal and External Evidence as to The Work as preserved Being the Planned Composition of One Author.

19. It will have been seen from the preceding sections that there is a definite plan underlying the composition of this work as it is now before us and that the said plan is to establish that out of the three ways of approach, to the problems of the existence and nature of the embodied soul, his relation with the outside world and his potentialities and how they can be developed, which were known to the Aryans of Bhāratavarṣa, namely, " Karma " (ceremonial rites performed with the help of the Vedic Mantras), " Upāsanā " (worship by prayers and offerings or mental concentration), otherwise known as " Bhaktiyoga " or " Abhyāsa-yoga " and " Jñāna " (knowledge), the author shows the special efficacy of the middle one accompanied by Karma, compulsorily in the initial stage, performed without a fruit-motive, and such Jñāna as is acquired from a Guru and the Scripture. And if this process is carried on with perfect self-integration and sole dependence on the Highest Deity and if such other acts as are done, are done in a spirit of perfect self-resignation they are likely to lead the soul to the highest possible stage of development. It is stated in VI. 46 that a Yogin is a " Sādhaka " of a higher order than a " Tapasvin," (*i. e.* one who tries to know and realise the truth by

self-dependence accompanied by austerities undergone with the hope of the development of the latent powers of the soul), than a "Jñānin" (*i. e.* one who tries to do so by the method of knowledge derived from an external source on renouncing the world from the initial stage) and than a "Karmin" (*i. e.* one who tries to do the same with the help of religious rites alone). The path of action as opposed to that of inaction is however particularly praised in Chapters III, IV and XVIII because action done without a fruit-motive is helpful as the purifier of the heart as stated in XVIII. 5 and total physical inaction is impossible in the case of an embodied soul as stated in III. 5 and 8 and again in XVIII. 7 and 59-60. Similarly a "Jñāna-yajña" which leads to Jñāna-yoga is praised in IV. 33-38 as putting an end to the necessity of all Karma because Yoga is a process which results in the intuitive knowledge which is the immediate cause of deliverance from all bonds, and even in the sense of a union between the "Jīvātman" and the "Paramātman" it leads to the attainment of the "Parā Bhakti," which enables one to get the "Abhijñāna" of the Lord, which means to know the Lord as He essentially is and to ultimately enter that (Essence). Whoever therefore called it for the first time in the colophons a "Yogaśāstra in the Science of Brahman" had rightly caught its purport. The term "Brahman" in the expression "Brahmavidyā" there stands for the "Paraṁ Brahman," not the "Śabala Brahman" or "Prajapāti."

20. The author of this work has therein assigned their proper places not only to the Jñana-mārga and Karma-mārga, which share with the Yoga-mārga a belief and absolute faith in One All-comprehensive God, but also assigned them to the other paths of Jñana, Upāsanā and Karma wherein the ideal aimed at is something different from that God, such as the knowledge or the acquisition of the power of a particular minor deity, or element, or the acquisition of some material benefit in this life or in the life in a region to be reached after death, or the avoidance of any apprehended misery. One has to refer to Bhagavadgītā II. 41-45, VII. 20-23, IX.12, 15, 20-21, 23-25, XIV. 15, XVI. 7-20 and XVII. 3-6 in order to be convinced of this.

21. Besides there being the continuous and consistent teaching of the Karma-yoga and the ancillary exhortation to be engaged in the fight, like a thread passing through numerous beads arranged in their proper positions in a rosary, at the top whereof there is a master-bead the chapters of the work in the first group of 6 have been connected together by questions arising from the preceding parts. The VIIth chapter is connected with the VIth by the first stanza thereof introducing the subject of the king of knowledge which is useful in the Yoga, whose process has been described in the latter. That stanza also speaks of a "Vijñāna" (specific knowledge useful at the time of death). The last stanza

mentions what that is and forms therefore the connecting link between the VIth, VIIth and VIIIth chapters. The ninth introduces the reader to a most secret kind of Jñāna and Vijñāna, which is helpful even to those who have no access to the Scripture, in attaining the same goal. Chapters X and XI, which describe the special manifestations of the Lord and His cosmic form, demonstrate that the result of the practice of the Abhyāsa-yoga is not merely the visualisation of the Jyoti-svarūpa but also the realisation of the comparative smallness of all the Jīvas including the gods, Siddhas and even Brahmā, the Īśa, and ultimately the realisation of the truth as to the universe being but a projection of the mind of the Lord. One who arrives at this stage is naturally inspired by an extraordinary love for Him and becomes the 4th kind of Bhakta, a "Jñānin," mentioned in VII. 18 as the very Self of the Lord. His characteristics are described in Chapter XII. According to XVIII. 54 this "Parā Bhakti" leads to intuitive knowledge of the Lord as He really is, which necessarily includes a detailed knowledge of Himself and his two Prakṛtis, the mutual relations between them etc., which is imparted by the contents of Chapters XIII to XV. Chapters XVI and XVII contain practical hints which would enable an aspirant for the realisation of the ideal previously described to discriminate between the good and the beneficial from the bad and the harmful and the last chapter summarises in clear terms the teaching contained in the part of the work commencing from II. 11 and ending with the last stanza of Chapter XV, so as to leave no doubt in the mind of the student as to the purport of the teaching, and as to how an aspirant should commence the course of Karma-yoga. Therefore so far as internal evidence is concerned it can lead a thoughtful and unbiassed mind to one and only one conclusion that it is a planned work and that the plan has been as thoroughly implemented as it is possible to do in the case of a work couched in the form of a dialogue purporting to have been entered into on a battle-field after the chariot occupied by the parties thereto had been posted in the intervening space between two huge well-arranged armies. It is out-of-place to doubt whether such a lengthy philosophical dialogue could have taken place between a warrior and his charioteer, for, the "Phalaśruti" contained in stanzas 67–71 clearly shows that the dialogue is a literary form adopted by the author for leaving the substance thereof for the benefit of posterity and that he intended that it should be either studied personally, or heard recited and explained by one competent to do so.

22. As for external evidence as to its being the work of one author as he had originally planned and composed it, the alleged revision must, according to Garbe, have taken place in the second century A. D.[34] The Yogasūtra of Patañjali, whom he believes to be identical with the

34. Garbe, Op. cit., p. 33.

Patañjali of the Mahābhāṣya, and places in the second century before Christ, is a work later than at least his "Original Gītā." Even Otto admits[35] that the Yogasūtra is posterior to the Gītā. He however believes its author to be different from that of the Mahābhāṣya and later than the author of the Sūtra. Into that controversy we need not enter here. It is enough to note that both of them believe that the Sūtra contains references to the doctrine of the Karma-yoga of the Gītā by the word "Īśvara-praṇidhāna" occurring in I. 23 and II. 1 and that therefore the "original Gītā" at least must have been composed at a time prior to that of the Sūtra. Otto's position is the most inconsistent with this belief and conclusion because he has excluded from his "Original Gītā" all the stanzas in Chapter II following the group of stanzas 29–37 and the entire Chapters III to IX, stanzas 9 to 42 of Chapter X, stanzas 7, 13, 15–16, 18, 37–40, and 52 to 55 of Chapter XI, the whole of Chapters XII to XVII and all the other stanzas of Chapter XVIII except 58–61, 66, 72 and 73.[36] He thus excludes all the portions in which the Karma-yoga has been mentioned and explained. Strange as it may appear, he even wants to show that in the "Original Gītā" of his conception the stanza "Īśvaraḥ sarvabhūtānāṁ etc.," (XVIII. 61) was immediately followed by the stanza "Śarvadharmān parityajya māmekaṁ śaraṇaṁ vraja etc." XVIII. 66. That Gītā was again, according to him, a poem on Kṛṣṇa-Bhakti and yet he has relegated to an interpolated Treatise (No. II) the portion XI. 52 to XII. 20, and the whole of Chapter IX, of which stanzas 22–34 relate to the same kind of Bhakti, to Treatise No. VI, and XVIII. 54–66, which too relate to it, to Treatise No. III. There is thus in his "Original Gītā" practically no stanza on Karma-yoga, called "Kriyā-yoga" in the Yogasūtra, and it does not contain the many on the "Parā" or "Ananyā" Bhakti. His acceptance of the view of Garbe can therefore relate only to the "Original Gītā" as conceived by the latter.

23. Moreover the conclusion that the Sūtra must be of a later date than the Bhagavadgītā is supported by another stronger argument namely, that the Kriyā-yoga in Chapter II of the former is in a more systematised stage than the Abhyāsa-yoga in Chapters VI and VIII of the latter. Therefore the text of the Gītā which must have been known to the Sūtrakāra must be the whole of it as it is to-day, not any attenuated form of it as conceived by either of the German scholars as the original form of it.

24. And this is not the only Sutra work in which there are references to the Bhagavadgītā. There are more pointed ones to it in the Brahmasūtra of Bādarāyaṇa in the Sūtras mentioned in the foot-note

35. The Original Gītā, Author's Preface p. 14.
36. Op. cit., p. 15 and Ch. IV., p. 148.

hereunder.[37] The word used there for the Bhagavadgītā is "Smṛti" and Śaṅkara has traced the references to the work as we now have it in its entirety. Consistently with this, Śankara has explained the word " Brahmasūtra-padaiḥ " occurring in Bha. Gī. XIII. 4 as meaning the words of the cryptic sentences in the Upaniṣads which lead to the knowledge of Brahman and as an instance thereof he cites the Upaniṣad text " Ātmetyevopāsīta ".[38] Lastly, by way of justification for composing his Bhāṣya on the Gītā he says in his introduction to it[39] that there were in existence in his time more than one commentary on it putting forward contradictory interpretations of the teaching contained therein. This statement implies that even prior to him there were commentators of the work who looked upon it as a composite work although they differed amongst themselves as to their interpretation thereof. To a conflict of interpretations in the different parts of one commentary previous to his he refers expressly also while commenting on III. 1-2 and Ānandagiri identifies the writer thereof as the "Vṛttikāra." The previous part of the said commentary which he refers to is the " Saṁbandha-grantha " meaning the introductory remarks setting forth the purport of the work as a whole. On the other hand he has nowhere noted in his Bhāṣya that a particular stanza or group of stanzas was in the opinion of himself or any of his predecessors in the line to whom he has referred in the introductory remarks, an interpolated one.

25. To the view of the commentators subsequent to Śankara I have already referred at the outset. I therefore here speak about the evidence contained in the writings of two of the systematisers of the Bhakti doctrine as expounded in the works of the Bhāgavata school, the most important and oldest of which is the Bhagavadgītā. One of them is the Bhaktisūtra of Śāṇḍilya. It is a work in three chapters called " Adhayāyas," each of which is sub-divided into 2 " Āhnikas.'' The Sūtras therein have however been numbered consecutively from the one end to the other.[40] Reading I. 2. 20 and II. 2. 56 together, it appears that its author distinguishes between the Bhakti preceding self-realisation, which he calls the " Gauṇī Bhakti," and that following it, which he calls the " Parā Bhakti." Madhusūdana Sarasvatī, the author of the other work entitled " Bhagavadbhakti-

37. B. G.	XVIII. 61	in Bra. Sū.	I. 2. 6	(N. S. P. edition	p. 234).
,,	XV. 6, 12	,, ,,	I. 3. 23	(,,	,, 313).
,,	,, 7	,, ,,	II. 3. 45	(,,	,, 623).
,,	XIII. 12	,, ,,	III. 2. 17	(,,	,, 710).
,,	VI. 11	,, ,,	IV. 1. 10	(,,	,, 949).
,,	VIII. 23-25	,, ,,	IV. 2. 21	(,,	,, 984).

38. Jagadhitecchu Press edition, p. 377.
39. Op. cit. p. 5.
40. Kapadvanj edition with a Gujarati translation and commentary, 1926.

rasāyanaṁ,"[41] also distinguishes between two kinds of Bhakti, the first of which he calls "Sādhana-Bhakti" and the second "Phala-Bhakti." He further explains that the former is required to be engaged in by a conscious personal effort while the latter is inspired from within the heart as the result of "Sākṣātkāra" (self-realisation). The latter has also quoted extensively the verses occurring in all the chapters of the Gītā in his own gloss, which is incomplete and has been completed by the editor.

Concluding remarks

26. I believe I have adduced sufficient internal and external evidence for taking it as established that the Bhagavadgītā as we have it now is in the same form at least since the date of the Yogasūtra of Patañjali, that is to say, since the second century before Christ and that it could not therefore have been revised in the second century A. D. as Garbe had tried to make out, that a philosophical poem as it is, it is still a planned work of one author, that the plan conceived by him for the benefit of the average man and woman has been consistently adhered to and thoughtfully worked out, that in order to leave no doubt in the mind of one who proceeds to study it with a sincere desire to enable him to get a glimpse of the true light and to chalk out his own line of action on the path of spiritual progress leading to the realisation of the truth as to (1) the human soul evidenced by self-consciousness, (2) the conglomerate of diverse objects of sense-perception, called the Universe, and (3) that Unknown Entity, whose presence is a matter of personal experience to every one at times, but which eludes man's grasp because of its extreme subtlety and the diverse ways in which it makes its presence felt, while leaving room for man's egoism, he has, in the last chapter, elaborately summarised the teaching spread over the preceding ones, that there is in fact no jumble of conflicting views but a well-thought out and well-arranged variety of paths to choose from, as to which he has repeatedly stated that the easiest of them is that method of Karma-yoga, which consists of complete self-surrender to the All-mighty with full and unqualified faith in His power of Grace and that therefore there is no probability of its ever having been revised. The use which the later writers, who were themselves thinkers, have made of it during these several centuries shows that the theory is a mere conjecture and has no basis of reasonable truth in it. I have also made it clear beyond doubt that the Brahman of the Gītā is the Prajāpati or Cosmic God, whose position is that of the Śabala Brahman of the Vedānta terminology and that the Highest Essence according to that work is Vāsudeva or the Paraṁ Brahman, who is neither Sat nor Asat and is yet the cause of all, the

41. Banaras edition, Saṁvat 1984 (A. D. 1927/28), p. 66.

support of all and the ultimate destination of all, and is distinguished from the Avyakta (Unmanifest) as well as from Brahman.

27. When there is no possibility of the work having been revised consciously once with a view to its "brahmanisation" there could not be any of its original text having been so wantonly and repeatedly tampered with in order that the writers of 8 different philosophical treatises may have the satisfaction of the author of the Gītā appearing to their followers to have incorporated them himself in his most popular work of religious guidance, as Otto would have us believe.[42] Moreover, in such a case there would have been different recensions of the Gītā, some containing some of the alleged treatises and some quite others of them. Such is not however the case even with respect to the one revision of the 2nd century A. D. imagined by Garbe. The Kāśmīr recension of it brought to light by Schrader does not differ from the vulgate on any such point.

28. Rightly therefore even the most scholarly and critical amongst the Indian students of the work give no weight to these theories of single and multiple revision. On the other hand highly intelligent and independent men of action like Tilak, Gandhiji, Radhakrishnan and Sri Aravinda had derived inspiration from it treated as a composite work of practical guidance and planned their lines of action in the varied spheres of their activities in the present age and it can be confidently hoped to serve as a beaconlight to many an Indian who may turn to it in his hour of embarrassment and dive deep into it with reverence and faith in the wisdom and foresight of the sage who composed it more than 3000 years ago.

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42. This conclusion does not exclude the possibility of the author having drawn upon several Upaniṣads embodying conclusions on isolated topics concerning the doctrines of the Sāṁkhya-yoga and Karma-yoga kept secret till then, while planning this work. In fact I have asserted that possibility in my paper on the " Probable Sources of the Bhagavadgītā ", read at the session of the Oriental Conference at Nagpur in 1946 and published in JGRI, Vol. IV, Pts. 3-4, pp. 279-94.

—20—

INDO-FRENCH CULTURAL CONTACT IN THE EARLY DECADES OF THE 19TH CENTURY

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The inauguration of the Asiatic Society in Calcutta on the 15th January, 1784, was a momentous event in the history of Indian culture. With it flowed the stream of a cultural renaissance in India, which being fed by the intellectual contributions of some contemporary Indian and European scholars revealed to the world the vast and splendid stock of India's cultural heritage in its manifold branches.

Study of Indian languages was, no doubt, considered by some British officers to be a practical necessity for administration. Even H. H. Wilson,, with profound admiration for Sanskrit lore, felt its knowledge to be essential for the civil servants of the English East India Company. He observed in the preface to the Grammar published in 1840: "The history of mankind can be but imperfectly appreciated without some acquaintance with the literature of the Hindus. It is, however, to the educated youth whose manhood is to be spent in India, and who is there destined to discharge high duties, and to sustain heavy responsibilities, who is to execute the offices of civilized government over millions of Hindu subjects and to make that Government a blessing, not a curse to India; a glory, not a shame to Britain. It is to him that the study of Sanskrit commends itself by consideration of peculiar importance......... The popular prejudices of the Hindus, their daily observations, their occupations, their amusements, their domestic and social relations, their local legends, their national traditions, their mythological fables, their metaphysical abstractions, their religious worship, all spring from and are perpetuated by the Sanskrit language. To know a people, these things must be known; without such knowledge revenue may be collected, justice may be administered, the outward forms and shows of an orderly Government may be maintained; but no influence with the people will be enjoyed, no claim to their confidence or attachment will be established, no affection will either be felt or inspired and neither the disposition nor the ability to work any great or permanent improvement in the feelings, opinions and practices of the country will be attained."

But it is highly remarkable that a band of Western scholars like Sir William Jones, Henry Thomas Colebrooke, H. H. Wilson, James Prinsep, Boff, F. Schelegel, A. W. V. Schelegel, R. Roth, F. Rosen

and several others, were then inspired by a spirit of genuine devotion to the study of India's classical culture because of its inherent worth. A contributor to the Calcutta Review of 1945 significantly observed :

" What Rosseau and his co-adjutors achieved, by the emanations of original genius, for the literary republics of the West, the European adventurers on the plains of India found already achieved for them by the poets and sages of that gorgeous land. When the portals, which for unknown centuries had guarded the entrance to these flowery realms, were thrown wide open, it seemed like the revealing of new gardens of delight, the discovery of new and glorious worlds. It seemed as if the fountains of the great deep of an unfathomable antiquity had been broken up disclosing pearls of inestimable value."

While reviewing the progress of Indological studies as Director of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland in January, 1852, Professor H. H. Wilson mentioned the names of French scholars like Prof. Neaves of Louvain for his valuable speculations on the early periods of Hindu society and of M. Langlois of Paris for his French translation of the Rig Veda.[1] It is interesting to note that study of Indian culture had engaged considerable attention of French savants from the years following the establishment of the Asiatic Society in Calcutta.. A modern French savant, Prof. Louis Renou observed about a year and a half back how it was " in Paris, long before London or Berlin, that Indianism was born in the Occident...... The first teaching of Sanskrit to be instituted in Europe was in the College of France. A royal decree in 1816 created a Professorship of History of Sanskrit which was conferred on Louis de Chezy."[2]

Recently I could manage to get transcripts of some letters in French from the National Archives, New Delhi, which contain interesting details about the cultural contact between India and France even in a period of intense international conflagration. Photo-negatives of these letters belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal were obtained by the National Archives (in 1947) through the courtesy of Mile Sazanne Karpeés, Secretary, L Echole Francaised Etreme - Orient, Hanoi.[3]

In some of the issues of the *Asiatick Researches*, we notice the names of three Frenchmen M. Volney, M. Carpenter de Cossigny and M. Le Gentil, appearing as Honorary members of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta. In the French letters referred to in this paper, there is one from M. Volney, member of the National Institute of France, to Sir J. Astruther Bart, the President of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta,

1. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1852, p. 205-208.
2. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bengal, Vol. XV, 1949, No. 1, pp. 35-36.
3. The Indian Archives, October, 1947, p. 333.

dated the 3rd July, 1802, wherein the former expressed his sense of thankfulness for being included as an Honorary Member of that Society. It is significant to note here how this scholar genuinely felt that the interest of human culture transcended national prejudices and rivalries and that the fruits of human industry are best preserved in literary societies even when destructive wars ravage the surface of the earth. He also sent for the Asiatic Society in Calcutta, as a mark of respect for it, a copy of the voyage of M. Dexon in Egypt in two volumes. There is again a reference in this letter that for sometime the name of M. Gentil did not appear in the list of Honorary Members of the Asiatic Society.

There are two letters from M. Cossigny, Member of the Academical Society of Sciences at Paris, to the Secretary, Asiatic Society of Calcutta, dated the 21st October, 1802 and 20th January, 1803, containing his feelings of gratitude and regard for being nominated as an Honorary member of that Society. The first letter refers to the death of Colonel Kid, a famous botanist of Calcutta. M. Cossigny also sent to the Asiatic Society, as a token of regard for it, a copy of his latest work in three volumes.

We have in this collection copies of correspondence (dated September, 1805) between Dr. W. Hunter, Secretary of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, and Jean Jacques Pichon, a Frenchman settled as a builder in Calcutta, regarding the plan for the buildings of this Society which being originally drawn up by Captain Lock, of the Bengal Engineers, was modified by Pichon. The members of the 'Committee of Building', Sir John Royds, H. T. Colebrooke, R. Home and John Garstin expressed in December, 1807, their approval of Pichon's plan and estimate for the Gate-Wall and offices to the Society's House.

The most interesting letter is an autograph (1837-1838) of the famous French savant and indologist Eugene Burnouf, who succeeded Louis de Chezy as Professor of Sanskrit in the College de France in 1832. It is highly significant to read this scholar's observation that the vast monuments of Indian genius had their own interest for humanity in spite of the rising tide of industrialism. He confidently believed that study of the monumental treatises of ancient Indian culture, like the Vedas, the Epics, the Puranas, etc., will be pursued in Europe with increasing interest, and recommended that these should be printed or lithographed in large numbers. He referred to the sale of the publications of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta in France and noted that the people there may not purchase the handbooks of the Bible in different languages but that copies of ancient Indian classics, like the Vedas, the Mahabharata and the Puranas will have considerable sale among them. This letter also refers to exchange of learned publications between cultural organizations in France and India.

— 21 —

JAINAS AND JAINISM

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Jainism has been primarily an Indian religion, and its spread outside India is negligible, if not doubtful. According to the latest Census of 1941, the Jainas number 1449,286, i. e., even less than ½ percent of the total population of India. Despite their broad divisions, namely, Digambara, Śvetāmbara and Sthānakavāsi, and local subdivisions, the Jainas form a community with a basic religious unity. They owe a reverential allegiance to Tīrthakaras, the divine religious Teachers, such as Ṛṣabha, Pārśva and Mahāvīra ; they believe in a set of philosophical doctrines ; they profess a scheme of ethico-moral ideas ; and they observe consequent religious practices. In the past, the Jainas have contributed a substantial share to the cultural and intellectual heritage of India ; at present, they belong more to the upper, both socially and economically, than to lower classes ; and their activities and outlook are of great social benefit : that is how their faith has won greater importance than is due to it on account of their numbers.

Apart from their being found as a mercantile class in various centres of trade and wealth, the Jainas are more numerous in the Western, Central and Southern parts of India than in the Eastern. The attention of an outsider is attracted by certain traits of Jainism and its followers : their splendid temples, statues and works of art, their monks given to the pursuit of learning and piety ; the influence of the ascetic community on the lay-followers and their consequent benevolence to the society ; their extreme kindness to the whole of sentient creation ; and their strict vegetarian diet. In Deccan and Central Provinces many of the Jainas are hereditarily devoted to agriculture ; elsewhere they are a mercantile class. As they are scattered practically all over India, they show some different customs and practices. Their partiality for peaceful occupation is primarily due to their pacific religious principles.

Jainas claim great antiquity for their religion, which, during the present period, is promulgated by 24 Tīrthakaras. The first is Ṛṣabha, of remote past ; and the details about him given in the Bhāgavata, a Hindu Purāṇa, practically and fundamentally agree with those recorded by Jaina tradition. The 22nd is Neminātha : he is associated with Kṛṣṇa and attained liberation at Girnar, in Kathiawar. His life is

symbolic of unique kindness to animals. The details about them belong more to the domain of mythology than to that of history. When we come to the last two prophets, we are very near the historical period. The 23rd Tīrthakara is Pārśvanātha, who can be assigned to the 8th century B. C. Modern research has accepted him as a historical person. Some meagre details about him are preserved in early literature. Pārśva was the son of Aśvasena, king of Benares, and his queen Vāmā. He lived for 30 years as a house-holder and thereafter performed severe and testing austerities as an ascetic. That he was sheltered by a Nāga chief when oppressed by Kamaṭha has perhaps some historical basis. After living for one hundred years he attained liberation on Mt. Sammeta (mod. Parasnatha hill) in Bengal. He often gets the epithet 'a lovable or genial personality.' His pupils like Keśikumāra lived at the time of Mahāvīra and held minor differences in dogmatic details though the basic religious ideology was fundamentally the same as that of Mahāvīra.

The 24th and the last Tīrthakara of the Jainas is Mahāvīra, also called Vardhamāna. He flourished just a couple of centuries after Pārśvanātha. He was born in 599 B. C. at Kuṇḍagrāma, near Vaiśāli (mod. Besrah), some 27 miles to the North of Patna in Bihar. He belonged to the Nāya (Jñata) clan. His father Siddhārtha was a chief of that locality. His mother Triśalā or Priyakāriṇī came from the ruling family of Licchavis. Tradition is not unanimous about his (Mahāvīra's) marriage: according to the one he was a celebate throughout ; while according to another, he married Yaśodā and had a daughter called Priyadarśanā. At the age of thirty, he left home and started the career of an ascetic. Following the creed of Pārśvanātha, he practised severe austerities and faced calmly all sorts of hardships from unfriendly quarters. Through his religious meditations he attained Enlightenment : the knowledge he came to possess was free from spatial and temporal limitations. He himself was an embodiment of supreme religious life, and wandered preaching the religious path, a way out from worldly misery. He stressed the sanctity of life in all its forms, and this formed the basis of his moral values. The misery of Saṃsāra was due to one's own Karmas, which, therefore, must be annihilated in order to get summum bonum. Mahāvīra was connected with the royal families of Eastern India ; his mode of living won respectful allegiance from the high and low ; his principles were universal in their appeal ; and his metaphysics was based on commonsense realism and intellectual toleration ; it is no wonder, therefore, that the community of his followers, namely, monks, nuns, householders and houseladies, was quite organised. He moved about preaching for thirty years never halting for a long time at one and the same place except during the rainy season, and at last got rid of this mortal body at the age of

seventy-two, in 527 B. C., at Pāvā, in Patna Dt. The two royal clans, Mallaki and Licchavi, celebrated the occasion by lamp-festival, which is annually observed even to this day. The period in which Mahāvīra lived was undoubtedly an age of acute intellectual upheaval in the religious history of India ; and among his contemporaries there were such religious teachers as Gosāla, Buddha and others. Like Buddha Mahāvīra was not required to go from teacher to teacher ; but he accepted his hereditary creed of Pārśva which was already well-established and started propagating the same. Mahāvīra left behind him not only a systematic religion and philosophy but also a well-knit social order of ascetics and lay followers who earnestly followed and practised what he and his immediate disciples preached.

The history of the Jains church has many a bright spot here and there. After Mahāvīra the church was led by eminent monks; it received patronage from kings like Śreṇika Bimbisāra, Chandragupta, Khāravela etc. ; and gradually its sphere of influence began to spread in the South and West of India. When the society was threatened by a severe famine, Bhadrabāhu is said to have migrated to the South with a band of followers ; and this event is often looked upon as the starting point for the division of the church into Digambara and Śvetāmbara which has survived to this day. Even from early times there must have been groups of monks practising more or less rigorous courses of asceticism ; thus such divisions originated first among the monks and then affected the laity as well. The basic religious ideology has remained the same ; but they differ among themselves on minor dogmas, mythological details and ascetic practices.

The rigorous asceticism and pious life of Jaina monks naturally attracted the attention of kings, queens, ministers, generals, and wealthy merchants who became inclined to adopt the Jaina way of life. Both in the South and Gujarāt the Jaina faith received not only great patronage from ruling families but even some kings also became zealous Jainas ; and all this was possible due to the influence of great Jaina monks. The early medieval royal dynasties of the South, such as the Gaṅgas, the Kadambas, the Chālukyas and the Rāshṭrakūṭas extended their patronage to Jainism. Some Rāshṭrakūṭa kings of Mānyakheṭa were zealous Jainas, and Jaina contributions to art and literature under their patronage are of great significance. Associated with this period is a galaxy of eminent poets and authors whose literary achievements are examples of erudite scholarship. To this period belong Vīrasena, Jinasena, Guṇabhadra, Śākaṭāyana, Mahāvīrācārya, Puṣpadanta, Malliṣeṇa, Somadeva, Pampa etc.; and their contributions to Sanskrit, Prākrit, Apabhraṃśa and Kannaḍa literatures and to technical branches of learning like mathematics, grammar and Tantra are of abiding value. The Rāshṭrakūṭa king Amoghavarṣa (C. A. D. 815–77)

was a devotee of Jinasena, and appears to have embraced Jainism during the concluding part of his life. To him are attributed the Kannaḍa Kavirājamārga, a work on poetics, and Praśnottara-ratna-mālikā, a didactic Sanskrit poem in questions and answers. In the South petty Jaina rulers survived the fall of the Vijayanagara empire, even till the advent of the English rule. In Gujarāt, the Jaina faith thrived more under the patronage of rich merchants than of the ruling dynasties. However, it is under the Chālukya rulers of Gujarāt, especially Sidharāja and Kumārapāla, Jainism saw glorious days; and the Jaina contributions to art and literature have made Gujarāt great even to this day. An era of literary activity dawned in Gujarat since the time of Kumārapāla, and the credit of it should go to Hemacandra and a host of Jaina authors after him. Under the Muslim rule the Jainas and their temples were molested here and there, but not perhaps on a very large scale. The Jaina monks won respect even from Muslim rulers and received Firmans for the uplift of Ahiṁsā. Akbar bestowed on the Jaina teacher Hīravijaya the title 'World Teacher', and issued Firmans in response to his request prohibiting the slaughter of animals during the Jaina annual festival of Pajjūsaṇa in places where the Jainas lived. Important Jaina families at Delhi and Ahmedabad, by virtue of their business connections and vast riches, wielded great influence in Mughal courts: some of their temples in Delhi have survived quite intact and some of them have received Firmans from most of the Mughal rulers. In the Rajput states the Jainas occupied important positions of generals and ministers; and the names of Bhāmāsāha etc. are quite prominent in the annals of Rājasthān at the time of Rāṇā Pratāpa who gave a stiff fight against the Mughals. Relics of Jaina influence are still to be seen in Rājaputānā where Jainas live in large numbers. During the days of the East India Company outstanding Jaina families like the Jagatsheṭh, Singhī etc. acted as the State Bankers, and naturally wielded great influence on the state policy.

The Jaina contributions to Indian art and architecture arise essentially out of their socio-religious needs. The Jaina caves and temples have served as residence for monks and places of worship; and among the objects of worship and religious sanctity there are the Stūpas, foot-prints in stone, statues and free standing pillars (mānastambha). Some of the caves have served the purpose of temples. The Hāthigumphā caves in Orissa belong to the 2nd century B. C. Later Jaina caves are found scattered in different parts of the country in places like Madura, Badami, Tera, Ellora, Kalyangad, Nāsik, Mangitungi, Girnar, Udayagiri, etc. The Jainas are extremely zealous about temple building. As a place of worship, the temple is a social necessity; to build it is a religious duty and a pious act; and the monks constantly appeal to rich laymen that their localities should be

equipped with temples. The result has been that we come across rich and fine temples in those parts of India where Jainas have been influential. During the historical period many kings have granted lands and villages to these temples ; and to look after these estates and the socio-religious welfare of the community there arose the institution of Bhaṭṭārakas, the religious heads, with their Maṭha or monastery. Though a dying institution now the Maṭhas and Bhaṭṭārakas did play a useful rôle in the past. Beautiful temples, quite spacious and imposing and rich with architectural details, have been built both in the South and North. The Jaina Temples at Moodbidri, Karkal, Varang, Belgol are rich in decorations ; and they are situated either on a prominent or a peaceful spot. The marble temples at Mount Abu and Palithana exhibit rare artistic beauty in concrete. They are a living monument of the religious zeal of the wealthy builders and the exquisite skill of the mason. Some of these temples are such imposing resorts that on entering them one would easily forget the worries of the world. Like the Buddhists the Jainas too had their Stūpas with the usual architectural decorations : those at Mathura belonging to the Satrap and Kushān periods are well-known. The worship of the foot-prints of Tīrthakaras and Preceptors is quite in vogue with the Jainas ; their places of pilgrimage like the Parasnath Hill are all marked with them. The worship of idols is a part and parcel of Jainism, almost from the beginning. The Jaina temples contain statues of Tīrthakaras etc., at times more than one. Digambaras worship nude images ; the question of nudity does not arise if the statues are in a seated posture ; the idols as such have no dress and decorations, shown in carving ; however, the Śvetāmbaras, now-a-days, decorate them. Beautiful images cut in black stone, especially those of Pārsvanātha, shaded by the seven-hooded serpent (sometimes the number of hoods goes to one thousand) are worshipped in the South. Many of them were broken by iconoclasts with sectarian hatred ; but those that have survived attest to the high skill of statuary sculpture. The Jaina statues are remarkable for their childlike simplicity and passionless compose. The art of statuary has reached a high magnitude in the colossal nude statues of Bāhubali which are among the wonders of the world. The one at Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷ in Mysore is 57 feet in height and stands clear on the summit of the hill, cut from a single block of gneiss and dating from the last quarter of the 10th century. During subsequent centuries, it was imitated at Karkal and Venur in South Kanara. A statue of Vṛṣabhanātha, greater in height, is found at Badhwan in Gwalior state, but it is cut on the side of a hill. None of these equals the Beḷgoḷ image in its bold conception and exquisite workmanship. As statues they are more symbolic and idealistic and thus stand in contrast to Greek statues which are human and realistic.

Bundelkhand too is rich in Jaina statues, though in ruins now, of the 11th and 12th centuries. The huge rock-cut reliefs at Gwalior also are Jaina and belong to the 15th century. The Jaina statues are easily distinguishable from those of other sects by their simplicity, if not nudity, and above all the serenity of the facial expression. Another piece of sculpture popularised by the Jainas is the Mānastambha, a free-standing pillar with a statue on it. It has some religious meaning and stands in front of their temples. Excellent specimens of it are found in the South at places like Karkal in South Kanara. One may passingly note the Jaina Tower at Chitor in Rājaputānā. It is 80 feet high and richly covered with sculpture. Jaina temples and statues have yet another significance. They bear inscriptions recording useful contemporary information; they shed light not only on the social and religious history of the Jainas but also supply important links in the political history of India.

The Jainas have played a prominent rôle in the fields of Indian literatures and languages. Their monks have ample leisure, and devotion to learning and propagation of religious morals are a part of their duties. The Jaina authors never invested any particular language with an exclusive, religious sanctity. Language was, for them, just means to an end; they picked up any language according to time, place and circumstances, and gave it a literary elegance if it so needed for preaching their religious principles. They have in view more the masses than classes. Mahāvīra is said to have preached in Ardhamāgadhī, perhaps a mixed Prākrit dialect meant to be intelligible even outside Magadha. The Jaina canon in Ardhamāgadhī consists to-day of 45 works of varied contents. The outline of the canon was fixed at the Pāṭaliputra council in the 4th century B. C. But soon it was reduced to a state of disorder due to schisms in the church, due to discontinuity in the oral inheritance of scriptural knowledge caused by the death of eminent monks, and lastly due to conditions of occasional famines. After good many vicissitudes a fixed form was given to the Jaina canon in the 5th century A. D. at Valabhi in Kathiawar. It contains a substantial amount of older material which was rearranged under somewhat new classification of books. The present-day canon is practically the same as that shaped at Valabhi. Soon it was subjected to a good deal of exegetical literature. The authenticity of this canon was not accepted by the Digambaras, and naturally almost from the beginning of the Christian era they started compiling Pro-canonical texts based on traditional knowledge which bear witness to much that was basic for all.

The study of the canonical and pro-canonical texts created among Jaina monks a partiality for Prākrits, the languages of the masses; and all along the Jaina authors wrote in Prākrit their religious and

secular works, many of which have come down to us. Sanskrit had become essentially the language of the learned discussion and composition. The Jaina authors could not afford to neglect it altogether. Consequently we possess a rich tract of Jaina literature in Sanskrit which comprises religious treatises, logical and argumentative expositions, narrative tale, artistic prose and poetry, and secular branches of knowledge like grammar, mathematics, polity etc. Some of their works are of outstanding merit and still need to be studied critically. The attempt of the Jaina monks has been primarily to address the masses; and as a result they came to write in Apabhraṁśa, which is a successor of Prākrit and an essentially literary language based on contemporary spoken dialects. The major portion of the Apabhraṁśa literature that is available to-day we owe to Jaina authors: it consists of mainly religious and narrative tales in an extensive form. It is the study of this language that is helping the linguist to get some glimpses of the earlier phases of some of our Modern Indo-Āryan languages. From Apabhraṁśa the Jaina authors in the North naturally adopted Rājasthānī, Old-Gujarātī, Old-Hindī in various parts; and their literary activities were so extensive and continuous that we get here rich linguistic material so carefully recorded and preserved. In the South the Jaina contributions to Kannaḍa and Tāmila literatures have been very valuable; in fact, the Jaina authors were the pioneers to give these languages a high literary status and enrich them with stylistic compositions and accessories of language-study like grammars and lexicons. Treatises on technical subjects like mathematics, medicine etc. indicate that their services to literature were not actuated merely by religious motives.

These literary pursuits of Jaina monks required rich Mss. libraries in early days; the spread of knowledge and distribution of scriptures have been looked upon as meritorious acts in Jainism; so the result was that the Jainas developed the institution of Mss-libraries attached to their temples and monasteries. These libraries grew in strength year to year and formed the centres of continued scholastic activities for generations together. Some of them contained Mss. on all the branches of contemporary knowledge. Credit must be given to the custodians of these collections that sectarian bias never came in the way of collecting and preserving the Mss. of other religions. It is in the Jaina collections that we have been able to find rare Mss. of non-Jaina works. The basic outlook was essentially human, cultural and literary, though the religious needs were not ignored. The Mss. libraries at Jaisalmer, Pattan and Moodbidri are enviable treasures in our national heritage; and some of the Mss. in them are important pieces of antiquity. At the end of these Mss. we get a great deal of historical information about the authors, the

donors and the contemporary rulers and teachers. For the historian of literature such information is quite welcome.

The students of Indian religion and philosophy have a special interest in Jainism. The history of Jainism goes back to an ancient period, and its doctrines have arisen out of early currents of thought of Eastern India which also gave rise to systems of philosophy like the early Sāṁkhya and Buddhism. The metaphysical start is practically the same in Jainism and Sāṁkhya, though the subsequent details are differently worked out; and the monastic institutions of Jainism and Buddhism show much that is common, though their philosophical outlook is not the same.

Reality, according to Jainism, is uncreated and eternal; and it is characterised by origination or appearance (*utpāda*), destruction or disappearance (*vyaya*) and permanence (*dhrauvya*). Every object of reality is found possessed of infinite characters, both with respect to what it is and what it is not. It has its modes (*paryāya*) and qualities (*guṇa*), through which persists the essential substratum through all the times. The basic substance with its qualities is something that is permanent, while the modes or accidental characters appear and disappear. Thus both change and permanence are facts of experience. The soul or spirit, for instance, is eternal with its inseparable character of consciousness, but at the same time it is subjected to accidental characters like pleasure and pain and super-imposed modes such as body etc. both of which are changing constantly. The gold, for instance, with its colour and density is something that is permanent though subjected to different shapes at different times.

The substances are real, characterised by existence, and they are six in number. They can be broadly divided into living (*jīva*) and non-living (*ajīva*). The *jīva* means soul or spirit. It is essentially a unit of consciousness and there is an infinity of them. The souls can be classified into those that are in bondage (*baddha*) and those that are free (*mukta*). Those in bondage may possess only one sense organ or more than one. The former are associated with earth, water, fire, wind and plants, and the latter differ among themselves according to the number of senses.

The class of non-living substances is made up of matter (*pudgala*), principles of motion and rest (*dharma* and *adharma*), space (*ākāśa*) and time (*kāla*). Though all these are characterised by existence, the constitution of time is slightly different : it has no extension in space, but is made up of partite units. The matter is the non-living stuff possessed of sense-qualities with varied functions and forms; the principles of motion and rest facilitate all movements and static states in this physical universe; all these substances are accommodated in space; and it is the principle of time that marks continuity or change.

These substances are eternally existing, uncreated and with no beginning in time. As substances they are eternal and unchanging, but their modifications are passing through a flux of changes. Their mutual co-operation and interaction explain all that we imply by the term 'creation'; and Jainism, therefore, admits no intelligent creator who can be credited with the making of this universe.

Consciousness (*cetanā*) is the very essence of the soul which is potentially endowed with infinite vision, infinite knowledge, infinite power and infinite bliss. But all these are suppressed in the case of mundane souls, because they are bound by subtle matter, namely Karman, a sort of energy as it were, which obscures their power. The destiny of the soul in transmigration is governed by Karman. Every thought, word or act of the individual fashions a certain state of the soul as a result of which there is the influx of Karman of various types and subtypes. The Karmic matter shapes itself into a subtle body and clings to the soul and binds it in the circuit of births as gods, men, denizens of hell and sub-human beings. By cultivating pure thoughts and acts, the of influx Karman, both good and bad, has to be stopped; and the stock of binding Karman is to be consumed by religious austerities. When the Karmas are completely destroyed, the soul becomes liberated with all its potential qualities fully developed. This liberated and perfect soul is an embodiment of infinite knowledge and bliss.

The doctrine of Karmas is an original and integral part of Jainism; and it goes a long way to prove how Jainism is older than Buddhism. The Jaina Karma doctrine is an elaborate system most meticulously worked out, showing how different Karmic energies become operative or inoperative in the spiritual career of the mundane soul from its lowest state to final liberation. It is made to explain all the vicissitudes in life. Just as the interacting eternal substances postulated in Jainism admit no Creator, so also the inviolable law of Karman makes man the master of his destiny and dispenses away with the favourite theistic idea that some divinity bestows on man favours and frowns.

The soul or spirit being essentially constituted of consciousness, the act of knowing is just the manifestation by the soul of its intrinsic nature. This consciousness is something like sun's light, able to manifest itself as well as to enlighten other objects, unless obstructed by the Karman. Every soul thus is potentially omniscient. Omniscience is fully manifested in the case of liberated souls, while the mundane souls have different degrees of limited knowledge due to the hindrance of Karmas. The body, the sense organs, mind (*manas*) are all material and the results of Karman; and they counteract omniscience. The types of knowledge manifested in the soul mark in a way the stages of its spiritual development.

There are five types of knowledge: 1) Matijñāna, which refers to sense experience and covers perception through the activities of sense-organs (including mind) and the inferential knowledge based on these; 2) Śrutajñāna, which is the knowledge revealed by scriptures; 3) Avadhijñāna, which is clairvoyant perception that enables one to perceive material objects and events of distant time and place, and which has varying scope and degrees according to the qualifications of the individual; 4) Manaḥparyāya-jñāna, telepathic knowledge, whereby one knows the thoughts in the minds of others, and which is the result of meritorious austerities etc.; and 5) Kevala-jñāna, the unique or the perfect knowledge, which is revealed in the soul when the obstructive Karmas are destroyed and wherein the process of knowing is without spatial and temporal limitations.

Understanding or the acquisition of knowledge (*adhigama*) is attained by means of *pramāṇa* (instruments of knowledge) and *naya* (point of view). The five types of knowledge, noted above, constitute the Pramāṇa. In the last three types the process of knowing is directly by the soul or spirit, without the aid of sense-faculties; and they are called, therefore, immediate or direct (*pratyakṣa*) instruments. The last two and even a variety of the third (*avadhi*) are necessarily infallible. The first two are indirect or mediate (*parokṣa*); herein there is no direct perception by the soul, but it is through the aid of intervening medium of sense-organs. These can be authentic as well as liable to error.

It is seen above that according to Jaina philosophy, the object of knowledge is a huge complexity constituted of substances, qualities and modifications, extended over three times and infinite space, and simultaneously subjected to origination, destruction and permanence. Such an object can be fully comprehended only in omniscience, which is not manifested in the case of worldly beings who perceive through their organs of senses. But the senses are the indirect means of knowledge, and whatever they apprehend is partial like the perception of an elephant by those seven blind persons; each one touches only a part of the animal and concludes that the animal is like a log of wood, like a fan, like a wall etc. The ordinary human being, therefore, cannot rise above the limitations of his senses; so his apprehension of reality is partial, and it is valid only from a particular point of view: this leads to the Nayavāda of the Jainas. In describing different ornaments one's attention is directed towards the modes or modifications of gold, that is the modal point of view (*paryāyārthika-naya*); and when one describes gold with regard to its substance and inherent qualities, that is the substantial point of view (*dravyārthika-naya*). On par with these but in spiritual discussions we have the common-sense or practical point of view (*vyavahāra-naya*) and the realistic point of view (*niścaya-naya*).

Going into further details, there are seven Nayas; some refer to the substance and others to modifications; and some arise out of the nature of the subject and some out of the verbal statement.

A thing, or the object of knowledge, is of infinite characters (*anekāntātmaka*) which require to be analysed and apprehended individually; that is the function of the Nayas. Individual Nayas reveal only a part of the totality, and it should not be mistaken for the whole. Because of this infinitefold constitution of a thing, there can be infinite points of view; and the same are classified as seven, two etc. This Nayavāda is a unique instrument of analysis. The Jaina philosopher has taken the fullest advantage of it not only in building his system by a judicious search and balance of various view-points, but also in understanding sympathetically the views of others from whom he differs and in appreciating why there is difference between the two. This analytical approach to reality has saved him from extremism, dogmatism and fanaticism, and has further bred in him remarkable intellectual toleration, a rare virtue indeed.

It is not enough if various problems about reality are merely understood from different points of view. What one knows one must be able to state truly and accurately. This need is met with by the famous theory of Syādvāda in Jainism. The object of knowledge is a huge complexity covering infinite modes and related to three times; human mind is of limited understanding; and human speech has its imperfections in expressing the whole range of experience. Under these circumstances all our statements are conditionally or relatively true. So Jaina logic insists on qualifying every statement with the term '*syāt*', i. e., 'somehow' or 'in a way', to emphasize its conditional or relative character. Such a qualification is to be always understood whether a term like '*syāt*' is added or not. A judgement, ordinarily speaking, can assume two forms: affirmative and negative, and has a reference to the substance (*dravya*), place (*kṣetra*), time (*kāla*) and shape or concept (*bhāva*) of an object. An affirmative judgement predicates the characters possessed by a thing, while the negative one denies characters absent in this but belonging to others. Besides these two judgements, namely, 'somehow S is P' and 'Somehow S is not P', Jaina logic admits a third kind of judgement, namely, that of indescribability, 'Somehow S is indescribable'. This is of great philosophical significance. In view of complex objectivity, limited knowledge and imperfect speech, the Jaina logic admits situations which cannot be described in terms of plain 'yes' or 'no'. A thing cannot be described at all when no distinction of stand-points and aspects can be made. Some aspect can be affirmed, or denied separately from a certain point of view, or both affirmed and denied successively. But when this predication is to be made simultaneously, one is faced with

contradiction which can be wisely avoided by this third judgement of 'indescribability'. These three are the basic predications; and when they are combined successively and simultaneously, the maximum number of combinations is seven and not more. Naturally these should be able to answer every purpose however complex it may be. Thus we have the following seven conditional predications: 1) Somehow S is P; 2) Somehow S is not P; 3) Somhow S is indescribable; 4) Somhow S is P and is also not P; 5) Somehow S is P and is also indescribable; 6) Somehow S is not P and is also indescribable; and lastly, 7) Somehow S is P, and also is not P, and is also indescribable.

This doctrine of sevenfold predication is often misunderstood and misrepresented by idealists who have not been able to appreciate its metaphysical basis and intellectual approach. It reminds us of the realist relativists of the West like Whitehead and others. The Jaina logician is neither a sceptic nor an agnostic; but he is a realist working with a sound commonsense. He does not want to ignore the relative or conditional character of the judgement arising out of the very nature of the object of knowledge.

The ultimate goal of Jaina ethics is the realization of Nirvāṇa or Mokṣa which, as seen above, consists in completely liberating the soul from the Karmas. Right Faith, Right Knowledge and Right Conduct collectively constitute the path of liberation. Right Faith is belief in the principles, and it indicates a correct attitude for the acceptance of the truth; Right Knowledge is the flawless understanding of the religious principles; and Right Conduct, in general, means abstaining from what is harmful and doing what is beneficial. Knowledge to be worthy of its name, must be preceded by correct attitude and should lead to right conduct. To set the Ātman free from Karmas, Karmic influx has to be stopped and the Karmic stock to be destroyed. This whole process demands purity of thought, words and acts; and it becomes possible by observing a code of morality which is less rigorous in the case of householders but more rigorous for monks.

There are these five vows (*vrata*): 1) Abstention from violence or injury to living beings (*ahiṁsā*); 2) Abstention from false speech (*satya*); 3) Abstention from theft (*asteya*); 4) Abstention from sexuality (*brahmacarya*); and 5) Abstention from greed for worldly possessions (*aparigraha*). The principle of Ahiṁsā is the logical outcome of the Jaina metaphysical theory that all the souls are potentially equal. No one likes pain. Naturally one should not do unto others what one does not want others to do unto one. The social implications of this principle of reciprocity are profoundly beneficial. In no other Indian religion the doctrine of Ahiṁsā is explained as systematically as in Jainism. Violence or injury is of three kinds: physical violence, which covers killing, wounding and

causing any physical pain; violence in words consists in using harsh words; and mental violence implies bearing ill feeling towards others. Further it may be committed, commissioned or consented to. A householder is unable to avoid all these in an ideal manner; so he is expected to cause minimal injury to others. In view of the routine of society in which we have to live, injury is classified under four heads: first, there is accidental injury in digging, pounding, cooking and such other activities essential to daily living; secondly, there is occupational injury when a soldier fights, an agriculturist tills the land, etc.; thirdly, there is protective injury when one protects one's or other's life and honour against wild beasts and enemies; and lastly, there is intentional injury when one kills beings simply for killing them as in hunting or butchery. A house-holder is expected to abstain fully from intentional injury and as far as possible from the rest. It is the intention or the mental attitude that matters more than the act. So one has to take utmost care in keeping one's intentions pure and pious and abstain from intentional injury. Binding, hitting, mutilating, over-loading and starving animals are various forms of injury. The fifth vow has a great social significance. By limiting his possessions, the householder is expected to spend his additional earnings in helping the poor and needy by fourfold gifts: food, shelter, medicine and books. The detailed practical instructions to him are many; he is asked, among others, to avoid the following: withholding food and drink from an animal or human being; spreading false views; divulging others' secrets; preparing forged documents; misappropriating deposits; receiving stolen properties; illegal traffic; using false weights and measures; adulteration etc. These put a restriction on his profession and mould a humanistic outlook on society. They make him a detached citizen. One who carefully observes these vows and the attendant instructions need not be afraid of the Indian Penal Code.

A layman progresses further in his spiritual career by observing seven vows more: 1) he limits the distance upto which he would go in this or that direction (*digvrata*); 2) he abstains from wanton sinful activities (*anarthadaṇḍa-viramaṇa*); 3) he restricts enjoying consumable and non-consumable articles (*bhogopabhoga-parimāṇa*). The next four vows take him still further in his practice of self-denial, self-control and renunciation: 4) he limits the area of his activities (*deśāvakāśika*); 5) with minimum possessions a layman retires to a quiet spot at stated times, and for the time being he renounces worldly attachment and aversion and cultivates the meditational mood of mental equipoise (*sāmāyika*); 6) on four days in a month, he observes complete fast and more rigorous religious life (*proṣadhopavāsa*); and lastly 7) he shares the food with guests, namely, the pious and holy persons

that come to his house at the proper time and also renders them necessary aid in their religious practices (*atithi-saṁvibhāga*).

A close study of these vows reveals the fact that a layman is virtually participating, to a limited extent and for a limited period of time, in the routine of a monk without actually renouncing the world. Such practices have maintained a close tie between the layman and the ascetic ; both of them are actuated by the same motive and moved by the same religious ideals, with the result that this close association between the layman and the monk has remarkably contributed to the religious solidarity of the community.

The course of right conduct prescribed for laymen is conveniently divided into eleven steps (*pratimā*) which are included in the 5th stage of spiritual evolution (*guṇa-sthāna*). A layman after shedding all superstition, adopts right attitude and starts observing the vows noted above ; he practises self contemplation, thrice a day, with a view to attain mental equipoise ; he observes weekly fasts, stops taking green vegetables etc. and meals after sunset ; he observes strict celibacy, claims no property as his own, does not take interest in worldly matters, and stops taking food specially cooked for him. According to his ability and environments he can proceed stage by stage ; but once he reaches the 11th stage, he is fully prepared for practising the severe course of ascetic life.

According to Jainism dying is as much an art as living. A layman is expected to live not only a disciplined life but also die bravely a detached death. There are elaborate rules about voluntary death (*sallekhanā*) which has been practised not only by Jaina monks but also by pious laymen ; and we have innumerable inscriptions commemorating the detached deaths of pious Jainas. This voluntary death is to be distinguished from suicide which Jainism looks upon as a cowardly sin. When faced by calamity, famine, old age and disease against which there is no remedy, a pious Jaina peacefully relinquishes his body, being inspired by a higher religious ideal. With a pure mind, he rises above love and hatred, and relinquishes attachment and possessions ; he forgives all and asks his kinsmen and attendants to forgive him on the eve of his life. After recounting and confessing his sins and avoiding all sorts of distractions, he sets his mind on the high pitch of peace. First he should stop taking solid food and take only the liquid food for some time ; then gradually he should pass on to pure water ; and finally he should observe complete fasting and give up this body with his mind occupied by religious meditation. He neither yearns to live nor to die ; he is not afraid of anything ; and he neither broods over his past pleasures nor has any prospective remunerative hankering. It is with such a quiet and detached mood that he faces death bravely and voluntarily.

What apparently distinguishes a Jaina monk from a layman is his itinerant living with no abode as his own and his having no possessions or paraphernalia beyond those required for his religious observances. In their outward form and equipment we see some different schools among the Jaina monks. The Digambara monk, who goes about naked, has a Kamaṇḍalu (a gourd pot) to carry water for the call of nature and a bunch of peacock feathers for cleansing the seat etc. But if he belongs to the lower stage, he has minimum clothing to cover his shame. A Śvetāmbara monk is clad in white robes; and he is equipped with a staff, a bunch of wool and wooden pots. They differ here and there in the rules of outward behaviour which affect their mode of touring, eating etc. The inner religious life, however, is fundamentally the same for the various schools.

The five Aṇuvratas of a layman, namely, not to kill, not to lie, not to steal, to abstain from sex-life and to renounce property, are called Mahāvratas in the case of a monk who has to observe them with maximum rigour and thoroughness. These are sins leading to the influx of Karmas; the monk must abstain from them in thought, word and deed; and he should neither commit, commission nor consent to them. The rigidity with which he is expected to observe the rules and the elaborated details of his conduct only show how minutely the whole system of ascetic morality is worked out.

The entire spiritual career of the soul is divided into 14 stages called Guṇasthānas. The soul here marches from bondage and gross ignorance to final liberation and omniscience, gradually overpowering at different stages wrong belief, unrighteousness, negligence, passions and channels of activities. In the first four stages the soul is struggling against wrong belief which is overcome in the fifth stage where righteous conduct begins and is practised by a layman through 11 Pratimās, noted above. In the 6th, he is already monk, but still liable to negligence and lapses. In all stages upto the 11th, a recedence may take place, and the soul may fall even down to the first stage. When he reaches the 12th, the passions etc. are destroyed, and he launches upon excellent meditation. In the 13th stage he is still in the world, retaining some activities of body, speech and mind. When all his activities stop, he enters the last stage where all Karman is destroyed, and the soul attains its fullest spiritual status.

Here we may broadly outline the disciplinary code of a monk which he has to practise for the perfection of his very Mahāvratas. His one aim is to stop the influx of fresh Karman and to destroy all that has already bound him. The flow of Karmas into the Ātman or soul is caused by the activities of body, speech and mind; so it is necessary for him to keep these channels under strict control (*gupti*). It is just possible that even in performing the duties of a monk the vows

might be transgressed out of inadvertance. As a precautionary measure, the monk must be very cautious in walking, speaking, begging food, taking up and putting down things and in voiding the body (*samiti*). It is mainly due to the passions that the soul assimilates Karman; so anger, pride, deception and greed must be counteracted by cultivating ten best virtues, namely, forgiveness, humility, straightforwardness, contentment, truthfulness, restraint, austerities and renunciation (*daśadharma*). To cultivate the necessary religious attitude he should costantly reflect on some twelve religious topics, namely, everything is transitory, men are helpless against Death etc., the circuit of existence is full of misery, the soul has to struggle all alone, the relatives and others are quite separate, the body is impure, the Karman is constantly inflowing, the Karman should be stopped by cultivating necessary virtues, the Karman should be destroyed by penances, the nature of the universe, the rarity of religious knowledge, and lastly, the true nature of religion (*anuprekṣā*).

To keep himself steady on the path of liberation and to destroy the Karman, a monk has to bear cheerfully all the troubles (*parīsaha*) that might cause him distraction or pain. There are 22 troubles which a monk is expected to face unflinchingly: hunger and thirst, cold and heat, trying circumstances, unpleasant feelings, illness etc. His spiritual discipline or conduct is five-fold, and its pitch ranges from equanimity to ideal and passionless conduct (*cāritra*).

The last but not the least routine of a monk consists in wisely practising penances or austerities (*tapas*). He should not be tempted and stopped in the middle by miraculous powers etc.: his one aim is to reach Nirvāṇa or Mokṣa. Penance is twofold, External, referring to food and physical activities and Internal, referring to spiritual discipline, each of which is of six kinds. The external austerities are: 1) Fasting; 2) eating less than one's fill, than one has appetite for; 3) taking a mental vow to accept food from a householder only if certain conditions are fulfilled without letting any one know about them; 4) day to day renunciation of six kinds of delicacies such as ghee, milk, curds, sugar, salt and oil; 5) sitting and sleeping in a secluded place, devoid of animate beings; and lastly 6) mortification of the body, so long as the mind is not disturbed. These penances show what a rigorous life of self-denial the Jaina monk leads. He just sustains the body with minimum feeding and takes maximum work from it in the attainment of his spiritual ideal. Jainism has evolved an elaborate technique of fasting, and the Jaina monk trains himself all along his career so efficiently that when the hour of death comes, he accepts voluntary fasting and gives up the body as easily as one would throw off the old garment. Month to month he is taking exercise in fasting by observing series of fasts differently arranged.

Internal penance refers to spiritual discipline and is also of six kinds: 1) Confession and repentance of sins; 2) modest behaviour; 3) rendering service to other members of the order; 4) study of scriptures; 5) giving up all attachment for the flesh; and lastly 6) meditation. Meditation or contemplation (*dhyāna*) is the most important spiritual exercise whereby alone the soul progresses on to higher Guṇasthānas and destroys all the Karmas. Attachment for beneficial and aversion from harmful objects have to be given up to attain concentration of mind, which is the prerequisite of successful meditation. It is the pure (*śukla*) meditation which ultimately leads the soul to liberation; there is a complete cessation of physical, verbal and mental activities and the Ātman or the Self is absorbed in himself. With the entire stock of Karmas exhausted the soul shoots up to the top of the universe where the liberated souls stay for ever.

It is clear from the Jaina metaphysics that there is no place in Jainism for the God as a creator and distributor of prizes and punishments. By God Jainism understands a liberated soul as well as the Tīrthakara, who is the highest spiritual ideal after which every soul can aspire: the God is an example to inspire and to guide. Thus the basis of Jaina conception is much different from that in Hinduism. Though the God is not a creator, the Jaina religion neither lacks devotional fervour nor ceremonial rituals. Jainas offer prayers to him, worship him both in concept and in concrete, and meditate on him. Respectful prayers are offered to the Tīrthakara, liberated soul, preceptor, preacher and monk, because these represent various stages of the soul's spiritual progress. Such a routine keeps one vigilant about one's ideal and strengthens one's heart, warning every time that one is to depend on oneself to destroy the Karmas. Jainism is thus the religion of self-help and can be practised by the self-reliant, strong and brave.

The details set forth above enable us to determine the relation between Jainism and Hinduism. For certain reasons the Jainas are often called Hindus now-a-days: in Northern India some castes are common to Hindus and Jainas, and inter-marriages have been allowed between them; being scattered practically all over India and living in the midst of numerical majority of Hindus, the Jainas of some of the localities are influenced by Hindu customs and observances; and in later years, the Jainas, especially their enlightened leaders, never clamoured for special political safeguards for their community but joined wholeheartedly the nationalistic forces in the country. But as long as the term Hindu does not mean merely an Indian and carries with it a religious import, the Jainas cannot be called Hindus, taking into account all that their religion and philosophy stand for and do not stand for.

The Vedic scriptures and Law books have no religious sanctity for

the Jainas who have their own separate scriptures, ancient and modern. The authority of the Brahmanical priests and order of the society and the religious ceremonies upheld by them, the Purāṇas and their myths, gods and cults, the Vedic and Purāṇic ideas of creation and divine dispensation, and the philosophical speculations of the Darśanas; all these are not accepted in Jainism which naturally, is more than once criticised by authors like Śaṁkarācārya. If Jaina rituals and mythology show contact with Purāṇic ideas, it is not so much due to the sanction of Jainism as to the influence of the surrounding customs and observances. Jainas have their independent places of pilgrimage, and have their special festivals besides those which they happen to share with the masses round about. It is not the common terms but the underlying philosophical ideas and the stress laid on ethico-moral values that will have to be taken into account. As religions Jainism and Buddhism, in view of their history, metaphysics and ethics, cannot be labelled as Hinduism.

The traces of Jaina influence on Indian life can be detected here and there. The worship of idols in a refined form, the building of temples for the same, founding of charitable lodges for men and animals, keeping the Mss. Libraries fully enriched, and distribution of food etc. to the poor : these are some of the outstanding features of the Jaina society, and to a very great extent they are imitated by others. It is Jainism and Buddhism that have been foremost in upholding the doctrine of Ahiṁsā, and it is Jainism that has stuck to its ideology more than Buddhism. Jaina monks have led an exemplary life, and as living embodiments of kindness to living beings they have wandered all over India winning the sympathies of even non-Jaina peasants and princes for the doctrine of Ahiṁsā. The practice of it has been often misunderstood and misrepresented. The ideal Ahiṁsā was meant only for a houseless monk, but to the layman it is prescribed according to his position and stage of religious progress. This has allowed Jaina kings and heroes to fight on the battle-field for their kingdom and for their safety and honour. Under some of the dynasties of the South and Gujarāt there have flourished many soldiers who were both heroes and pious Jāinas. As a community the Jainas have been strict vegetarians, and wherever they are found in large numbers they have influenced their surroundings. Throughout their literature and in the preachings of their teachers animal sacrifice has been condemned. In modern times the leading Jainas in different centres have tried to stop the sacrifice of animals before local deities, and they have been successful in many places. The Jaina authors have disapproved even the sacrifice of a paste model of an animal, because this involves the intention of killing an animal. The Jaina literature includes myths, fairy tales, proverbs, popular stories, behaviour-patterns and moral exhortations all of which go to denounce cruelty to living beings. All these have gone a long way to discourage animal

sacrifice. Most of the Indian religions have casually preached Ahiṁsā, but nowhere, except in Jainism, it is the basic creed so systematically worked out to pervade the entire moral code. Jainas have often suffered at the hands of others, but it is admitted by historians that Jainas, even when they wielded political power, never ill-treated others.

Mahatma Gandhi has been the greatest exponent of Ahiṁsā in modern times. Though he has given a fresh and up-to-date orientation to it, the seeds of his doctrines are traced more in Jainism than in any other Indian creed. Some of the facets with which Gandhiji has invested his Ahiṁsā are not found in Jaina works because the purpose for which and the circumstances under which he is preaching it are different. The Jaina monks were quite aware of the power of Ahiṁsā as a social factor, but their spiritual aim necessitated no application of it outside the religious life. To have minimum necessities of life, to bear no ill will towards any one, to take recourse to fasting for self-purification, to undertake long tours on foot for contact with people : all these aspects of Mahatma Gandhi's life remind us of Jaina monks and their routine. As the great son of India Mahatma Gandhi has rightly reinterpreted the doctrine of Ahiṁsā, Non-violence, and Satya, Truth, for the Modern World ; and these two principles can be looked upon as universal moral norms to judge the behaviour of men and women, individually and collectively.

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— 22 —

BUDDHIST MOTIFS IN BYZANTINE ARCHITECTURE

(262 B. C. - 328 A. D.)

SHRI. V. R. TALVALKAR, Chembur

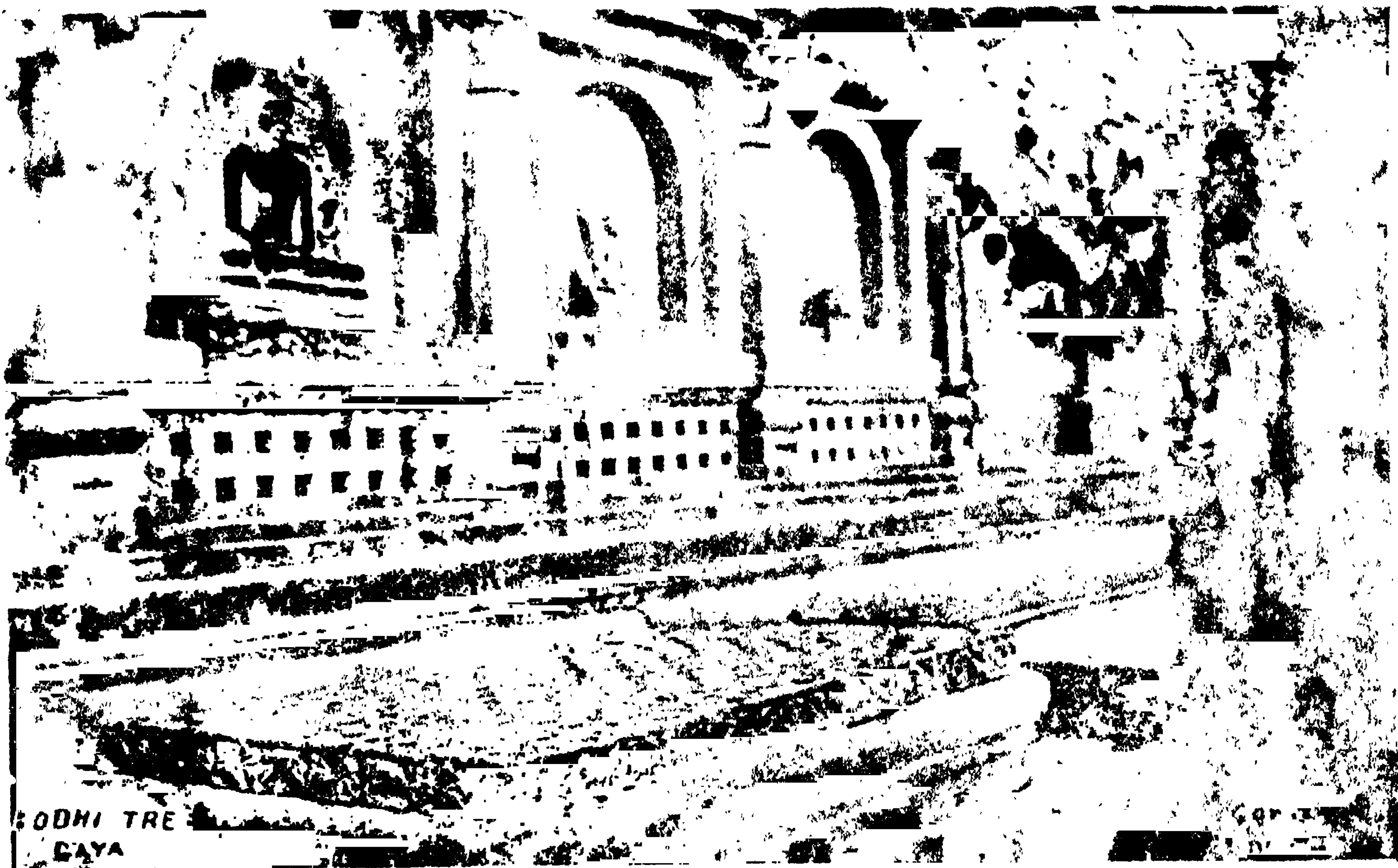
(1) Alexander's Indian invasion eventually led to a fusion of culture and arts, of the East and the West. This fusion was in progress between 262 B. C. and 328 A. D. Two momentous historical events occurred at either end of this period, which had far-reaching consequences not only in shaping destinies of mankind but also in giving typical expression to Architecture. With the conversion of Aśoka to Buddhism he undertook building stupas all over his empire. Similarly with the conversion of Constantine to Christianity and with the shifting of his capital from Rome to Byzantium Christianity became the state religion throughout the vast Roman empire and Churches were built on a vast scale typifying the new faith. The new faith which appeared at Byzantium needed congregational halls which had vaulted or domed roof to render them fire-proof. This new style of Christian architecture is called Byzantine as it appeared under Royal patronage at Byzantium and it flourished there.

(2) It is proposed in what follows to trace the development of Byzantile style, in reference to Oriental influences due to historical events and to architectural motifs which appeared first in Buddhist stupas and Chaitya halls. These motifs comprised of (1) vaults, semi-circular or slightly pointed and (2) hemispherical domes, (3) large windows in front of chaitya hall, (4) decorative nitches for the image of Buddha or Bodhisattvas, (5) Life stories of Buddha including those of nativity and bath, and (6) of previous births known as Jatakas, (7) Peacocks etc. all cut in relief in stone.

(3) Buddhist religion was open to all those to whom it appealed. It did not impose restrictions on admission such as of birth, caste or creed. In this respect Christianity resembled Buddhism ; the former appeared five and three quarters of centuries after the latter. Both religions were popular as they were highly humanistic. Christianity appeared when the long aggressive wars carried by Rome against Carthage and the Hellenistic states and the civil war due to rivalry for power among the members of the first Triumvirate ; they created great human sufferings and miseries. We know little about the times of Buddha. He was contemporary of Darius who had invaded India ; this must have caused some internal warfare of which we have no idea.

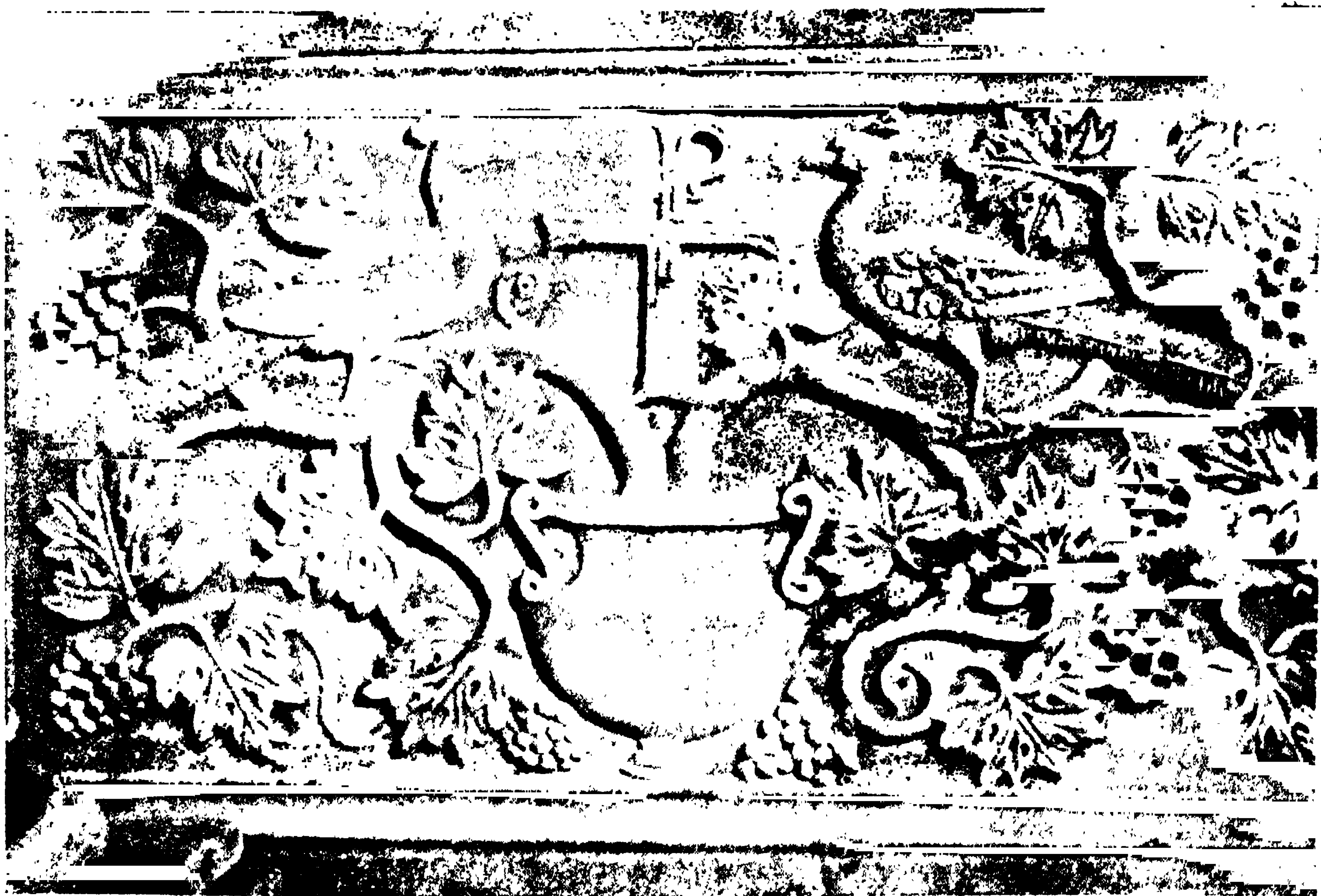
(4) Brahmanical and Zoroastrian faiths were exclusive ; one had to

Fig. I



BŌDHI TREE, GAYĀ

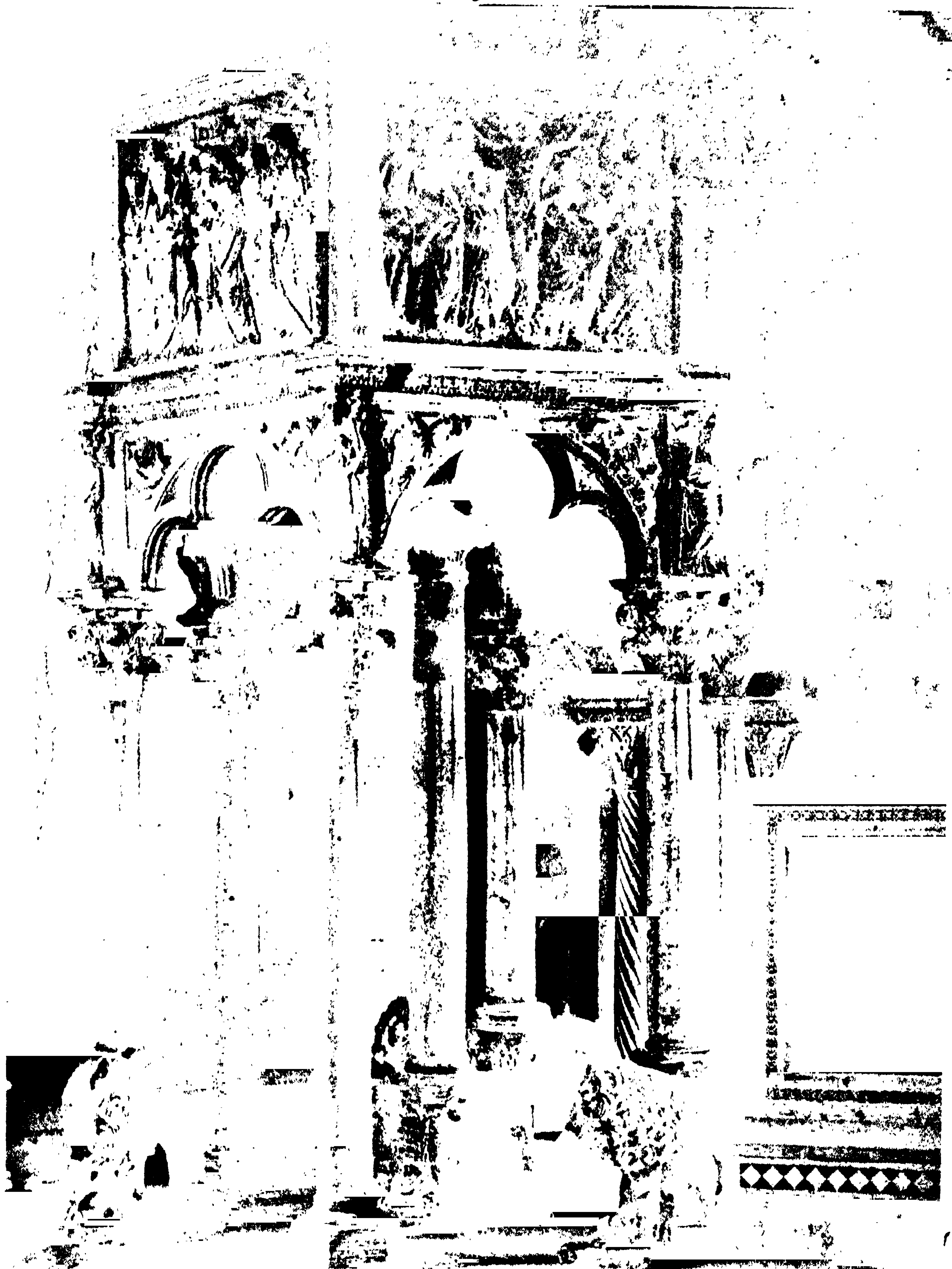
Fig. II



Revenna—Chiesa di S. Apollinare Nuovo

P. V. p. 176

Figure III



PISA—BATTISTERO—II PULPITO

P. V. p. 177

be born of parents who belonged to those faiths. Both had some marked affinities ; they came into existence long before the rise of Buddhism and Christianity. These exclusive faiths were of Aryan peoples who were highly cultured and intelligent. These exclusive faiths did not admit of congregational worship as devotion to God and adoration thereof was individual. The Gods or deities were borrowed from Nature. The Sun worship prevailed in both and perhaps bound them together. Buddhism was founded by Śākya Prince Siddhārtha as Christianity was founded by Christ and both were divine personages, endowed with great vision.

(5) Buddha meditated under the sacred Aśwattha tree (Pipal) and attained highest wisdom or perfect knowledge. Christ was crucified. The pipal leaf and the cross became the typical motifs or decorative symbols, one representative of each respective faith. Chaitya window of the caves in the Deccan with Ogee shapes seems to have been the fore-runner of similar Gothic arches of the middle ages.

(6) Buddhist stupas of Mahayana sect were decorated with trefoil nitches in which images of Buddha and Bodhisatwas appeared. These trefoils continued in Kasmir and appear in temples such as the Sun temple of Martanda. Trefoil nitches gave birth to quatrefoil windows and trefoil lancet windows of the Gothic style.

(7) Byzantium became the centre of typical Hellenistic art of Christianity. This was annouced as the faith of the people of Armenia by Gregory the Great in 301 A.D. i.e. a quarter of a century before Constantine declared it as state religion. The highways between Iranian plateau and Asia Minor passed through Erzarum in Armenia, which seems to have been the halfway home of travellers from India to the Hellespont. It is here that eastern elements of architecture appeared.

(8) Five centuries and three quarters before Gregory, Aśoka had sent his Buddhist missionaries to the court of five Hellenistic successor states, on the coast of the Eastern Mediterranean. (262 B.C.). Main points of the teachings of Buddha had then reached these states. These points were embodied in the edicts of Aśoka of which one is engraved on rocks at the foot of Girnar. These edicts envisage acts of piety among the Christians. Buddhism spread far and wide from the borders of the Chinese desert to the Iranian plateau.

(9) Romans were eclectic. They were pagans and worshipped images. They adopted Mithra cult at the fag end of their wars with Mithridates Eupator of Pontus (67 B.C.). Antioch of Commagene had erected an image of Mithra with a halo round his head. The halo appears round the head of Buddha. Later it appears to emphasise the divine character of Christ in the mosaics and the painting decorating Byzantine churches.

(10) A mysterious image wearing a pointed Hittite cap, and tall boots with toes turned up is engraved on Bharhut rails. This in our opinion may be connected with the cult of Mithra. Winged animals appear on the gates of Sanchi. Among these lions are prominent, and they may be due to Iranian infusion. The Sun-Worship is of eastern origin and goes back to the days of Ṛgveda.

(11) Just during a century and three quarters between 60 B.C. and 115 A.D. i.e. from Pompey to Trajan the whole of Western Asia upto the Tigris had come under Roman sway and it extended in Europe to the North sea along the basins of the Danube and the Rhine. The Flavian emperors had established friendly relations with Śaka Kuśans who were situated to the east of the Caucasus beyond the Caspian. They formed a bulwork against Parthians, her (Rome's) only enemy left in the East. Rome had developed her trade by land with China of which the routes passed along the northern border of the Parthian Kingdom. Here Armenia Major changed sides from Rome to Parthia now and then.

(12) The Gauls and Celts of the Rhine-Danube basins met the Romans along the Black sea and they helped to carrry the art motifs of Byzantium to the Gothic world of the middle ages. Here on the shores of the Black sea met together Scythians and Nordich, Hellenistic and Iranian people. Her ports of Panticapaeum in Crimea and Pontus and Sinope in Cappadocia and Trebizond in Armenia flourished, and the Iranians and Armenians met Celtic and Hellenistic people on the Black sea.

(13) During Selleucid period, the northern parts of Asia in the upper reaches of the Euphrates Tigris i.e. Armenia and Cappadocia at the mouth of the Halys had Hellenistic cities. They became early converts to Christianity as the Ionic coast of Asia Minor did. When Flavian emperors were active in the east in the Black sea regions Saka Kusans had effected an entry into northern India in the latter part of the 1st Century A. D.; Kuśans followed Mahayana of Buddhism which admitted of the worship of the image of Buddha instead of the symbols. The Deccan under Satavahanas followed Hinayana. The image of Buddha was given a human form by Kaniśka.

(14) These images may have been wrought in the northern regions by Hellenistic artists who may have been converts to Buddhism. They rendered image of Buddha in the human form of the East with characteristic divine attributes but with Hellenistic drapery folds. The divine attributes were top hair-knot, Ūrṇā on the head, halo round the back of the head and long ear-lobes. The first status of Buddha appeared in 50 B. C. The rendering of the statue of Buddha became Hellenistic under Kuśans after the middle of the 1st cen. A. D. The fusion of

Buddhistic and Hellenistic art took place in Gandhara in the days of Flavian emperors. About this time Romans were impressed with mysticism of the East. This fusion of the East and the West may be called Buddho-Hellenistic of Gandhara in ref : to India which is the same as Greco-Roman Art.

(15) The Buddho-Hellenistic art appeared in Northern India under Kuśans. Simultaneously with this, Southern India under Satavahanas was influenced by Iranian motifs, in the latter part of the 1st Cen. A. D. synchronising with the arrival of Śaka Pahlava Nahapana of Junnar and Nasik inscriptions. Iranian influence is seen in the twin crouching animals on the capitals. This motif first appeared at Persepolis under Darius in the 6th Cen. B. C. But the animals at Nasik are lions instead of Persian Bulls. Bulls typified Shaivism in India. The winged lions of Sanchi, the mystic image at Bharhut and the Iranian capitals in Nasik caves are Parthian or Iranian. Earlier Buddhist columns had usually a standing elephant on the column where capital comes. On the top there was a tapering block. This fusion may be called Buddho-Iranian or Buddho-Parthian which is so far known as Indo-Parthian.

(16) Kaniśka convened the 4th Buddhist council and strenthened Buddhism with the new elements which he had brought with him from Paropanisadæ which may have had Hellenistic art at Hadda and N. E. Afganistan on way to Bactria.

MITHRAISM AND CHRISTIANITY

(17) Greeks of Western Asia were easternised during the four centuries between 90 B. C. and 325 A. D. The Romans introduced the cult of Mithra worship among their fighting legions. Now Mithra worship is of eastern origin going back to the days of Ṛg-Vedic Mitra, the Sun-God. Inara of Hittites of Cappadocia is skin to Indra of Ṛg-Veda. Indra, Varuna, Marut and twin Nastyas appear along with Babylonian deities as witness deities to the treaty between the Hittites and Mitanni as revealed by the letter tablets discovered at Tel-el-Amarna and verified by the finds of the documentary baked tablets brought to light at Bogfaz-Kewi in 1907. These were found stored in Hittite archives of the latter part of the 2nd Milli B. C. Oriental cult had come to Western Asia under the supremacy of Mittanis who were Aryans themselves and who bore Aryan names.

(18) Darius brought Western Asia under his supremacy while the Parthians who succeeded Achaemenides maintained eastern influences. The Eastern Worship of Mithra was revived by the Romans just at the very moment when Pompey was fighting with the armies of Mithridates Eupator of Pontus (114 B. C.–63 B. C.) who aimed at reserving

Asia for Asiatics. The cult of Mithra spread into eastern Europe and rivalled with Christianity in the early stage.

(19) Mithra cult introduced among the Greek Army of Pagan Rome drove Christianity underground for some time and delayed its universal acceptance within the Roman Empire. Gregory of Armenia was ahead of Constantine by openly accepting Christianity in 301 A. D. Two centuries and a half before this date St. Thomas had heralded the Gospel of Christ in India.

(20) Alexandria had become an International city and it had assumed the character of a religious centre. It was the meeting place of the East and the West. Pantaenus lived here at the close of the 2nd Cen. A. D. It had a library and a University where Philo the great Jewish philosopher lived. Claudius Ptolemy the astronomer and geographer also lived here till 150 A. D. He wrote the geography of India and of Central Asia. Pantaenus went to India as stated by Jerome. He was sent to India by Bishop Demetrius. Jerome lived between 340 and 420 A. D. In 325 A. D. a great council of ecclesiasticals was held at Nicaea ; among the attendants were Bishops of Persia and India. According to Philostorgis (born in 364 A. D.) a visit to Indian Christian community was paid by Theophilus the Indian in 354 A. D. This will suffice to show that Christianity had appeared in the East between 200 and 350 A.D.

(21) Cosmos wrote in 522 A. D. He was a rich and prosperous merchant of Alexandria. In addition he was an explorer. He entered a monastery when he retired and wrote 12 volumes on Christian topography. He saw a Christian Church in Malabar.

(22) St. Gregory was educated in Caesaria. The Greeks held that Christianity was introduced by St. Gregory at the instigation of the Arch-Bishop of Caesaria, in Cappadocia where St. Gregory was ordained. Tiridates was converted to Christianity. Dissensions arose between Caesaria and Armenia. In the 5th Century Mazdaen propaganda made some progress in Perso-Armenia. (449 A. D.) Nestorians protected by the Persians were at Nisibis and their activity had increased after the conncil of Chalcedon held in 451 A. D. It is plain that by the middle of the 5th Cen. A. D. Christianity had made progress in India, Mesopotamia and Armenia, and in Sabaean Arabia of the South. If we can trust Theophilus churches existed in India. The Christian movement in the Orient including India was bound to affect the planning of Churches at Byzantium.

HIGHWAYS

(23) Indian trade with the West is well known for its varied commodities and transport to distant regions unparalleled in ancient

history from the most ancient days. This trade was in fine cloth, jewellery, medicine, articles of ornaments such as ivory carvings. Silk went from China and from India. Trade routes made utmost use of the navigation by the sea and the river basins. From Tiflis and Trebizond on the Black Sea to Ostea near Rome navigation was possible. Byzantium on the Bosphorus was on this high-way. Trebizond was reached from Erzarum coming along the Araxes and the Kur at the foot of Caucasius. Herat was the eastern meeting place of the highways coming from India along the foot of Hindukush and that which came from Marv, capital of Margiana. Similarly Erzarum met highways coming from the Danube-Dnieper and from Herat Tehran and from Nisisbis. From here one passed on to Zeugma on the Euphrates and across the desert to Palmyra and Damascus. Hellenistic cities diverted some of the traffic to Nisibis and passed it on to Zeugma and to Antioch.

(24) These commercial centres had Hellenistic-Iranian population. Five and three quarters of eventful centuries between 262 B. C. and 324 A. D. saw two great humanistic religions making wide conquests from Chinese desert to the Arabian desert and from the Black Sea to the North Sea. The middle of this period saw the conversion of Kaniśka to Buddhism while the end saw that of Constantine to Christianity. Just at the middle of this period, St. Thomas one of the 12 Apostles who were contemporaries of Christ appeared at the court of Indo-Parthian Gondopharnes (20 A. D. to 60 A. D.). But Rome persecuted Christians and Jews treated them cruelly. About this very time, Roman trade with India from the days of Claudius flourished and colonies of Roman traders were established in India such as one at Pondicherry and perhaps another at Hippo-curo of Ptolemy i. e. capital of Sivala-Kuru who was an Andhra Bhṛtya King of Kolhapur and a vassal of Satavahanas. Conversion of Kaniśka to Buddhism and his strong predilections to Mahayana in the middle of this period are important events as they introduced image of Buddha and Bodhisatvas. Hellenistic art was grafted on the trunk of Indian Art and produced at Gandhar a type of art which is known as Greco-Roman Art. This was to react on Byzantine art thorough Iran and Armenia.

TREFOIL ARCHES

(25) Martand, a Sun temple in Kashmir :—This temple was built by Lalitaditya Muktapida who ruled over Kashmir in the first part of the 8th Cen. A. D. He lived in the days immediately after the invasion of Sindh by Arabs led by Mahammad Kasim. (712 A. D.) For Trefoil arches in Indian temples see Ram Chandra Kak's " Ancient Monuments of Kashmir." For Martanda Temple see Pl. LIII. See also Pl. XLVII for temple at Loduv and pp. 54 to 56. Ibid. for text. Kak says, " It

became inevitable that the sacred buildings of the new religion (Brahmanical) should follow the older one." (Buddhistic). Kak continues thus:— "The similarity pointed by Foucher between the "Angular roofed" Vihara of Gandhara—particularly the temple of Loduv is specially interesting" in reference to similarity between early Buddhist and 7th cen. Brahmanical temples in Kashmir; and he points out similarity between temple at Loduv and the Vihar at Guiniyar in the Svat valley dated not later than 5th Cen. A. D. Quatrefoil is the natural development of Trefoil.

QUATREFOIL PLANS OF CHRISTIAN CHURCHES

(26) Prof. Lethaby says:— "In the 10th Cen. A. D. probably the most original forms in the art of building were in use in Armenia," (Mediæval Art p. 73). He points out that "the roofs of Churches in Armenia are steeper than the Greek (Byzantine) work and tower and cone take the place of the central dome." (Ibid). Lethaby adds to the above, after he had discovered the extremely important link in the church of St. Gregory the Illuminator at Etschmiadsin built by Patriarch Nerses the III. (640–661 A. D.) Thus says he:— "The favourite Armenian plan of the form of a lobed cross or quatrefoil dates from an early time." i. e. the 6th Century A. D. Lethaby gives the plan in Fig. 37 p. 74. in his Med. Art. and he informs us that "the early symbolic use of cross form is found very frequently in fonts, in Constantinople, in the Greek Islands, in Armenia and in Palestine (ibid pp. 86–87. See Fig. 46). He suggests thus:— "A stream of influence flowing from Alexandria by way of Carthage to the shores of Spain" affected conditions in the West by a sort of Gulf-Stream of Art. (ibid p. 90, See pl. LIII, pl. LIV and pl. LV pp. 242–245 Med. Art. by Lethaby). In Amiens Cathedral (France) the signs of the Zodiac and the laboures of the year are seen, sculptured in stone within quatrefoil panels. Trefoil symbol is essentially Indian in origin. It appeared at Mohenjodaro for the first time (Childe:— New Light on Most Ancient East Pl. XXI p. 208). In India Panchapala or quatrefoil box with a central circle exists even to-day in almost every orthodox household of Western India and usually contains sacred powders parimala essential for worship. Alexandria was the great school of ivory carving and decorative ideas which developed there travelled over Christendom (Lethaby ibid p. 35) Pantaenus of Alexandria visited India in 2nd Cen. A. D. India was indeed connected closely with Alexandria on account of flourishing trade during the early Christian days. (Warmington). Mr. Lethaby gives a drawing of a mosaic pavement from Carthage now in the British Museum. (Fig. 20 ibid p 36.) This mosaic is dated 4th or 5th cen. For Ivory Chair of Ravenna see pl. XIII (ibid p. 56). There seems to us an unmistakable similarity

between the Kuśan Sculptured panels of Gandhara School (No. 61 p. 120 Relief. Aus Gandhara (Yusufzai) Grunwedgedl Handbuch der Budhistischen kunst and No. 42 Lahore Museum p. 97) and some carved panels of Ivory Chair Ravenna.

DECORATIVE PEACOCKS

(27) Decorative peacocks in relief are seen in the Church of St. Apollinare at Ravenna ; this was built (534-539 A. D.) after the death of Theodoric in 526 A. D. (Lethaby ibid p. 56) Decorative Peacocks are seen in the Cathedral of Torcello near Venice. This Cathedral was rebuilt in 1008 A. D. (Lethaby ibid p. 92) Peacocks used decoratively appear at Pavia, in Lombardy in North Italy. Peacock is essentially an Indian Bird. It appears on the gates at Sanchi and represents Mauryan Authority. (See Grousset: Civilization of the East—India—Fig. 10.).

BAPTISTRY AT PISA

(28) The pulpit at the Baptistry at Pisa has trefoil arches, and panels carved with story of the Crucifixion of Christ. Here, as well as in mosaics of earlier dates figure of Christ is shown with a halo round the head. Figures of Buddha with a halo round the head are known.

GREAT WINDOWS AND ARCHES (BUDDHIST)

(29) St. Vital at Ravenna has a big window at the eastern end resembling Chaitya Widows of Buddhistic caves of Deccan.

NITCHES

(30) Nitches appear at the base of stupas. At Taxila these nitches are adorned with the sculptured figure of a " Double-headed eagle," essentially a Hittite motif. (Marshall.). Gigantic figure of Buddha cut in solid rock appears in a nitch at Bamiyan. Nitches with sculptured figures of Apostles and Saints appear in Gothic churches. (See Pl. XXXIV. p. 188 and Pl. XLIV p. 226. Lethaby's Med. Art. for Cathedrals of Strasbourg and that of Amiens respectively.)

N. B.—Some of these illustrations mentioned above were shown on the screen on 29-5-1950 at the end of the paper read before Bhārat Itihāsa S. Maṇdal, Poona.

— 23 —

ASAD BEG'S MISSION TO BIJAPUR, 1603-1604

DR. P. M. JOSHI, Bombay

Introductory[1] :—Asad Beg was a native of Qazvīn.[2] Early in life he made his way to Herāt,[3] where he made for himself a place in the literary circles of the city and attained great eminence as a poet and a prose writer. He arrived at the Mughal Court about 1585 and was taken in the service of Abul Fazl, the distinguished minister of Akbar. The learned Abul Fazl must, no doubt, have extended his patronage to Asad Beg on account of the position the latter had acquired as a man of letters. Even while in the service of Abul Fazl, Asad Beg seems to have attracted the notice of Emperor Akbar[4] and after the murder of that minister in 1602, he was given an office at Court as " treasurer of offerings " and was chosen on more than one occasion to lead missions to the Sultans of the Deccan.

After the death of Akbar, Asad Beg fell into disfavour for a while, but he was later accepted at Court and was rewarded with the title Pīshrau Khān towards the close of Jahāngīr's reign. He died at the beginning of the reign of Shāh Jahān.

Asad Beg is the author of a work well-known as " Waq'ea-i-Asad Beg." [5] This gives an account of some incidents of the last years (1602-1605) of the reign of Akbar and ends with some references to the accession of Jahāngīr. Portions of the " Waq'ea " have been published in translation by Elliot and Dowson in Volume VI of " The History of India." In this paper I have given extracts dealing with the first mission of Asad Beg to the Deccan, undertaken at the command of Akbar. These have not been used by Elliot and Dowson nor published else-

1. This section is based on (i) Rieu, (ii) ED, (iii) IHRC, (iv) S. 185.

2. S. 26. Qazvīn is in northern Persia (86° 15′ N, 50° E).

3. Now in Afghanistan (34° 20′ 30″ N, 62° 11′ E). Under the Safvids, in the sixteenth century, a great centre of learning and culture.

4. When Asad was presented to the Emperor after the murder of Abul Fazl, the Emperor said " I have had you in my mind for a long time, but I thought as you were a favourite of his (Abul Fazl's) it would be improper to deprive him of your services." S. 27.

5. Also known as " Ahwāl-i-Asad Beg " or " Hālāt-i-Asad Beg " and somewhat ambitiously as " Tārīkh-i-Mughal."

where.[6] They are of particular interest to students of 'Ādilshāhī history.

Akbar and Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh : the mission of Mīr Jamāl-ud-Dīn :—By 1590 Akbar had the whole of northern India under his sway; the Deccan alone remained a field for his ambition and a reward for his arms. Akbar "who was ever meditating the conquest of the Deccan" [7] succeeded in storming Asīr in January 1601 and occupying Ahmadnagar soon after (April 1601).[8] The news of this Mughal advance alarmed the Sultans of Bijapur and Golconda, who clearly saw themselves as the next victims of the victorious Mughal arms. It was, therefore, natural that they should be anxious to conciliate Akbar. Even while Akbar was on his way to the Deccan they had sent envoys to him offering supplication.[9] Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II of Bijapur (1586-1627), the most powerful of the Deccan Sultans also offered his daughter Begam Sultānā in marriage to Akbar's son, Prince Dāniyāl.[10] In response to these gestures Akbar sent an envoy named Sharīf Sarmadī to allay the fears of the Sultans and to assure them that he had no aggressive designs against them.[11]

Close on the heals of Sharīf Sarmadī, another envoy from Akbar arrived at the 'Ādilshāhī Court to discuss arrangements about the marriage and to escort the bride to Dāniyāl's camp in the Deccan. This was Mīr Jamāl-ud-Dīn Husain Anjū; [12] he brought with him many presents for the prospective bride and her father.[13] Mīr Jamāl-

6. I have used Chapman's unpublished translation (British Museum Manuscript, Add 30,776) and the Persian text of the MS belonging to Sir Jadunath Sarkar. I must express my thanks to Sir Jadunath for the loan of this MS more than once, each time for a fairly long stretch. I must also give my thanks to my friend Prof. N. A. Nadvi who read with me and explained to me pp. 70-100 of the Sarkar manuscript.

7. For Akbar's early relations with the Deccan see BV, IX, 295-298.

8. I take this opportunity of correcting a chronological error in an earlier paper of mine on Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II (BV, IX, 299) where I have placed the conquest of Asīr after that of Ahmadnagar.

9. AN, III, 1171, 1183. Akbar must have received these envoys in his camp a. Burhanpur.

10. Āīn, I, 450; Firishta I, 516; AN, III, 1239.

11. AN, III, 1171. Cf BS, 254-255 which states that Akbar also collected a tribute from Bijapur.

12. Mīr Jamāl-ud-Dīn belonged to a Saiyad family of Shīrāz. He is the author of the famous dictionary, Farhang-i-Jahāngīrī. He rose to great eminence under Emperor Jahāngīr. For an account of his career see Āīn, I, 499-501, MU, I, 742-743.

13. Firishta I, 516; AN, III, 1176, 1239, Cf BS, 255; ED VI, 162. Mīr Jamāl-ud-Dīn must have arrived at Bijapur sometime in March, 1601.

ud-Dīn had migrated to the Mughal Court *via* the Deccan. From Persia he first came to the Deccan where he established himself in the favour of the Deccani Sultans and was treated with respect by them.[14] Akbar's choice in selecting him for this important mission was, therefore, natural.

Mīr Jamāl-ud-Dīn's stay in Bijapur was destined to be a long one. It seems both the bride and her father, Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II, had changed their minds about the marriage and they seemed anxious to delay it as long as possible,[15] hoping perhaps that by their delaying tactics they could escape the inevitable. Possibly Dāniyāl's notorious drinking habits had induced this change of mind. The result was that the Mīr was persuaded to prolong his stay in Bijapur; he found the royal hospitality of Ibrāhīm very agreeable and an even more important reason was that "he got every year three to four hundred thousand pagodas from Bijapur and Golconda.'"[16]

It is also possible that the Mīr was encouraged in his behaviour by Akbar's general in the Deccan, the famous Khān Khānān. One of Khān Khānān's daughter was married to Prince Dāniyāl[17] and he evidently did not relish the idea of the Prince marrying into a royal family; he feared that his daughter would have to give up her pride of place to the royal bride. A further reason which explains the support the Mughal General gave to the Mīr, even at the cost of incurring the displeasure of Akbar, was that a daughter of his was married to Mīr Amīn-ud-Dīn, Jamāl-ud-Dīn's son.[18]

Asad Beg ordered to the Deccan[19]:— The behaviour of Mīr Jamāl-ud-Dīn in prolonging his mission annoyed Akbar, and when he received reports from the Mīr making "excuses for further delay" he was enraged and on the spot ordered Asad Beg to be ready, saying "I have appointed you to the Deccan, on a service that will secure you abundant wealth." Asad Beg's instructions were to bring back Mīr Jamāl-ud-Dīn "without giving him time to eat or drink." In obedience to the royal command "I began to pay my grateful homage, when Āsaf Khān[20] pre-

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14. MU, I, 742. Jahāngīr mentions Jamāl-ud-Dīn as one on "whose words and acts all the Deccan rulers had great reliance." Tūzuk I,176.

15. Cf ED, VI, 153.

16. BM, 50a. Asad Beg seems to be exaggerating the figure of what was undoubtedly a bribe.

17. Āīn, I,322, 357. 18. Āīn, I, 501; MU,I, 743.

19. Asad Beg's narrative is now given in his own words. Chapman's translation, corrected and revised after comparing it with Sarkar's MS, has been used. BM, 45b–46a; S, 48.

20. Also a native of Qazvīn. He was related to Asad Beg and it was he who sponsored Asad Beg at the Imperial Court after the murder

seated himself. His Majesty told him he was going to send me to the Deccan to bring back Mīr Jamāl-ud-Dīn. He then showed him his (Mīr Jamāl-ud-Dīn's) despatch. Āsaf Khān said I was greatly honoured and reading the letter said it was all pretences. 'Surely', agreed the emperor. He then bade Shaikh Farid to fetch the list of the officers employed in the Deccan and assisted by Yūsuf Khān drew out *firmans* and got ready horses and dresses of honour to be sent with me, for the Prince, the Khān Khānān and the other officers. He ordered me to perform this mission with all courtesy and gave a present to each officer according to his station and rank. He then told his minister, Mirzā Ghiyās Beg, to make over to me 20,000 rupees for necessary expenses so that I might prepare everything and start at an early date.

Asad Beg's halt at Mangalvedha[21] :--

"When I entered 'Ādil Khān's territories, I began to turn my attention to my meeting with him. As soon as I arrived within two stages of Mangalbera,[22] where were Mīr Jamāl-ud-Dīn Hussain, Mustafā Khān, 'Ādil Khān's general, I received a letter from the Mīr, in reply to one I had previously written to him, couched in terms of great friendship and courtesy. I learnt from it that it was said that the son of Mustafā Khān should advance to meet me the next day with a body of troops, the day after Haibat Khān was to come and the third day Mustafā with his elephants and all the nobles. However, when orders arrived from 'Ādil Khān it appeared that he did not choose to treat me in the manner the Mīr had described; for that day the son of Mustafā Khān and Haibat Khān came to meet me with their whole army and when we had arrived within one kos of Mangalbera the Saiyad himself advanced to receive me with his children and attendants and I delivered to him the royal firman. He showed me the greatest attention and kindness omitting no mark of respect and friendship. Mustafā Khān, one of 'Ādil Khān's great nobles, Haibat Khān and Rūmī Khān all treated me with the greatest honour. By evening I reached the house in Mangalbera which had been fixed upon for my quarters and after sometime paid the Saiyad a visit. He received me with every token of joy and delight. The Almighty preserve him, for he treated me with much goodness and was of great service to me in that strange land.

"After I had enjoyed the society of the Saiyad to the full at Mangalbera and passed some days very pleasantly, 'Ādil Khān's daughter,[23] by his command, invited me and the Saiyad to an entertain-

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of Abul Fazl (S 26). Āsaf Khān, whose name was Mīr J'afar Beg was made chief Diwan by Akbar in 1589. For further information on him see Āin, I,413; MU, I, 282-287.

21. BM, 49a-50a; S, 60-65. 22. 17° 31', 75° 29'E.

23. It seems Ibrāhīm was anxious to avoid Akbar's displeasure and

ment and we spent a day in festive society. Every effort was made to provide the choicest viands and wines. When we were about to depart she presented me with a very fine elephant, two fine Arab horses with jewelled trappings and silver ornaments, nine pieces of various clothes, costly chintz from the Carnatic, a golden tray of rare workmanship filled with different kinds of jewels and all sorts of amber necklaces, rings and brooches, together with a golden betel bag to hold nine parcels in a golden tray, and then dismissed me.

"I enjoyed her hospitality for some days and then 'Ādil Khān's officers such as Mustafā Khān, Haibat Khān and Rūmī Khān, received me as a guest and according to their ability presented me with Arab horses and rare goods from the Deccan. 'Ādil Khān had heard that I was determined to take my leave without the least delay the very day I should have my audience; this did not agree with his habits and he looked upon it as a disgrace and dishonour and he had therefore called in the aid of some Brahmin diplomatists and written several letters to the Mīr on the subject. Whenever he mentioned the matter to me I said I had not come for such purposes but to fetch the Saiyad and though I had brought a gracious firman to 'Ādil Khān and must have an audience with him, still I must carry away the Saiyad by force. It came to such a point that 'Ādil Khān's agents offered me 200,000 huns to quit my purpose and delay my departure till I should obtain the Khān's permission. I would by no means agree and although I was only a captain of 200 I did not touch a coin of the 200,000 pagodas, a sum equal to 600,000 rupees.

"The Saiyad was surprised at this and reproached me so far that once he said bluntly 'why do you act thus and throw away such a sum of money, when it is offered to you?' I replied: 'Have you never thought of the fitness of that verse "Though my hand is empty my heart is rich." If I do not close my eyes against such proceedings and my conduct should be reported to the emperor, I should have no honour left. God knows what would happen to me on my return. Happy the man who considers the future. Do you prepare for the journey, for I shall not leave this country without you.' The reason why the unfortunate Mīr was so unwilling to leave the neighbourhood of the Deccan, was that every year he received 300,000 to 400,000 huns from Bijapur and Golconda, and in the meantime his children enjoyed the revenues of the jagirs he held as commander of 5,000 so that there was nothing to make him desirous of a speedy departure. The commander-in-chief (Khān Khānān) also received a large income and they had agreed to-

he had made a pretence of expediting the marriage by sending his daughter with Mīr Jamāl-ud-Dīn to Mangalvedha.

gether that until Mirzā Īraj[24] with a body of 5,000 horse should march to Mangalbera, 'Ādil Khān's people should take no steps towards commencing his daughter's journey.

Asad Beg's arrival at Bijapur[25] :—

" 'Ādil Khān too was aiming at delay, hoping that the future might produce something. Although it cost him much money still he had hopes. In short, they had thus arranged (fol. 50 b.) all their business among themselves careless of what fate had in store for them till I arrived, and putting an end to their machinations by my straightforwardness, extricated that unfortunate one (Mīr Jamāl-ud-Dīn) from the whirlpool of avarice and confusion in which he lay, as I shall describe. After much consultation, seeing that I was not amenable to avarice in the matter, the agents reported to 'Ādil Khān and he sent for me from Mangalbera to Bijapur. I had nothing but a gracious firman from the emperor for 'Ādil Khān but not thinking it right to approach so great a man empty handed, I showed to the Mīr what I had of horses, camels, rare clothes, Kashmere shawls and linen etc. who added to them a number of things for me to offer as a present. We reckoned the value and found it to be 25,000 rupees. The Saiyad approved of it, so I took leave of him.

"When I reached within a stage of Bijapur, it was stated that I should have an audience after the festivals of the Shab-i-Barāt[26]. I reached Bijapur on the second of the month of Sh'abān (26th December, 1603) and waited there thirteen days. All necessaries, such as viands, wines, fruits, corn and forage, were sent to me daily at 'Ādil Khān's expense. They used to bring these things in covered vessels and china and glass which they always left, so that during that time so many dishes and services of china and copper vessels of various kinds were collected that they could not be got rid of. So long as I was detained two of 'Ādil Khān's own attendants were despatched every day to keep me company. Such men as Moulānā Malik, Moulānā Zuhūrī[27] and Mīrak Muīn-ud-Dīn used to come to me. I on my part did my best to treat them with politeness and presented them with valuable horses and costly gifts. I had much enjoyment in their society as well as in the Shab-i-Parāt which festival is kept there with great splendour, with fine illuminations and fire works. Thus passed my time till the four-

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24. Cf AN,III, 1239. Mirzā Īraj was the son of Khān Khānān, Āīn, I, 339.

25. BM, 50a-b; S, 65-67.

26. 15th of Sh'abān. This was in 1012 A. H. The festival fell on Sunday, 8th January, 1604.

27. Maulānā Malik Qummī was poet laureate of Ibrāhīm II. Zuhūrī was Qummī's son-in-law, and was more famous than Qummī both as a poet and a prose writer.

teenth day which was fixed for my audience. All kinds of sweetmeats and vegetables, such as are used in the Shab-i-Barāt with viands and bread of various kinds were sent to me from Bijapur on the day of the feast.

Asad Beg's audience with Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II :—[28]

"On the 17th of Sh'abān (Tuesday 10th January, 1604) I marched forward with the attendants that were with me, to meet 'Ādil Khān, and was introduced into a building upon the lake at Bijapur appointed for such ceremonies. It was a very pleasant spot appropriately furnished. In two or three houses the rooms were all prepared and after prayers on that day 'Ādil Khān came, with all pomp and circumstance followed by a retinue of elephants. It was usual for one bringing a *firman* in his hand to remain standing within the building with the *firman* in his hand, while Ādil Khān entered with his retinue to receive it. But I had charged to let no one but 'Ādil Khān enter the room until he had taken the *firman* and treated it with all due honour and humility after which his nobles were to come in. He too had agreed to this arrangement. However, when 'Ādil Khān dismounted from his elephant and entered the building Antū Pandit and Kafshdār Khān forced their way in and stood behind him. Nasīr Khān, one of my servants, saluting three times, introduced him and taking the royal firman from me kissed and pressed it upon his head and eyes. I then advanced and taking the firman from Nasīr's hand, fixed it on the top of his turban and telling him he must do homage to it, looked towards him. I then told Antū Pandit to call in the nobles. He went out and Nasīr Khān carried Kafshdār Khān out, so I made him prostrate himself to His Majesty's firman and when he rose, his nobles such as 'Ambar Khān, Shāh Nawāz Khān and others came in and after he had thrice saluted the firman, as is usual after prostration, we entered the inner room. Then taking the royal firman from his head he delivered it to Shāh Nawāz Khān and looked to me for permission to break the seal. I asked Antū Pandit for the offerings, he ran out and brought a tray of pearls and another of pagodas which he scattered while they unsealed the firman. As there was no one to gather them they remained on the ground till the sweepers collected them after their departure and found that there were 300 pagodas and 500 pearls—the pagodas I made over to them."

Then followed the reading of the *firman* by Shāh Nawāz Khān. This was evidently a courtesy document sent in reply to some communication addressed by Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh to Emperor Akbar at Burhanpur. The *firman* caused some misunderstanding, as Ibrāhīm felt that it did

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28. BM, 50 et seq ; S, 69–71.

not conform to the message that the Mīr had sent. An interesting feature of this story is that when Ibrāhīm got annoyed and excited the conversation between him and his adviser, Antū Pandit, lapsed into Marathi.[29]

The important part of the *firman* was its concluding portion. "At the end of the *firman* it was written that whatever Asad tells you should be treated as part of the *firman* and it should be acted upon. And whatever you want you can tell him and that will be acted upon as you desire. Regarding Asad, one of the most trustworthy servants of mine, you can lay before him everything. You should not delay sending the Mīr. This should be arranged in such a way that he should accompany Asad." [30]

After the *firman* was read out, Asad Beg requested the attendants of 'Ādil Shāh to withdraw as he desired to convey to the Sultan the oral message of Emperor Akbar. Ibrāhīm wanted to listen to the imperial message standing, but Asad made him sit. "He made me sit by him and then he began to talk. I impressed upon him the full message of His Majesty.[31] He understood Persian very well, but could not speak it and if at all, broken. When I finished giving the oral message, he got up as if to depart. He looked upset and said that my request for permission to depart the moment I arrived was unprecedented. I stated that I was only an humble servant who had come to get news and to find out the cause of the Mīr's delay and had brought a message from His Majesty. Whatever reply you will give I will carry to His Majesty." [32]

During the course of this conversation Ibrāhīm tried to convince Asad Beg that it was the Mīr who was himself the cause of all delay. "He himself does not leave and I (Ibrāhīm) have to spend a large sum upon him every year. I cannot drive him out". Asad Beg thereupon requested Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh to instruct Antū Pandit to prepare *firmans* for the Adilshahi officers that were with the Mīr at Mangalvedha. Asad himself dictated the contents of these *firmans* and offered to take them himself. A firman was also addressed to the Mir.

The Sultan's attendants had now been recalled to the audience hall and they and the Sultan tried to persuade Asad to prolong his stay at Bijapur. During the course of these talks Ibrāhīm addressed Asad Beg as "Gurūbhāī" thus suggesting that, like Asad, he too was a disciple of Akbar.

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29. S, 71. The narrative hereafter is based on the Sarkar MS only.
30. S, 72.
31. The message was evidently about Mīr Jamāl-ud-Dīn's protracted stay and the proposed marriage.
32. S, 73.

The only condition under which Asad Beg was prepared to stay at Bijapur was that a gift elephant named *Chanchal*, which Ibrāhīm had reluctantly agreeed to send as a present for the Emperor, should be fitted up with proper accoutrements in the shortest time possible. Ibrāhīm stated that he wanted to utilise about ten maunds of gold for this purpose. Fashioning proper type of ornaments and equipment from this gold would take some time. Asad Beg suspecting a dodge to detain him longer than necessary, offered to have the equipment made under his personal supervision so that he could expedite their making and leave Bijapur as soon as they were ready.

Asad Beg thereupon "sent for the gifts which he had brought. Seeing these, the king enquired, in Marathi, whether they were for him. Antū Pandit replied in the affirmative, also in Marathi, adding that they were from Asad Beg". Besides these there were two horses which pleased Ibrāhīm much. He accepted these and also the camels which Asad had brought and then departed.

Asad Beg's halt at Bijapur and his second audience with Ibrāhīm[33]:—

'Anbar Khān, one of the Adilshahi officers took Asad Beg to the residence fixed for him.[34] No sooner he arrived here than Asad Beg asked for goldsmiths. 'Anbar Khān brought 100 artisans the next day and Asad appointed two of his men to supervise their work. The ornaments were ready within ten days.

"But in those few days that I was detained at Bijapur in connection with the making of ornaments for *Chanchal*, I intended that out of the various ornaments and jewels sold in the city and its markets I should pick up a few for present to His Majesty. So I appointed Aqā Rizā and Mansūr Khān to get some of them. Within two or three days they collected so many finished articles that I was amazed. But the merchants of Bijapur who often used to come to me advised me that there was a jeweller called Rāmji[35] who was the *Muqaddam* of the jewellers' guild. I sent for him and showed him the articles collected. He rejected them all and asked me how much jewellery I wanted and how much I was going to spend so that he could get me jewels worthy of that amount.

"By chance I did not have much money with me and I did not know what 'Ādil Khān would give me (as *rukhsatana*). So I told Rāmjī that I wanted diamonds, pearls and rubies to be presented to

33. S, 78–95.

34. From the description of this building (S, 78–79, ED VI, 163) I am inclined to identify it with Mehtar Mahal. The royal mint was said to have been next to it where ornaments for the elephant must have been fashioned.

35. The Chapman MS has Rāmjī Mall. BM, 58a.

His Majesty and requested him to secure whatever he could. Rāmjī heard this and retired. Next day he brought a beautiful diamond valued at Rs. 30,000 and a *dugdugī* (ornament for the neck) of *Yāqūt* set in emeralds and valued at Rs. 25,000. But good pearls worthy of presentation (to His Majesty) were not available. Besides these which Rāmjī had brought, from the collection brought (by Aqā Rizā and Mansūr Khān), I purchased for Rs. 25,000 *emeralds*, *Pokhraj*, *nilam* and birds made of jewels. I purchased the diamond and *dugdugī* for Rs. 55,000 and agreed to pay the price after Mīr Jamāl-ud-Din, who was at Mangalvedha, approved of these. Rāmjī insisted on a cash transaction, but agreed that if the Mīr did not approve of the purchase the articles could be returned and money refunded. In short, on this condition I purchased them and paid cash."

When the ornaments and equipment were ready, it was time for Asad Beg to leave. The 'Ādil Shāh added a beautiful Arab horse to the presents already prepared for the Emperor. This horse was all black and was considered a rarity and Ibrāhīm had paid 3,000 hons for it. At the farewell audience Asad Beg also managed to get from Ibrāhīm a jewelled cup-casket for the Emperor, an article which the Sultan valued much as it was prepared specially for him by order of his mother as a present to him on the occasion of his coronation.

Asad Beg was invited to the royal palace to bid farewell to Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh on the night of the 27th Sh'abān. A grand show of music had been arranged for this occasion. Asad Beg found Ibrāhīm so rapt up in listening to the music that he could hardly reply to Asad's questions. The conversation for some time mainly concerned music and musicians. Ibrāhīm wanted to know whether Akbar was fond of music and Asad informed him that the Emperor did sometime listen to music. Ibrāhīm then wanted to know whether Tānsen stood or sat while singing before the Emperor and was told that in the Darbar or during day-time Tānsen had to stand while singing, but at night and on the occasion of *Nauroz* and *Jashan* festival Tānsen and other musicians were permitted to sit while singing. Ibrāhim told Asad Beg, "Music is such that it should be heard at all times and always. Musicians should be kept happy."

"In the course of this talk Ibrāhīm's eyes fell upon the *Shast-i-murīdī*[36] hanging on my head. He asked me, 'Gurūbhāī, what is this ?'

36. This was possibly a thin piece of gold or silver. It was a symbol of brotherhood worn by all followers of Din-i-Ilāhī. See Āīn, I, 166. "*Shast* upon which is engraved the Great Name and His Majesty's symbolical motto 'Allāhu Akbar.' This teaches the novice the truth that 'the pure shast and the pure sight never err." Cf also Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī (Tr. Rogers and Beveridge), I, 60-61, Roychaudhari, Dīn-i-Ilāhī (University of Calcutta, 1941), 286.

I told him that it was a *Shast-i-murīdī* which His Majesty cuts with his own hands and gives to his special disciples. Ibrāhīm took it out from my *paghdi* and he hung the hook of the *shast* to the golden belt on his head-dress and declared that he was a *murīd* and demanded that I give it to him. I told him that it was my *shast-i-murīdī* and even if he gave me the whole of his kingdom I would not part with it. Ibrāhīm claimed that by virtue of his having worn the *shast* he had become a devotee of Hajrat and that he was not going to give it up. He suggested that when I returned to Court I should get another one for myself. I promised that as soon as I reached Court the first thing I would do would be to take a *shast* for him and send it to him forthwith. But Ibrāhīm merely said that he would return my *shast* when he got his.''

Asad Beg, however, was not prepared to leave Bijapur without his *shast-i-murīdī*. He also refused to accept the presents (*rukhsatana*) sent by Ibrāhīm till the *shast* was returned. Finally Ibrāhīm was convinced of Asad's great earnestness in the matter and returned the *shast*. Ibrāhīm also sent him a message, " May God bless you and your devotion to His Majesty. I wanted only to test you. A devotee should be like this and I hope that Gurūbhāī would be able to send a *shast-i-murīdī* for myself."

Asad Beg's Return from Bijapur:—Asad Beg left Bijapur for Mangalvedha on the 2nd of Ramdān (24th January, 1604). After a short halt at Mangalvedha, accompanied by Mīr Jamāl-ud-Dīn and the bridal party, he arrived at Ahmadnagar[37]. The historian Firishta was in attendance on the Princess[38] though Asad Beg does not mention this fact. At Ahmadnagar, Asad Beg was commended on the successful completion of his mission by Prince Dāniyāl and was awarded handsome presents[39]. There was much feasting and jubilation in the Mughal camp. "When some days were passed in this happy, joyous way, I approached His Excellency, the Commander-in-Chief (Khān Khānān) and requested him for permission to proceed (to Agra). He with great kindness accepted my suggestion and that very night when the Prince was in a pleasant mood informed him that I wanted to take myself to the exalted threshold (Akbar) without further delay and to communicate this happy news to His Majesty. Though the exalted Prince was not agreeable to this, but looking to my meritorious services and the requests of the Commander-in-Chief he conceded. Next day a royal *jashan* was arranged in *Bagh-i-Farah Bakhsh* and when all the royal and 'Adilshāhi chiefs were present there and when the sipping of the red wine made the cheeks of all gentlemen and nobles aglow, he honoured me, this humble servant by giving me a new special brocade *Khil'at*, a

37. S, 93-102. 38. Firishta, II, 543. Cf Āīn, I, 450.
39. S, 104-105.

sword with a gold belt, a bedecked dagger and an Iraqi horse with an ornamented saddle, and permitted me to depart[40]."

In due course Asad Beg reported the success of his mission to the Emperor at Agra. He also spread before Akbar the presents that he had brought from Bijapur. Among these were some interesting articles which caught the attention of the Emperor. There were, (1) one Hūn-i-Nauras, (2) nine other hūns, (3) one piece of Nine-Ibrāhīmī, (4) nine *Khans* (खण), (5) nine coconuts, (6) nine Laris. Asad Beg informed Akbar that Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh had devised a new coin equal to nine *huns* of Deccan and called it Hūn-i-Nauras. The inscription on the Hūn-i-Nauras was[41] :

نورس، مہرعادلشاهی - جگت گرو داد الہی

Marriage of Sultāna Begam to Prince Dāniyāl :—From Ahmadnagar Prince Dāniyāl with his camp and the bridal party proceeded towards Paithan. The marriage was solemnised near that town on the banks of the Godavari in the month of Safar 1013 A. H. (19th June–17th July 1604). About this time a gold coin was issued by Akbar most probably to commemorate this event. This noteworthy piece is the Rama-Sita half *muhar* bearing a Nagari legend (राम सीता) on the obverse and a representation of a crowned archer with stretched bow and sheath of arrows accompanied by a female figure with a veil on the reverse.[42]

With the issue of this coin by Akbar, the mission of Asad Beg to Bijapur can be said to have attained completion.

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40. S, 103-104.

41. S, 113, Nauras Muhar-i-'Ādilshāhī Jagatgurū dād Ilāhī.

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EARLY MARATHA-SIKH RELATIONS

Sardar GANDA SINGH, M. A., Patiala

The Sikhs in the north and the Marathas in the south have been the torch-bearers of freedom in India. Of the two, the Sikhs were the first to come into the field. The lead was taken by Guru Nanak, the founder of the militant church of Sikhism. The basis of almost all political movements in the world may be traced to religious beginnings. In India religion and politics have seldom been separate — at least up to the beginning of the British empire in this country. Absolute secularism is of foreign import. The *dharma* regulated and guided both the relations of God and man, and of man and man, not only in things spiritual but also in things mundane. When Guru Nanak, towards the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century, preached the Unity of God and Brotherhood of Man, he also raised his voice of protest against the tyrannies and injustices of the ruling class. He was deeply moved to see the helplessness of the people in the face of the foreign invader. Referring to the invasion of Babar, the Guru said, ' God had sent the Mughal as an angel of death' [1] on the land of the Lodhis who like 'dogs had wasted away the precious jewel ' [2] of the country. ' With the bridal procession of sin,' the Guru continued, ' he (Babar) issued forth from Kabul and by force demanded the hand of the bride ' [3] of the land. Guru Nanak's heart bled to see the pitiable condition of women-folk of the country during those distressful days. In one of his hymns he says :

> ' They who wore beautiful tresses and had the partings of their hair dyed with vermilion, have their locks now shorn with scissors, and dust is thrown upon their heads. ... Broken are their strings of pearls. Wealth and beauty have now become their bane. Dishonoured, and with ropes round their necks, they are carried away by soldiers. ... When Babar's rule was proclaimed, no one could eat his food. ... Those who had never thought of (the name of the Hindu god) *Rama* are not now allowed to utter (the name of the Muslim god) *Khuda*. ... They are destined to bewail their miseries.' [4]
>
> ' If a powerful person were to attack another powerful person, there shall be no pain in my mind, but if a ferocious lion falls upon a herd of cattle, the Master should take care of them.' [5]

But the root cause of the misery of the people, whether at the hands of the local tyrant or the outside aggressor, he felt, was their disunity born of diversity. He, therefore, sought to bring them together both

1. 2. Guru Nanak in *Rag Asa*. 3. *Ibid*. *Rag Tilang*.
4. Ibid. *Rag Asa*. 5. Guru Nanak, *Rag Asa*.

in thought and deed. But this could only be brought about if they had a common worship and a common social structure of equality and fraternity. He moved about the length and breadth of India, and of most of the then known world. He visited the religious and political centres of the Hindus, Muslims and others, and, on his return to his country, evolved practically a new synthesis of religions, called Sikhism–a discipline of practical, livable life of thought and action. The followers of this new Path were not to be a sect of dreaming renunciators like so many others roaming about the country as mendicants, but a band of servants of humanity with 'their minds turned to God and their hands set to work'—*hath kar wal, dil yar wal.* He laid the foundations of Sikh congregations, called *Sangats*, where they met in the evenings on equal social grounds, sang the hymns of the Guru and drew inspiration for their day-to-day life.

In social life Guru Nanak was a great leveller. He recognised no distinctions of high and low, of the Brahmin and the Sudra, of the rich and the poor, and of the ruler and the ruled. According to him, the rulers were fools and idiots—'*Hukum karrain murakh gawar*' [6] —if they had not at heart the good of their people. In fact the 'kings should be dispensers of equity and justice.' [7]

This was, in a nut-shell, the background of the organisation of Guru Nanak set up for the religious, social and political emancipation of his country from the loathsome priesthood and professional tyranny of the rulers.

A detailed itinerary of Guru Nanak's travels in Maharashtra is not available to history, but the fact remains that he did visit this part of the country. The Sikh temple known as Nanak-Jhera at Bidar[8] in the south-east of Maharashtra is a living monument of the Guru's visit to the land of the Marathas. There must have been many more places here where Guru Nanak stayed and preached during his travels. This may be safely concluded from the geographical situation of Bidar in the centre of the inverted South Indian triangle, with Sikh temples at Puri[9] on the eastern coast, Baroach[10] on the north-west of Maharashtra and Pulliamkottai[11] to the north of Rameswaram in the extreme south of India. But as his immediate successors remained busy during their short periods of Guruship with more pressing organisational work at home, they could not undertake long journeys far away from the Panjab. The link between the Gurus and the Maratha country could not, therefore, remain intact, and the places consecrated by Guru Nanak's visits soon came to be lost in oblivion.

The relations, however, became closer with the inclusion of the

6. Guru Nanak, *Rag Basant.* 7. Guru Nanak, *Rag Sarang, Var.*
8. Tara Singh, Pandit, *Gur Tirath Sangrah*, Page 16, No. 32.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 15, No. 25. 10. *Ibid.* p. 16, No. 30.
11. *Ibid.* p. 16, No. 31.

hymns of a well-known Marathi saint Namdev in the sacred scripture of the Sikhs compiled by the fifth Guru Arjan in 1604 A. D. The Sikh scripture, called the *Adi Granth*, is unique in several respects. It is the only religious book which embodies the sayings of its prophets in their own words, compiled and edited by one of them. It contains the hymns not only of the Sikh Gurus but of several Hindu and Muslim saints, selected with equal impartiality, regardless of their social status. While two of these saints were Muslims, several of them were the so-called *Sudras* and untouchables. Of them Kabir was a weaver, Ravidas, a *Chamar* (leather-dresser), and Sadhana, a butcher. The Maratha saint, Namdev, was also a *Sudra*, a calico printer and tailor by profession.

Born at Narsi Brahmani in the District of Satara in 1270 A. D., Namdev spent most of his life in his native land at Pandharpur in the Sholapur district. Next to Gyaneshwar, he was a most devout promoter of the Bhakti movement in Maharashtra and 'is famous for his denunciation of idolatry.' Like most of the other Maratha saints, he worshipped God under the name of Vithal, the god of Pandharpur. During his north Indian pilgrimage he visited the present district of Gurdaspur at the age of fifty-five and stayed for some time at Bhattewal and dwelt beside a tank which is still called *Namiana* in his memory. His two Panjabi disciples, Ladha and Jalla, settled down with some of their own followers in the villages of Sukhowal and Dhariwal. Namdev later on moved to another tank in a lonely forest where he hoped to have more leisure for prayer and meditation. But his disciples followed him to that place as well and the village of Ghuman soon sprang up around his hermitage. It was here that the Sikh Sardar Jassa Singh, the head of the Rangarhia *Misal*, raised a fine domed cenotaph in memory of the saint in the eighteenth century. And the famous tank of Ghuman was repaired by Mai Sada Kaur, the mother-in-law of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. After a few years' stay in the Panjab, Namdev returned to Maharashtra and spent the closing years of his life at Pandharpur where he died in 1350 A. D. at the ripe age of eighty. The Panjabi devotees of Namdev have since maintained a regular connection with the Maratha land by an annual pilgrimage to the mausoleum of the great saint. But the best and the most indelible memory of his is enshrined in the hearts of the Sikhs by his hymns, called *abhang* in Marathi, in the *Adi Granth*, which has preserved them not only for the Sikhs and the followers of Namdev but has also helped spread his message far and wide in the world abroad.

In 1606 Guru Arjan, the compiler and editor of the *Adi Granth* and the organiser of the Sikhs into a compact body, fell a victim to the religious fanaticism and political fury of Emperor Jehangir within seven months of his accession to the throne. He was only looking for an opportunity

to put an end to the religious activities of the Guru, wherein he saw a potential danger to the Moghul empire in India. In his Memoirs, *the Tusk-i-Jehangiri*, he writes :

"In Goindwal, which is situated on the bank of the river Biyah (Beas), there was a Hindu named Arjan, in the garb of a *Pir* and *Shaikh*, so much so that having captivated many simple-hearted Hindus, nay even foolish and stupid Muslims, by his ways and manners, he had noised himself about as a religious and worldly leader. They called him *Guru*, and from all directions fools and fool-worshippers were attracted towards him and expressed full faith in him. For three or four generations they had kept this shop warm. For years the thought had been presenting itself to me that either I should put an end to this false traffic or he should be brought into the fold of Islam."

The opportunity came to the Emperor when his rebellious son, Khusro, crossed the Beas at Goindwal on his way to Lahore and paid a visit to the Guru whom he had met previously in the company of his grandfather Akbar. Without any enquiry, the Emperor ordered Guru Arjan to be put to death with tortures. He himself says :

"When this came to the ears of my Majesty, and I fully knew his heresies, I ordered that he should be brought into my presence, and having handed over his houses, dwelling places and children to Murtaza Khan and having confiscated his property, I ordered that he should be put to death with tortures."[12]

This hastened the transformation of the Sikhs into a militant people. So far their movement had devoted itself entirely to religious and social uplift by education and persuasion. But with the martyrdom of Guru Arjan came a stage when they could no longer neglect the development of their physical character. If they were to survive and were not to be squeezed out of existence under the pressure of Mughal imperialism, they must prepare themselves for 'a struggle for existence', thought Guru Hargobind, the sixth Guru. The Great Moghul had evidently decided to suppress and smother the Sikh movement by 'putting an end', in his own words, to the activities of the Sikh Gurus. He had ordered the chief of the movement, the Saint and scholar Guru Arjan, to be subjected to *Yasa* and *Siyasat*—torturous death. And the Guru had undergone all this like a true martyr.

The sixth Guru, Hargobind, on his accession to the *gaddi* of Guruship relegated the customary rosary to the treasury and wore a sword in his girdle saying, "My *Sēli* (or rosary) shall be a sword-belt." Arrayed in martial style himself, he ordered his Sikhs to bring offerings of arms and horses instead of money. Soon afterwards he laid the foundations of the *Takt Akal Banga*, commonly called the *Akal Takht*,

12. *Tuzk-i-Jehāngiri*, Niwal Kishore, Lucknow, p. 35.

in the precincts of the *Darbar Sahib* (Golden Temple) at Amritsar in the style of a royal balcony. He was fond of wrestling, and of riding and hunting, in addition to the propagation of Sikhism. He thus became a warrior-saint and a saint-warrior. And on one occasion, when his tutor Bhai Buddha, on seeing him in military harness, mildly remonstrated with him, the young Guru replied, "...In the Guru's house religion and worldly enjoyment shall be combined—the cauldron to supply the poor and needy and the scimitar to smite the oppressors." [13]

Encouraged by Guru Hargobind's precept and example, hundreds of adventurous Sikh young men gathered round him and offered to die for their religion. Emperor Jehangir was alarmed to hear of the Guru's preparations and sent him as a state-prisoner to the fort of Gwalior. He was, however, released after some time at the intercession of a Muslim saint, Mian Mir.

Some time after the death of Jehangir, Guru Hargobind found himself in armed conflict with the armies of the Imperial agents in the Panjab with varying results. He was then a full-fledged general, and Mohsin Fani, a contemporary author, who knew the Guru fairly well, tells us in his *Dabistan-i-Mazahib* :

> " The Guru had seven hundred horses in his stables and three hundred cavaliers, and sixty artillery-men were always in his service. Of these, a number lived by trade, service and [other] occupations. Every one who absconded from any place sought his protection."

Traditional religionists and *Sadhus* found it difficult to reconcile the two seemingly opposite phases of Guru Hargobind's life. The apparent irreconcilability became the subject of a very interesting talk between Guru Hargobind and the Maratha saint Ramdas when the two met at Srinagar in about 1634.

The following anecdote appears in the thirty-ninth *Sakhi* of the *Panjah Sakhin*—a Punjabi Gurumukhi manuscript in the possession of the writer :—

" Once the Guru was staying in Kashmir. There came a Sadhu to see him. He was a Deccani, Ramdas by name. Riding a horse, the Guru had returned from a hunt. Many Sikhs were there with him. He asked him, ' I had heard you occupied the *gaddi* of Guru Nanak. Guru Nanak was a *tyagi Sadhu*—a saint who had renounced the world. You are wearing arms and keeping an army and horses. You have called yourself *Sacha Padshah*—a True King. What sort of a Sadhu are you ? ' Guru Hargobind said : ' Internally a hermit, and externally a prince ; arms mean protection for the poor and destruction for the tyrant. Baba Nanak had not renounced the world but had renounced *Maya*, the self

13. Macauliffe's *Sikh Religion*, IV-4.

and ego.' Ramdas was pleased (to hear this) and said, 'This has appealed to my mind.' "[14]

This Deccani saint was the well-known *Samartha* Ramdas, the religious preceptor of *Chhatrapati* Shivaji. The words of Guru Hargobind touched his inner chords. His spontaneous reaction that 'this has appealed to my mind' is indicative of the sympathetic response of his mind. It seems to have been brought home to him that spiritual life could be reconciled to temporal life without in any way jeopardising the saintliness of the person. He found in the words of the Guru an expression of his own inner spirit. His own people, the Marathas, were not dissimilar in physical set-up and mental attitude to those of the Panjab. Both were children of the Renaissance in India. The infusion of a similar spirit in them would, as well, he seems to have visualised, raise them to their full stature and enable them, in due course, to squeeze out the intolerant Mughal in collaboration with the Sikhs from the north.

Hanumant Swami in his *Shri Samarthanchi Bakhar*, p. 22-23, however, gives a different account of the talk between the two saints. Having been satisfied with the replies of Swami Ramdas, the Sikh Guru, whose name is not mentioned in the *Bakhar*, is said to have asked for *Anugrah* (translated as grace, *Guru-mantra* or initiation). Ramdas told the Guru in reply that he had already been initiated, that there was no difference between the two *Guru-mantras* and that he should worship *Shri Rama*. On the insistence of the Guru, however, Swami Ramdas is said to have given him an ochre-coloured garment and a rosary.

Guru Hargobind's asking for *Anugrah* (if translated as *Guru-mantra*) from Swami Ramdas is improbable at the very face of it. He was himself the head of the Sikh religion with lakhs of followers. As to the ochre-coloured garment and rosary, they can only be taken as tokens of friendship from *Shri* Ramdas. The Guru had relegated the rosary of his own ancestors to the treasury at the time of his accession to the *gaddi*.

On his return to the Deccan, Ramdas 'established a chain of monasteries throughout the land, where physical education was imparted with special attention to the formation of physical strength and character'. He found in Shivaji a promising Maratha Chief imbued with religious spirit and dedicated to the emancipation of his people from Muslim

14. एक बेर गुरु जी कशमीर में टिके थे। तहां इक साधु दीदार को आया। दक्खनी था नाम रामदास। तब गुरू जी शिकार खेलते आवते थे घोड़े पर असवार। साथ सिक्ख संगत बहुत थी। प्रशन कीता हौं सुणिआ था गुरू नानकी गद्दी पर बैठा है। नानक गुरू त्यागी साधु थे। तुम शस्त्र धारण करे है नि घोड़े फौज रक्खी है। सच्चा पातशाह कहावता हैं। कैसा साधु हैं। गुरू हरि·गोबिन्द कहिआ बातन फकीरी, ज़ाहर अमीरी, शस्त्र गरीब की रक्खिआ, जरवाने की मक्खिआ। बाबा नानक संसार नहीं त्यागिआ था, माया त्यागी थी। रामदास प्रसन्न होया, कहिआ इह हमारे मन भावती है।

(साखी ३६, पोथी पंजाह साखीआं)

oppression. He admired the zeal of his hero for political power, and, in due course, threw the weight of his own saintly character on his side. The combination of the political power of Shivaji and the spiritual persuasion of Ramdas and some other Maratha *bhaktas* at last resulted in the establishment of Maratha power which played a very prominent part in the freedom of India from the Muslim yoke.

The last of the Gurus in the chain of these relations was the tenth Guru, Gobind Singh, who completed the process of Sikh evolution in the *Khalsa* and created a new people of them, not only in their external form but also in their discipline and outlook of life. Born at Patna in Bihar in 1668, he spent most of his life in the Shivalik Hills of the Panjab. He was only a child of seven when his father Guru Tegh Bahadur was executed in 1675 at Delhi under the orders of Emperor Aurangzeb. The Hindu Hill Chiefs made a common cause with the Mughals in the suppression of the Sikhs, and Guru Gobind Singh had to fight as many as fourteen battles in self-defence and for self-preservation. After the death of Aurangzeb, his son and successor Emperor Bahadur Shah, however, entered into friendly relations with the Guru who accompanied him to the Deccan in pursuance of negotiations for peaceful solution of Mughal-Sikh problems. But before these negotiations could come to a successful conclusion, the Guru was fatally stabbed at Nander by a Pathan from the north. He died there on October 7, 1708. But his death has left a historical mark on the land of the Marathas. It has planted a permanent centre of Sikh pilgrimage on the eastern boundary of Maharashtra and has since helped to maintain an everlasting contact between the north and south and between two martial races of the country.

At Nander the Guru had also reclaimed a North-Indian *Sadhu*, Madho Das, domiciled in Maharashtra, from the path of *Vairag* to that of militant Sikhsim. During his visit to the Vairagi's hermitage, he clearly perceived what was yet vital in the youthful ascetic, and he relumed it with Promethian fire. Madho Das was formally converted and baptised into a *Khalsa* of the Guru under the new name of Banda Singh and was commissioned to the Panjab to lead the Sikhs in a campaign of liberation. How wonderfully well did he succeed in 1710 in laying the foundation of the first Sikh kingdom, and of fiscal and social reforms of far-reaching consequences, and how smilingly did he and his seven hundred companions lay down their lives in 1716 at the altar of the Sikh faith, has been narrated at some length in the *Life of Banda Singh Bahadur*. With him ends the first part of the Maratha-Sikh relations.

The second part begins with a clash of interests and a race for supermacy in northern India, particularly in the Panjab, the home-land of the Sikhs. The Maratha policy of expansion to the north of Delhi in the eighteenth century seemed to interfere with the freedom of the Sikhs, and this arrayed the two peoples in opposite camps with ultimate success for the sons of the soil. But this must be left to be told on some other occasion.

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BAHMANI COINAGE AS A SOURCE OF DECCAN HISTORY

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The history of the Bahmanī Dynasty, which ruled first at Aḥsanābād (Gulbargah) and then at Muḥammadābād (Bidar) extends from the election of the first Bahmanī sovereign on September 12, 1347 to about 1537 which is the date of the last Bahmanī coin extant, and it was followed next year by the first contemporary mention of the assumption of kingship by an 'Ādilshāhī ruler, Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh, in 1538. This history is mostly based on chronicles which were compiled largely at the courts of the rulers of Bahmanī succession states like Bijapur and Ahmadnagar, long after the occurrence of some of the events which they related, or else at Delhi which was many hundreds of miles away and was at least unsympathetic to the very idea of the independence of the Deccan. Distance either in point of time or space has led to a distortion of dates and even facts, and not only are the dates of the accession of the Bahmanī sovereigns wrongly stated and names and titles wrongly mentioned but the student is bewildered by variation of dates and facts from one chronicle to another. As is well known, medieval historians base their works to a large extent on the fortunes of kings and rulers, and such distortions often lead to a distortion of the whole historical background. It is therefore fortunate that we possess the coins of practically all the successive Bahamanī kings right through the two centuries during which they ruled the Deccan, and it is well to study these if only to the extent that they furnish a corrective to what we find in the chronicles and perhaps add something to the information which we otherwise possess.[1]

1. Ferishtah wrote the part of his Gulshan-i-Ibrāhīmī dealing with the history of the Deccan in 1023/1614 at Bijapur long after the Bahmanīs had ceased to exist as the rulers of the Deccan. Syed 'Alī Ṭabāṭabā compiled his Burhān-i Ma'ṣir at the bidding of Burhān Niẓām Shāh of Ahmadnagar in 1591, i. e., a few years before Ferishtah. Antedated to both these is 'Abdu'l-lāh al-Makkī's Ẓafaru'l-Wālih which was completed in 1565, and though it centres mostly round Gujarat, it is quite reliable about the facts connected with the history of the Bahmanīs to which it is nearer than either of the other two chronicles. Of course Baranī is contemporary to the events of the early Bahmanī history and although there is a wealth of facts which his account contains, still, while dealing with the events in the South, his opinions are at best, one-sided. Almost the only work compiled in the Deccan and contemporary to the facts it contains, is 'Isāmī's Futūhu's-Salātīn, a book of about 12,000

The first thing to note is the importance of coinage to the medieval State. In the middle ages coinage was regarded as one of the chief emblems of royalty, at least at par with the Crown, the Umbrella and the Throne. It seems that when a person assumed the insignia of royalty he lost no time to order that the coins should be struck in his name, and we find coins even of such monarchs as were on the throne for just a few weeks or even days.[2] It is therefore almost a truism to say that if there is a historical evidence which is entirely contemporary and thoroughly trustworthy of the fact or facts it records, it is the numismatic evidence, and it is no wonder that it should serve as a corrective to many wrong and sometimes very persistent notions and at the same time perhaps acts as a kind of touchstone for knowing the worth of the chronicles.

Although the Deccan became independent of the hegemony of Delhi in 1346 and a kingdom was set up in the September of that year, the Bahmanī dynasty was not established till a year later, i.e., on September 12, 1347.[3] Now almost everything connected with the early days of the founder of the dynasty is clothed in mystery, and most of the facts which are reported, have very little corroboration by any contemporary authority. As is well known, Ferishtah is the first to relate the story of Ḥasan's service with a Brahman of Delhi, his acts of

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verses completed in the short space of about five months on May 14 1350. It gives detailed first-hand information regarding the events in the Deccan antecedent to and consequent upon the establishment of the Bahmanī kingdom.

For Bahmanī coins, see Gibbs—Gold and Silver Coins of the Bahmanī Kingdom, *Numismatic Chronicle, 1881*; Codrington-Copper Coins of the Bahmanī Dynasty, *Num, Chr., 1883*; Khwajah Muhammad Ahmad-Rare and Important Coins of the Bahmanī kings, *Proceedings of the All India Oriental Conference, Patna. 1933* ; Speight-Coins of the Bahmanī Kingdom, *Islamic Culture, Hyderabad Deccan 1935*. For a general discussion, see Sherwani, *Mahmud Gawan, the Great Bahmani Wazir*, pp. 52-58.

2. I. H. Qureshi *Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi* p. 72, rightly says that the Khutbah or the right to have the name mentioned in the Friday sermon, and the Sikkah or the right to coin money, were regarded as royal privileges, and each claimant to the throne and every one who tried to carve a kingdom for himself by withstanding the authority of the Centre, managed to strike a few pieces to commemorate the event. In the Bahmanī Deccan we have coins even of monarchs who were "on the throne" just for a few weeks, such as Ghiyāthu'd-dīn Tahamtan (2-4-1397—14. 6. 1397) and the *roi fainéant*, Walīul'l-lāh (5. 3. 1523-1526). The right to coin money may be compared to the modern right to issue postage stamps ; for the first thing which almost every new state does now-a-days is either to issue new stamps or at least impress the old stamps with its seal.

3. See Sherwani, Antecedents of the Bahmani Kingdom, *Journal of the Aligarh Historical Research Institute*, 1941, p. 1.

honesty and valour and finally his introduction to the Crown Prince resulting in his being posted to high office in the Deccan.[4] On the other hand Rafī'u'd-dīn Shīrāzī tells us a number of stories of the supernatural prophecies relating to the election of Ḥasan to the throne of the Deccan.[5] The origin of the sobriquet, Gangū as originally being the name of Gangū's master at Delhi has not been repeated after Ferishtah, but our later authorities from Ferishtah to the Ma'athir-i-Raḥīmī repeat it as a part of the Sultān's name.[6] It is noteworthy that the only chronicles which take care not to mention the epithet at all are the contemporary 'Isāmī and the Ahmadnagar historian Syed 'Alī Ṭabāṭabā, and it was while translating and epitomising the latter's history, the Burhān-i Ma'athir that Major King cast a doubt on the veracity of the story.

Now if we were to refer to the coins of the first Bahmanī we would find that 'Isāmī and Ṭabāṭabā are perfectly right in not adding on the epithet Gangū to the Sulṭān's name. The silver coins in the cabinet of the Hyderabad Museum read :

Obv. : A's-Sulṭānu'l-A'ẓam 'Alau'd-duniyā wa'd-dīn Abu'lMuẓaffar Bahman Shāh a's-Sulṭān

Rev. : Ṣikandaru'th-thānī Yaminu'l-Khilāfah Nāṣirī Amīru'l-Mu'-minīn

Margin. : Ḍuriba bi ḥaḍrat Aḥsanābād 758

The first thing which is clear is that the title of the Sulṭān was not Gangū but 'Alāu'd-dīn, and he called himself not Bahmani but Bahman Shāh, perhaps because he wanted to give his geneologists a chance of connecting his name somehow with the great semi-mythical dynasty of Bahman and Isfandiyyār of Iran. The title 'Alāu'd-dīn was no doubt adopted out of reverence to the title of the patron of the family, 'Alāu'd-dīn Khiljī, as well as perhaps in order to carry on the tradition of an independent Deccan which his brother 'Alī Natthū had attempted to establish by proclaiming himself as king with the title of 'Alau'd-dīn Malik Shāh at Dharur in 1340.[7]

The obverse of the coin is reminiscent of two titles which the sovereign adopted; one was Sikandaru'th-thānī or the Second Alexander,

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4. Ferishtah, Lucknow edition, 1, 273, 274.

5. Rafī'u'd-dīn Shīrāzī, *Tuhfatu'l-Mulūk*, MSS Asafiyah Library, Hyderabad Deccan, Tarikh 1061, fol. 6 a. See also Sherwani, Establishment of the Bahmani Dynasty, *Journal of Indian History*, 1942 p. 286, n.6.

6. See Sherwani, Gangu Bahmani, *J. I. H.*, April 1941, p. 91. Also see 'Abdu'l-lāh Chaghta'i Bani-i-Saltnat-i-Bahmaiyah ka nam-o nasab, *Burhan-magazine*, Delhi, December 1941, p. 433.

7. See Sherwani, *Antecedents*. p. 14; 'Isāmī, Futūhu's-Salāṭīn, Agra edition, 463.

which is again a repetition of the title of 'Alāu'd-dīn Khiljī, and just as the Khiljī Sulṭān in the pride of his conquests thought that he was the like of the Macedonian king, so Bahman Shāh's great ambition was to conquer Gujarat, Malwa, and Gwalior and then Delhi itself, i.e., virtually the whole of the dominion of the enemy of the Deccan, Muḥammad Tughluq, and had it not been for the wise counsel of his kinsman and Prime Minister, Malik Saifu'd-dīn Ghōrī he would have perhaps wrecked the newly created state in the attempt.[8] But the title on the reverse, Yamīnu'l-Khilāfah, Nāṣir-i-Amīru'l-Mu'minīn, is interesting for it shows how a mere copyist can commit an error of anachronism. The early Bahmanī coins are, to a large extent, replicas of the Tughluq coins which they replaced, and this explains why even before the formal "permission" to coin money was given to Bahman Shāh's son and successor by the 'Abbāsī Khalīfah of Egypt, al-Mu 'taḍid bi' l-lāh, the coins of the newly established Kingdom of the Deccan could contain the legend, "Right Hand of the Khilāfat, Helper of the Commander of the Muslims" on his coins.[9] The third thing noticeable is the name of the mint, Aḥsanābād, which was the name given to Gulbargah by Bahman Shāh, and this corroborated the statement in the Burhān and is a corrective of Ferishtah who says that the name of the new capital of the Deccan was Ḥasanabad.[10]

As a matter of fact Ferishtah declares that no coins were struck in Bahmanī Deccan till the reign of the second of the line, Muḥammad Shāh, although we actually possess coins not only of his father Bahman Shāh but also of his predecessors in title 'Alāu'd-dīn Malik Shāh and Nāṣiru'd-dīn Isma 'il.[11] Ferishtah's statement regarding the inscription on Muḥammad's coins is also untrue. He says that Muḥammad's tankah, which was nearly a tola in weight, had the kalimah or the Muslim creed and the names of the four apostolic Khalīfahs on the

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8. See Sherwani, *Establishment*, p. 288.

9. For the corresponding Tughluq coins see Thomas, *Coins of the Patan Kings of Hindustan*, London, 1847, p. 46, where the reverse of the gold coin of Ghiyāthu'd-dīn Tughluq has an inscription which is identical to the inscription of Bahman Shāh's coins, while the inscription on the Deogiri tankah of the same Sulṭān which is dated 721 H. is very similar indeed ; this is also reproduced on p. 46.

10. Ferishtah.

11. Sherwani, Sultan Muhammad I, Organiser of the Bahmani Kingdom, *Journal of the Osmania University*, 1351 F., p. 1. For the copper coin of 'Alī Shāh see Rodger, supplement to Thomas, Chronicles of the Patan Kings of Delhi. The legend on Isma 'īl's copper coin reads:

Obv.: Nāṣiru'd-duniyā wa'd-dīn
Rev.: Abu'l-Fatḥ Nāṣiru'd-dīn Shāh.

This is reproduced in Speight, p. 292.

obverse, while on the reverse appeared the name of the reigning king and the date of the coin. We are also told that the Rāyas of Vijayanagar and Tilanganah instigated the Hindu goldsmiths of Gulbargah to melt off the silver and gold coins of the Bahmanī kingdom and to replace them by the Hons and Prataps of the Hindu states. It is stated that it was only after the culprits were duly punished and most of them replaced by khattrīs of Delhi that the Bahmanī coins were again allowed a free scope.[12]

Now if we return to the actual coins of Muḥammad I in existence today, the information given to us by Ferishtah would prove to be all wrong. We have both the gold and the silver tankahs and the copper jītal coined by this king, none of which have even a trace of the kalimah or the names of the Khalīfahs engraved on it.[13] One of the gold tankahs in the cabinet of the Hyderabad Museum reads :

Obv. : Sulṭānu'l-'Aḥd-i wa'z-zamān Ḥāmī-yi millat-i Rasūli'r-Raḥmān

Rev.: Abu'l-Muẓaffar:Muḥammad Shāh ibn-i-Bahman Shāha's-Sulṭān

Margin : Ḍuriba ḥaḍrat Fatḥābād 763[14]

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12. Ferishtah, I, 282.

13. It is rather curious that while the kalimah or the names of the first four Khalīfahs do not appear on the Bahmanī coins as supposed by Ferishtah, they do appear on corresponding silver coins of Muḥammad b. Tughluq, where the legend runs :

Obv. : Al-Mujāhid fi sabīli'l-lāh Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh,

Margin : Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uṣthmān, 'Alī.

Rev. : La ilāh illa'l-lāh Muḥammad Raṣūli'l-lāh (the Muslim Creed)

Margin: Ḍuriba Hāzihi's-Sikkah fi:sinati 'ishrīn wa sab'a mi'a.

For this see Thomas, *Coins of the Patan Kings*, p. 54. In his later work, the *Chronicle of the Patan Kings of Delhi*, 1871, p. 208, E. Thomas gives a transcription of a similar gold tankah which he says is unique, struck at "Dāru'l-Islām," dated 727 H.

14. The *Report of the Hyderabad Archaelogical Department, 1333 F.*, p. 52-53, says that Fatḥābād is probably a honorific name for Dharur; but as a matter of fact Dharur did not acquire that name till the reign of the Emperor Shāh Jahān. Fatḥābād long remained a mystery, and while there were a number of places known by that name all over the country all seemed to be improbable. The difficulty in the way of the identification of this place, which was important enough to possess a mint, was solved for the first time by the writer in his book, *Maḥmūd Gāwān, the Great Bahmani Wazir*, p. 58, and he confesses his obligation to the late Professor Hodivala who helped him to unravel the mystery. Aa a matter of fact it was Daulatabad which was renamed Fatḥābād after the subjugation of the stronghold of Kaliyāṇī, and this is fully vouchsafed by Burhān, 17. There are a number of Fatḥābād coins in existence, of which two are in the Hyderabad Museum, two in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, and two in the British Museum, all belonging to the reign of Muḥammad Shāh I. In fairness to Captain Tarapore of Hyderabad refer-

The silver tankah reads :
Obv. : *as in the gold tankah.*
Rev. : Muhammad Shāh a's-Sulṭān ibnu's-Sulṭān.
Margin : Ḍuriba bi hadrat Ahsanābād 771.

Now it is noticeable that the inscription on the obverse has no reference to the ' Abbāsī Khalīfah as is found on Bahman Shāh's coins. This is the more remarkable, for it was when Muhammad Shāh's mother was on a pilgrimage to Mecca in 761–62/1360–61 that she procured a formal sanction from the ' Abbāsī Khalīfah of Egypt Al-Mu'tadid bi' l-lāh that it would be legal for her son Muhammad I to coin money in his own name as also to have his name mentioned in Friday sermons.[15] Although the so-called Khalīfah was a mere prisoner in his own palace in Cairo, he was much revered in the lands of Islam as the possessor of the mantle of the Apostle, and the Muslim rulers of India were always happy to be invested in his name especially if they felt any danger from any quarter. It seems that just at this time there was a fear of an invasion from Delhi at the instance of Kanya Nāyaka, ruler of Tilangana, and this sanction, coupled with a letter from the Khalīfah to Sulṭān Fīrōz Tughluq of Delhi may probably have eased the situation. Now it is strange that in spite of this definite sanction on the act of the Khalīfah there is no reference to it in Muhammad's coins. It seems that while the mother was anxious to strengthen the hands of her son, the son himself felt strong enough to withstand his enemies without any reference to a nominal Khalīfah in distant Egypt and did not like to inscribe his subordination to him in his coins at all. He rather mentioned his subordination to the Almighty by mentioning himself on the obverse of his Tankah as " the defender of the religion of the Merciful God," while from the mundane point of view he chose to affix to his name the high sounding titles of " the Sulṭān of the epoch and of the age."

The inscription on the reverse further corroborated the evidence furnished by his father's coinage that the title of the first king of the dynasty was Bahman Shāh, not Gangū Bahmanī. It is again noticeable that the inscription on the coins of some of the later Sulṭāns have the epithet ' Bahmanī' after their names, but this denotes only that they belonged to the dynasty founded by Bahman Shāh.

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ence might be made to his article of the discovery of the Fathābād Mint, *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, 1945, p. 47, the rejoinder of the present writer in the same Journal, 1946, p. 177, and his reply on the next page. As a matter of fact while the book on Mahmūd Gāwān was actually published in January 1942, it was in the press in March of 1941 and mentioned by the Presidents of the Indian History Congress and of the All-India Oriental Conference held in December 1941, as advanced copies had already arrived from the Allahabad publishers.

15. Fer. I. 285.

Apart from the information gleaned from the coins that the accession title of Muḥammad's son and successor, Mujāhid, was 'Alāu'd-dīn after the accession title of his grandfather,[16] there is nothing to note till we come to the fifth of the line whose name is given by Ferishtah as Maḥmūd Shāh.[17] Now we possess both the gold and silver coins of this peace-loving and learned monarch of the Deccan whose twenty years' rule is marked, among other things, by invitations to many prominent men of learning from over the seas to come to the Deccan and enrich the land by their presence, and we find among such persons the name of the world-famed Persian poet Khwājah Ḥāfiz of Shīrāz. In spite of the king's eminence in the world of learning there have been doubts even as regards his correct name as well as his parentage, and these doubts were apparently created by a divergence in the statements of Ferishtah and Syed 'Alī Tabāṭabā. But a reading of his coins, which have exceptionally clear inscriptions, is enough to set these doubts at rest. His coins read as follows :[18]

Gold tankah :
Obv. : Sulṭānu'l-'Ahad-iwa'z-Zamān Abū'l-Muẓaffar
Rev. : Muḥammad Shāh a's-Sulṭān ibnu's-Sulṭān
Margin : Ḍuriba bi ḥaḍrat-i-Aḥsanābād 775
Silver tankah :
Obv. : A'n-Nāṣir li dīni'd-dayyān al-Ḥāmī li ahli'l-īman
Rev. : al-Wāthiq bi ta'īdi'r-Raḥmān abū'l-Muẓaffar Muḥammad Shāh a's-Sulṭān
Margin : Ḍuriba ḥaḍrat-i-Aḥsanābād 781
Copper fuls :
Obv. : 'Abd-i-Ma'būd
Re. : Muḥammad-i Maḥmūd.

Now while the inscription of the tankahs clearly states that the name of the king who ruled in 775 and 781 H. was Muḥammad Shāh, the inscription on the copper coin might incline us to believe that his name was, after all, Maḥmūd, especially when Ferishtah tries to prove that the name is mentioned in Futūhu's-Salāṭīn. But the Futūhu's-Salāṭīn, if by this is meant 'Iṣāmī's book, was completed as early as 750 H., and the only Bahmani whose name could naturally be mentioned in it was Bahman Shāh whose con-

16. Speight, 290.

17. Briggs, *History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India*, II, 285. See also Ferishtah, I, 301.

18. I have studied the specimens in the Hyderabad Museum; Speight, 290, 294, mentions other silver and copper specimens, but he does not seem to have recourse to the gold Tankah.

temporary he was. On the other hand we know definitely from Ẓafaru'l-Wālih and the Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarshāhī as well as from Burhān-i-Ma'āsir that the name of the fifth king was Muḥammad and that his father was the son of the founder of the dynasty named Maḥmūd. This is further corroborated by two inscriptions, one on a wall of the 'Ashūrkhānah at Sāgar which was repaired in 793 H. and where the regnant king is named Muḥammad Shah, and the other on a tablet found lying near the tomb of Ṣūfī Sarmast where the name of the king is identical to the inscription on the copper coin, i. e., Muḥammad-i-Maḥmūd.[19] With this data before us it is easy to solve the mystery of the epithet, for the word Muḥammad has clearly a genitive ending and only signifies that he was the son of Prince Maḥmūd.

It is remarkable that while the next two Sultans, both sons of Muḥammad Shāh II, reigned only for seven weeks and five months respectively and were all that time under duress, they managed to coin money in their names. The cabinet of the Hyderabad Museum possesses both the silver and the copper coins of Ghiyathu'd-dīn Tahamtan Shāh, which read :

Silver tankah :

Obv. : Al-Mustanṣiq al-Ḥannān abu'l-Muẓaffar Ghiyathu'd-duniyā wa'd-Dīn.

Rev. ; Tahamtan Shāh a's-Sulṭān ibnu's-Sulṭān 899.

Copper fuls :

Obv. : Al-Mu'ayyaid bi naṣri'l-lāh.

Rev. : Tahamtan Shāh bin Muḥammad Shāh.

The copper fuls of Dāwūd Shāh closely follows Tahamtan's fuls,[20] and there does not seem to be a silver coin of this king extant. The accession title of the first, Ghiyathu'd-Dīn, as given by Burhān, is thus fully corroborated by his silver coin, while we have to rely solely on the evidence of the Burhān that the accession name of his successor, Dāwūd, was Shamsu'd-Dīn. These facts are another instance of the veracity of Syed 'Ali Ṭabāṭṭabā regarding the details about the history of the Deccan compared to some other chroniclers, and it is more often than not that his statements are corroborated by contemporary numismatic evidence.

19. Burhān, 36, is clear that the name of the king was Muḥammad and that he was the son of Maḥmūd who was himself the son of Bahman Shāh. This is corroborated by *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarshāhi* 410, and *Ẓafaru'l-Wālih*, 160. For the inscriptions see *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1931-32, pp. 9-12; Sir Wolsley Haig (*Cambridge History of India*, III, 384) has reached the correct conclusion with regard to the king's name and has rightly called him Muḥammad II.

20. Other specimens in Speight, 294.

There is little to note regarding the evidence gleaned from coins of the eighth Sulṭān, Fīrōz, except that his accession title, Tāju'd-dīn, as given by Burhān and certain other authorities is confirmed by them.

The silver tankah reads :—

Obv. : Sulṭānu'l-'Ahd-i wa'z-zamān al-waṣiq bi ta'īdi'r-Raḥmān abu'l-Muẓaffar

Rev. : Tāju'd-duniya wa'd-dīn Fīrōz Shāh a's-Sulṭān

Margin : Aḥsanābād, 804 [21]

As we are aware the capital of the Bahmanī kingdom was shifted from Aḥsanābād (Gulbargah) to Bīdar which was renamed Muḥammadābād, by the next Sultān Aḥmad Shāh I. The change of the capital was, in a way, a matter of consequence not only for the dynasty but also for the general culture of the Deccan. We need not pause to examine the story of the fox chasing the dog in the vicinity of Bidar as this story is one of those which have been repeated a number of times in other contexts as well,[22] and it is a matter of certainty that many other considerations must have led the new king who came to the throne in 825 H. to have left the old capital of his forefathers and built a new one on the salubrious tableland of Bidar. Whatever the reasons for this change may have been in the mind of the Sulṭān there is no doubt that it extricated the sovereign from the uncertainties of succession and the regicide atmosphere of Aḥsanābād (Gulbargah), while at the same time it put an end once for all to the Tughluq tradition in government, art and architecture and paved the way to the policy of conciliation of the Hindu element of the population and the reaction of this policy in almost all aspects of life. It is however strange that in spite of the far-reaching significance of this change there is a wide divergence between the views of the authorities with regard to the year in which the capital was shifted to Bidar. Fīrōz came to the throne on 15th, Shawwāl 825, but Ferishtah would make him wait for the change in the capital till 830 and Syed 'Alī Ṭāṭabā till Rajab 827, while it is only Rafi'u'd-dīn Shīrāzī who says that the capital was shifted " immediately after the accession of the Sulṭān." [23]

There was little material till lately besides what the chroniclers told us to decide when the capital was actually moved to Bidar. We have of course the date of the death of the Sulṭān's patron and preceptor, Ḥaḍrat Khwājah Gēsū Darāz, which took place on 16th Zi'l-Ḥijjah 825, and

21. Other specimens in Speight, 290. Also see, Sherwani, Tāju'd-dīn Fīroz and the synthesis of the Bahmani Culture, *New Indian Antiquary*, July, 1943.

22. E. g. in the case of the founding of Aḥmadnagar; see Burhan, 214.

23. Fer. I, 325 ; Burhān, 54 ; Rafi'u'd-dīn Shīrāzī, fol. 10 a.

it was possible to argue that this event may have precipitated the decision of the king to change the capital. It was also possible to fix the date of this change by the date of the Solha Khamb Masjid within the fort of Bīdar, for a tablet has recently been unearthed which definitely fixes it to 827,[24] and to say that this mosque was one of the nuclear buildings erected by the Sulṭān in preparation for the change. But the recent discovery of a Muḥammadābād coin, the earliest of the specimens, of the date 827 H., coupled with all this evidence, sets at rest any doubt with regard to the actual date of the change of the capital. It seems that coins continued to be struck for some time at Aḥsanābād (Gulbargah), but this may have been symbolic of the gradual shifting of the offices and the royal entourage from one place to the other. There seems little doubt, however, that definite steps were taken in 827/1424 which may justify our surmise that this is the date not only of the shifting of the capital but, as has been amply proved by the course of subsequent history of the Deccan, of the whole character of the Bahmani dynasty.

The coins of the next Sulṭān, called 'Alāu'd-dīn by some of our chroniclers, is interesting in that they give his full name as 'Alāu'd-dīn Aḥmad Shāh, thus corroborating the statement of 'Abdu'r-Razzāq, the famous ambassador of the Sulṭān of Hirāt to the court of Vijayanagar, and at the same time puts a kind of official stamp on the sainthood of his father Shihābu'd-dīn Aḥmad I.[25] One of 'Alāu'd-dīn Aḥmad's copper coins in the cabinet of the Hyderabad Museum reads as follows:—

Obv.: Al-mutawakkil 'ala'l-lāhi''-Ghanī
Rev.: Aḥmad Shāh ibn-i Aḥmad Shāh al-Walī al-Bahmanī 859

The sainthood of Aḥmad I is recognised by a large part of the population of the Deccan, both Hindu and Muslim, even today, the Muslim calling him 'Haḍrat Aḥmad Shāh Walī' and the Hindus 'Alama Prabhu'. One often sees, especially on the anniversary of the king's death, hordes of Hindus and Muslims, men and women, standing by his grave and begging the dead monarch to intercede with the Almighty on their behalf, which only shows what a hold the sovereign must have had on his people in his lifetime.[26] He himself was, one supposes, too modest

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24. Solha Khamb Masjid: *Epigraphia Indo-Mosl.* 1931-32, p. 27, where Dr. Ghulām Yazdānī discusses the newly discovered Muḥammadābād coin of 827 H.

25. 'Abdu'r-Razzāq, *Maṭla'u's-Sa'dain*, Elliot and Dowson, *History of India as told by her own Historians*, IV, 121.

26. The culture of those days was so much the result of the synthesis of different cultures that it has repercussions in many walks of life even after the lapse of many hundred years. It is remarkable that the anniversary of the death of Sulṭān Aḥmad Shāh Walī's death is cele-

to have his sainthood recognised in his lifetime by having his coins stamped by the surname Walī and it was left to his son to do so. One of the silver tankahs in the cabinet of the Hyderabad Museum reads:—

Obv.: As-Sulṭānu'l-ḥalīm al-Karīm a'r-ra'ūf 'alā 'ibādi'l-lāhi'l-Ghanī al-Muhaimanī

Rev.: Abū'l-Muẓaffar 'Alāu'd-duniya wa'd-dīn Aḥmad Shāh bin Aḥmad Shāh al-Walī al-Bahmanī

Margin: Ḍuriba ḥaḍrat Muḥammadābād 859[27]

There is a certain amount of interest attached to the coins of that much maligned monarch, Humāyūn Shāh Bahmanī, who tried to keep the peace of his kingdom as long as possible but who had to have recourse to harsh measures owing to a sickening recurrence of risings and rebellions during the short reign of three and a half years. The reverse of one of the copper coins is the only evidence of his accession name being the oft-repeated 'Alāu'd-dīn, as all our chroniclers content themselves with calling him "Humāyūn" and some adding on the epithet 'Ẓālim' or the Cruel. One of the copper coins of this monarch in the Hyderabad Museum reads:

Obv.: Al-mutawwakil 'ala'l-lāhi'l-Qawī al-Ghanī

Rev.: 'Alāu'd-duniyā wa'n-dīn Humāyūn Shāh bin Aḥmad Shāh bin Aḥmad Shāh al-Walī al-Bahmanī

Margin: Ḥaḍrat Muḥammadābād Bīdar 862.

Some of Humāyūn's coins have a curious mistake of date. His father died on 10th Sha'bān 862 H., and both according to Ferishtah and Ẓafaru'l-Wālih he reigned for three years six months and six days, while Burhān's six years and five days is obviously a mistake as he puts down 25th. of Zīqa'dah 865 H. as the date of his death, which roughly tallies with 28th Muḥarram 865 of Ferishtah and Ẓafaru'l-Wālih. Now there are coins of Humāyūn with the date 866 stamped on them, which is obviously wrong though there is a difference of a just a few weeks between the month of Humāyūn's death and the beginning of the year 866.[28]

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brated on the 20th of the lunar month in which the Hindu festival of Holi takes place. It is the Jangam or the head of the Lingayats of the village Madhyal in the Gulbargah district who comes to Bidar with a large concourse of men and camels, enters the sepulchre every day of the 'Urs with naubat and all other symbols of royalty to the memory of the king, blows the conch, crushes the coconut in the approved Hindu fashion and according to orthodox Hindu rites, and makes offering of flowers. See Ẓahīru'd-dīn, *Aḥmad Shāh Walī Bahmanī*, p. 166.

27. Also see Speight, 291.

28. For 'Alāu'd-dīn Humāyūn's coins, see Speight, 298. The particular coin has clearly 866 and not 966 as the Report of the Archaeological Department of Hyderabad, 1931-33 says on p. 67.

The name of Humāyūn's successor is given by Ferishtah as Niẓām Shāh and this is corroborated by Burhanu'l-maathir, but there is no doubt that his full name was Niẓamu'd-din Aḥmad Shāh. This is clear from a letter of the great Bahmani wazīr, Khwājah Maḥmūd Gāwān addressed to Shaikh Dāwūd envoy of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khilji of Mālwah to the Bahmanī court.[29] It is curious that the coins of this youthful monarch do not mention his accession title at all, but only his surname Niẓām Shāh. The copper coin reads :

Obv. : Al-Mustanṣir bi naṣri'l-lāhi'l Qawī abū'l-Muẓaffar
Rev. : Aḥmad Shāh bin Humāyūn Shāh al-Bahmanī 866

It is interesting to note that scholars who did not happen to have the Khwājah's letters before them thought that 866 H. on some of 'Ahmad's' coins was perhaps a mistake and really stood for 826 as Aḥmad I reigned from 825 to 838. We now know that the full name and title of "Niẓām Shāh" of Ferishtah and Burhān was really Niẓāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad Shāh and that he reigned from about 25th Zīqa'dah 866 to 13th Zīqa'dah 876, and the coin mentioned above as well as the following belongs to his short reign and are quite correctly dated :

Obv. : A'r-rājī bi ta'idi'r-Raḥmān
Rev. : Abū'l-Muẓaffar Aḥmad Shāh a's-Sulṭān 866[30]

There is little to glean from the coins of the next Sulṭān Muḥammad III whose reign saw at once the height of the power and glory of the Bahmanī state and the beginning of its end, except that his coins, for once, corroborate Ferishtah that his accession title was Shamsu'd-dīn.[31] The reign was the period of the ministry of Maḥmūd Gāwān who excelled as a diplomat, as a soldier, as an administrator and as a man of letters of wide renown—in fact in all the walks of life, in only one of which it is generally the fortune of any man to enter and perhaps to excel. But the Khwājah gave such a strong impulse to the life of the Deccan that when he was most cruelly done to death by the orders of his master and his erstwhile pupil in a fit of intoxication and frenzy and this impulse suddenly ceased, it automatically put an end to the heart throb of the State and the structure fell down like a house of cards. Muḥammad was succeeded by his son Maḥmūd, a boy barely 12 years of age, who in his long reign of 36 years managed to put an end to any influence which he might have inherited from his father.

29. Maḥmūd Gāwān, *Riāḍu'l-Inshā*, Chand b. Husain edit., Hyderabad, 1948, letter 19, p. 95. Codrington, *Numisamtic Chronicle*, 1883, p. 100, wrongly ascribes the coin with 866 to Aḥmad I who reigned from 5th Shawwāl, 825 H. to 28th Rajab, 838 H. as he was not aware of the fact that Niẓāmu'd-dīn's surname was also Aḥamad.
30. Ferishtah, I, 347 ; Also see Speight, 301.
31. Ferishtah, II. 97.

He was succeeded by his son Aḥmad IV who was on the throne for three years and was no better than a puppet in the hands of the Amīr 'Alī Barīd. On his death 'Alī put the king's son 'Alau'd-dīn, the namesake of the great founder of the kingdom, on the throne, but it was not long before he was deposed and now the kingmaker put Maḥmūd's son Walīu'l-lāh on the meaningless throne.

There is nothing which can be profitably deduced from the coins of these three Sulṭāns, but the coins of the last Bahmanī king, Kalimu'l-lāh who was put on the throne in 932/1526, the year of the first battle of Panipat, throws a flood of light on the problem of the legal end of the Bahmani monarchy as well as on certain other matters, and act as a corrective to the chronicles which were compiled at the capitals of the succession states fairly long after the dynasty had ceased to exist both de jure and de facto.

As Kalimu'l-lāh's coins run counter to the story of the end of the dynasty as given by most of our chroniclers it is necessary to give a general background of the events which forced him to leave his capital, Muḥammadābād (Bīdar) and seek refuge elsewhere. For this one has to go back to 895/1490 when, so we are told, Malik Aḥmad Niẓāmu'l-mulk not only " declared his independence " entitling himself Sulṭān Aḥmad Niẓām Shāh Baḥrī but actually sent messages to Yūsuf 'Ādil at Bijapur and Fatḥu'l-lāh 'Imādu'l-Mulk in Berar to follow suite, which they are said to have done.[32] The coins will be dealt with later, but here it is necessary at the outset, to say that when Sulṭān Shihābu'd-dīn Maḥmūd's name was removed from the Friday sermon at Ahhmad-nagar this was regarded as "an act of great disrespect " to the Bahmanī Sulṭān, and Malik Aḥmad had to reinstate the deleted portions forthwith. In the same manner Yūsuf Ādil had to withdraw and reinstate the Bahmanī Sulṭān's name in the Friday sermons such as circumstances permitted. We are also aware that Sulṭān Maḥmūd actually continued to grant titles, which was definitely an emblem of sovereignty at least as late as 923/ 1517. The fourth ruler of Bijapur continued to call himself by his old Bahmanī title of Majlis-i Rafī 'Ali 'Ādil Khān, Minister of the Bahmanī Sulṭān.[33] Moreover there is

32. Ferishtah, II. 95.

33. *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 49*, p. 26 ; inscription No. 3256 on Khwājah Sumbul's mosque ; this is dated Shuhūr Sanah 918 corresponding to 923/1517, and records the bestowal of the title " 'Ādil Khān " to the ruler. For Shuhūr Sanah and its comparative tables see the same, p. 93-102. The author, Dr. Nazim, observes that the Shuhūr Sanah or the Hijri Solar era probably started in 743/1345 or 744/1346. The era was curiously confined only to the Southern India. In the North it was Akbar the Great who created the Faṣlī or the Solar Hijri era by calling 993 lunar Hijri, 993 Faṣli Ilāhī and beginning the new calculation

nothing to show that the first three rulers of Bijapur ever struck money in their names, while 'Abdu'l-lāh al-Makkī definitely tells us that 'Imādu'l-Mulk of Berar had his Khuṭbah read for the first time in 935/1529.[34] All this leads us to suppose that what happened in 895 was that the defiance to the authority of the Bahmanīs came to be more pronounced but the spirit of loyalty to the throne persisted and neither Yūsuf 'Adil nor his brother governors really unfurled the banner of independence till much later.[35]

Numismatics now come to the rescue as regards the date of the end of the dynasty and the final elimination of the legal authority of the last Sulṭān of the line. Kalīmu'l-lah is said to have left Bidar for good in 934/1528,[36] i. e., two years after Bābar's victory over Ibrāhīm Lōdī, but we actually possess coins struck in his name as late as 9+2 and 943/1536 and 1537, so at least the legal authority of the Sulṭān must have continued and he must have been living then. One of the coins of Kalīmu'l-lāh reads :

Obv. : Al-mu'ayyid bi naṣri'l-lāh
Rev. : Kalīmu'-lāh a's-Sulṭān.952[37]

Of course instances are found elsewhere of coins being struck in the name of a sovereign years after his death, and had it not been for two remarkable inscriptions found at Bijapur the surmise might have been regarded as merely illusory. The first inscription is that affixed to the outside wall of the Citadel referring to the capture of Mudgal by " Majlis-i-Rafī' 'Adil Khān " ; it is without date, but we are aware that it was after 1529, probably in 1530 that Isma'īl'Ādil captured the Krishna-Tungabhadra doab, including Mudgal, from Achyuta Rāya who had succeeded his great father Krishna Dēva Raya as the ruler of Vijayanagar. The other tablet is affixed to a ruined wall near Khwājah Sumbul's mosque and is dated 943/1537, i. e., the date of the coins referred to above, and here the fourth ruler of Bijapur is simply

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as from 29.3.1585 C. It is for this reason that the modern Fasli year in vogue in most parts of India for the purpose of collection of rent is wrong by about 993/36 or nearly 26½ years. For the commencement of the Faṣlī Ilāhī era see Abū'l-Faḍl, *Akkbarnamah*, Lucknow, 1881, II, 9, 10, 14.

34. *Ẓafaru'l-Wālih*, 170.

35. For a general discussion of the topic, see Sherwani, Independence of Bahmanī Governors. *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 1944, p. 256.

36. Ferishtah, I, 376.

37. Reproductions of these types of coins are found on Pl. XIX of Mr. Speight's article, and the dates are clear from reproductions 29 and 30 ; he is wrong in reading the date as being 952 H. The type is mentioned and commented upon by Mr. Kh. M. Ahmad in his article referred to above.

referred to as "Majlis-i-Rafī' 'Ādil Khān." [38] This last inscription is remarkable as its date is identical with the date of Kalīmu'l-lāh's last coin that we possess, and clearly proves the legality of his sovereignty till 1537, i. e. nearly forty years after the alleged declaration of the independence of the ruler of Ahmadnagar and Bijapur. This conclusion is further proved by two other Bijapur inscriptions, one inside the southern gateway of the Citadel and the other on the Dakhnī 'Īdgāh both of which are dated 945/1539, and in both of which the ruler has been pleased to call himself 'Ibrahīm' Adil Shāh. These inscriptions conclusively prove that the Bahmanī Sulṭān whom the ruler of Bijapur regarded as his liege lord and was proud to don the title which originated in him, was actually living in 943/1537, but must have died in or just before 945 when the last inscription was stamped.

This brings us to the end of the legality of the Bahmanī sovereigns as the rulers of the Deccan. It will be seen that Bahmanī numismatics not only add to the evidence regarding one of the most remarkable periods of the history of the Deccan but form a corrective to the recapitulation of that history by our chroniclers, and at the same time help us to evaluate the comparative veracity of their works.

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38. *Mem. of the Arch. Survey of India, No. 49*, Inscriptions No. 410 and 439.

— 26 —

DECLINE OF MARATHA POWER

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After a century and a half this country has attained independence and has been declared a free democratic republic. The political revolution heralds not a mere change of masters, but a change of policies. The liberal tradition that has been accepted and fostered in this country teaches us to believe that only in a free country can man grow to his full stature, that only under a free constitution are produced conditions which make for all-round material and moral advance of society. But in the midst of turmoil and trouble the preservation of our hard won liberties has become our chief concern and we have begun to look round for ways and means to secure them. The inquiry to be fruitful must consider the historical process by which British rule came to supplant native authority. The Marathas were the immediate predecessors of the British. It was from them that the latter wrested the sovereignty of India. The mind naturally turns to the question why the Marathas who defeated the Mughals and looked so formidable in the 18th century, should have collapsed and gone down so suddenly before the British. Maratha historians would like us to think that upto 1795, upto the battle of Kharda, their compatriots went from success to success and everything was allright with their state. The battle of Kharda fought in that year is looked on by them as the culminating point of their glorious career. On that occasion under the Bhagwa Zenda for the last time gathered all the leading chieftains, Sindhia, Holkar, Bhonsle, Patwardhan, and sent the Nizam to his doom. Unfortunately in their hour of glory died the Peshwa, Sawai Madhav Rao, to be succeeded by the imbecile Baji Rao Raghunath. The new Peshwa bore inveterate hostility to Nana Phadnis and refused to be guided by his wise counsel. With the change in the Peshwaship the wise leadership of Nana Phadnis ceased to function; that minister who had very ably directed the politics of the State and had resisted British advance for over twenty years, no longer controlled the course of affairs which passed into such inept and childish hands as those of Baji Rao II and Daulat Rao Sindhia. This facile interpretation appears to me to be the result of Palmer's report that with Nana's death departed all wisdom of the Maratha State. An individual, howsoever great in his time, does not entirely control the destiny of his country or the course of history. We have to seek for other causes to explain the decline and fall of the Maratha Power.

Various reasons have been suggested; some would ascribe the end

to the total absence of patriotism among the Marathas, their love of independent authority, their failure to put common weal above selfish interests, their outmoded weapons and their outworn methods of warfare, their neglect of the navy and the failure of their diplomacy before the English. In the 17th century the Marathas lacked the advantages they had in the next; on all sides they had been surrounded by alien powers; yet did they succeed in building up a strong state and exhibit qualities of head and heart that are so essential for the rise of a nation. It looks like a puzzle that these national virtues should suffer a decline in the days of Swaraj, in the period when the Marathas were masters of their fate and captains of their souls. Maratha historians are wont to write of their history as a cavalcade, as a series of glorious successes in the south and in the north. Only in the last chapter do they discuss the end of the saga which, they tell us, came as a result of treachery, jealousy, cowardice in high place.

A living historian, a modern luminary of the Poona school, would have us believe that the Marathas lost because they were not a martial race. His argument is that less than seven thousand Marathas found place in the Indian Army of 1930 But whoever has studied the problem of the composition of the Indian army under British rule, knows that it was a deliberate policy of the British to recruit their military strength from the most backward people and the advanced Marathas found little favour with the foreign rulers. To understand the causes of the loss of their independence by the Marathas a fresh review of Maratha politics of the fifty years from 1761 onwards therefore becomes necessary. It will enable us to see things in the right perspective and arrive at reasonably valid conclusions.

By the treaty of Bassein concluded in 1802, Peshwa Baji Rao bartered away his freedom and became a tributary of the East India Company. The treaty was opposed by the Maratha confederacy, but their opposition proved futile. Sindhia, Bhonsle and Holkar were all defeated and made to accept humiliating conditions. A Peshwa continued to rule at Poona for the next 16 years but he was a puppet in the hands of the Company's Residents and enjoyed little independent authority. It took the Peshwa about 10 years to understand the subordinate position in which the treaty placed him and the shackles it put on him. At every turn the English urged new limitations on his authority. He was told that his disputes with the Nizam, Gaikwad and other neighbours he could adjust only through the Company's mediation; that his authority over his feudatories had ended by the treaty; that he could not confiscate the Saranjams of his jagirdars. The Peshwa urged his friendship for the Company to have a free hand in his concerns, protested against the harsh and adverse interpretation of the treaty, pleaded ancient practice, but his

protests and pleadings had no effect on the Company's Residents. They enmeshed him in their coils and ended his rule altogether in 1818. The post-Bassein Maratha history is thus the politics of a tributary state and bereft of interest of the earlier years. For our purpose the period from 1761 to 1802 is the most important which I propose to deal with at length.

The battle of Panipat is the great dividing line of Maratha History. It marks the beginning of a new era for the Marathas. It opens a new chapter of their history, brings on new personalities on the scene and new problems to be tackled. Till 1760 the Marathas looked invincible, their fortunes were ever in the ascendant, they marched from victory to victory. Like Caesar they went, they saw and they conquered. Palkhed, Amzera, Jaitpur, Bhopal, Bassein, Damalcheri and Rohilkhand were some of the scenes of their glorious victories. From Lahore and even beyond, their influence spread far south to Arcot and Trichinopoly. Panipat not only halted their forward march but shattered their dreams of ever dominating the Indian continent. On that fateful field perished fifty thousand seasoned Maratha troops; the entire military stores and camp-equipage were lost and a very large number of non-combatants were slaughtered. Not more than five thousand horse—the most effective arm of the Maratha army—escaped carnage that day. The toll of officer' class—the Sardars and Silladars—was particularly heavy. It is said that there was not a house in Maharastra that did not mourn the loss of a relative. Without exaggeration one may say that the northern or Hindustan army of the Maratha Empire was annihilated and ceased to exist as a fighting force for some time.

The consequences of the disaster did not long remain concealed from friends or foes alike. To build up the mighty expedition that Bhau led against the Abdali, the Deccan had been denuded of all its best troops. What remained were second line troops—one force of which kept watch on the Tungabhadra against Haidar Ali, while another under Raghoba took post on the Nizam's frontier and followed his movements. The country militia and a few infantry kept internal tranquility and guarded forts and outstations in the distant corners of the empire. Maratha prestige had received a blow when Abdali in the previous year drove out their garrisons from the Punjab and defeated Sindhia near Delhi. When Bhau's army was destroyed, the situation deteriorated further; Maratha dominion in the north was no longer tenable. The northern potentates refused to respect their commands. The Jats, the Rajputs, the Bundelas, the Rohillas revolted against Maratha rule, and seized their outposts. Najib-ud-daula marched on Delhi, and took over the administration in his hands; the Rajputs talked of driving the Marathas south of the Narmada. Maratha dominions in the north—the provinces of Delhi, Agra, Doab, Bundelkhand, Malwa-

became aflame with revolts of petty rulers, risings of local militias and disturbances of hill tribes and the next few years witnessed the shrinkage of Marâtha frontiers and withdrawing of their rule south of the Chambal.

The Peshwa Balaji Rao was aware of these coming consequences. Reports of revolts in Bundelkhand and Malwa had already reached him. He likewise knew that his southern neighbours were watching the titanic struggle with no friendly eye. When therefore the news of the disaster at Panipat reached him, the blow dazed him and broke his heart. From Malwa he returned to his capital to die mourning for his son and cousin.

The death of Balaji Rao introduced further complications and increased the gravity of the situation. His confidant and counsellor, the Bhau, was no more. His son Madhav Rao was a mere boy in his teens. His younger brother Raghoba was the sole elderly survivor in the family. Void of all qualities of leadership except boundless ambition, this man of a weak and vacillating mind, posed now as the saviour of the Maratha cause and tried to seize all authority in his hands. This brought him in conflict with the party loyal to young Madhav Rao, the legitimate successor. Domestic discord and the aggression of his southern neighbours thus left the Peshwa powerless to attend to other matters.

At Panipat the Peshwa had staked his all and as a result suffered very heavy losses in defeat. His treasury at Poona was altogether empty and to meet his day-to-day requirements his successor was forced to sell away gold and silver ware of domestic use. Madhav Rao's entire career was spent in resisting the encroachments of Haider Ali and the Nizam and quelling the revolt of his uncle. The Peshwa had little time to attend to affairs of Hindustan ; his authority over his great feudatories Sindhia, Holkar, Gaikwad, suffered a steady decline in consequence. These chieftains assumed a new tone of independence in their dealings and followed policies which often were in marked divergence to those of the Poona Durbar. Had the young Peshwa lived longer by a few years he might have succeeded in subduing his chiefs to their former subordination ; but his premature death removed the possibility of restraining the fissiparous tendency.

This fissure in Maratha politics became all the more glaring in the period from 1772 to 1802. After 1772 the most important event was the murder of Peshwa Narayan Rao who had succeeded his brother only eight months ago, and the first Anglo-Maratha war arising out of it. It is not necessary for our purpose to trace the origin of this conflict nor follow its course. We are concerned with its results. The war ended in 1782 December ; the parties surrendered each others' conquests except

Salsette retained by the Company. Raghoba was delivered to the Poona Ministers. The Marathas had the satisfaction of having gained their point. But this is indeed a superficial view of the event. What we cannot put aside is that the English had fought successfully against the leading country powers single-handed and grimly held their own in the contest. This naturally raised British prestige in the Indian continent. From the war the English emerged with increased strength and enhanced reputation. Warren Hastings spoke to his Council "of the great and evident change that had within these few years taken place with regard to the Company's Government in the opinion and disposition of the principal powers of Hindustan." He emphasised that "the Company had gained proper weight in the political system and the neighbouring states who formerly shrank from British advances, were eager to participate in their views and to connect their interests with those of the Company."

For the Marathas the permanent results were anything but favourable. The eight years' warfare drained the Peshwa's treasury as never before. The huge debts threatened the Poona Court with bankruptcy. The minority of the Peshwa and the difficulties that surrounded him on all sides encouraged the feudatories to affect greater freedom. They began to manage their fiefs as independent states. Sindhia, Holkar, Bhonsle, Gaikwad though parts of an organic structure, in practice became altogether separate entities and each began to drift as he thought best. The disaster of Panipat had administered the first serious blow to the Peshwa's unifying authority. Raghoba's rivalry for the Peshwaship, his revolt, the murder of Narayan Rao, the first Anglo-Maratha war, hastened the process of dissolution. All the worst evils of the feudalistic system now became apparent. After 1782 the Peshwa's precedence over his feudatories ceased. The Peshwa's authority over the affairs of the whole Maratha state became nominal. It was limited to the provinces directly held by him. The feudatories no longer his subordinates, carried out his mandates or defied them as it suited their interests. Sindhia, Holkar, Gaikwad, Bhonsle became separate powers like the five kingdoms that sprang from the Bahamani Empire.

Another important event during this period that calls our attention is the rise of Mahadji Sindhia and the ascendancy established by him at the Mughal court. At the king's invitation Sindhia accepted the administration of the Delhi court thus fulfilling the quest the Marathas had followed over half a century. His army disciplined under European soldiers crushed the refractory Mughal element, Muhammad Beg Hamdani, Ismail Beg, Ghulam Qadir. The Rajput chiefs had long withheld tribute from the king. Sindhia invaded their territory on the plea of reducing them to submission. In a series of battles marked by sanguinary fighting, at Lalsot, Patan, Merta, Rajput resistance was

broken. From Patiala to Mysore Maratha ascendancy became an accepted fact. Sindhia's achievements were proclaimed by his contemporaries as great national victories and fulfilment of Maratha power. Later historians have acquiesced in the view. But a closer attention to this Delhi adventure of Sindhia, compels us to revise our ideas about the whole episode. Let us put some significant queries : Were Sindhia's conquests aimed at giving his power greater preponderance or at giving greater stability to Maratha power? Did the change, brought about by Sindhia's battalions in the Maratha method of warfare, prove beneficial or otherwise ?

It was one of the primary objectives of Maratha policy to obtain for themselves the ministership of the Mughal Emperor and thus secure effective control of affairs at Delhi. Some look on this diplomatic move of Sindhia as triumph of Maratha astuteness, while others think of it as chains which the Marathas riveted round themselves for a glittering bauble. In 1718 Shahu declaring himself a servant of the Mughal Crown, obtained Swaraj, Chauth and Sardeshmukhi of the provinces of the Deccan. In 1736 Baji Rao I obtained the Subhedari of Malwa on the same condition. In 1752 the Marathas practically, on the same lines, agreed to defend the Mughal Empire against aggression. In 1771 Marathas once more turned their face to Delhi, invited the King back to his capital from Allahabad where he had remained under English protection. Before they could settle down they had to abandon the venture and return to Poona. Mahadji Sindhia ultimately succeeded in taking the reins of imperial administration in his hands thus fulfilling the primary objective of Maratha policy.

There was besides utter anarchy and confusion in Delhi and the poor King had to seek a strong ally to keep him on the throne. If Sindhia had declined the offer, the English were sure to step in. Resident Brown was already scheming in Delhi and instigating the Mughal faction to invite the Company. It was plain to all that the contest for the suzerainty of India now lay between the Marathas and the English. Seizing control of Delhi affairs was the only effective way for halting the forward march of the English. He who holds Hindustan, meaning northern India, holds the key to the suzerainty of India, is a self-evident truth. Mahadji deserves all the praise bestowed on him by historians for having realised this truth and followed it up boldly.

But the Delhi adventure of Sindhia raises a number of issues with far reaching effects on the main trends of Maratha politics. It directly affected the cordial relations that had existed between Nana Phadnis and Mahadji, the two main props of the Maratha State. Nana Phadnis could not well realise the importance of occupying Delhi to stop British advance. He was jealous of Sindhia's increase of power and

suspected him of entertaining secret ambition to supplant him in his authority at Poona. This adverse attitude prevented Nana from extending sincere co-operation to Sindhia in his plans of northern conquest. Mahadji resented Nana's attempts at thwarting his plans by encouraging his rivals and withholding timely aid. The rivalry between the two statesmen is evident in their correspondence which however they were wise not to allow to break into open rupture. But feelings between the two parties were running high and the differences came to pervade both the Peshwa's Court at Poona and Sindhia's in Hindustan. After Mahadji's death they assumed serious proportions. His successor Daulat Rao Sindhia ejected Nana and his party from the Poona Court and wrecked terrible vengeance on his rivals. D. R. Sindhia lacked the wisdom, moderation and foresight of the illustrious Mahadji, and the Maratha country suffered the worst form of anarchy and rapacity resulting from a feudal regime when the ruling authority is in feeble hands. Daulat Rao Sindhia and Baji Rao Raghunath took devilish delight in persecuting Nana's followers. Their wealth was seized, some were thrown into jail, some blown from guns while those who could, fled to the protection of the English who took full advantage of the discord in the Poona Government.

There is another aspect of the Delhi episode that deserves our attention. Mahadji Sindhia in the name of the King called on the Rajput Rajas to pay arrears of tribute outstanding for a quarter of a century. Such a demand had little relation to facts. The King's authority had long ceased to function. The country of the Rajputs is practically a semi-desert stretching over hundreds of miles. How could the Rajas meet demands for tribute amounting to crores of rupees when their land produced so little? The Rajas of Jaipur, Jodhpur, Bikaner, Marwar all leagued against Sindhia to meet his overwhelming demands. The Rajput campaign lasted over five years. Both parties fought with grim determination. Though ultimately De Boigne's trained battalions broke Rajput resistance, it left a rancorous feeling in Rajput hearts which a century and half has not yet succeeded in effacing. The Rajputs who had been one of the sustaining powers of the Mughal empire became the worst enemies of the Marathas. There are proverbs prevalent in North India which testify to the great hatred the Rajputs cultivated from this time for their co-religionists from the south—the Marathas. For illustration I will quote one "हिंदुस्थानमें तीन कसाई। पिसु खटमल और दखनीभाई," meaning that in India there are three blood-suckers, the louce, the bed bug and the Maratha.

It is said that the main objective of the Marathas in the eighteenth century was the establishment of Hindu sovereignty of India. If that was really so, Sindhia's treatment of the Rajputs is a sad commentary on his sagacity. The Marathas when once they crossed

the Narmada northwards always behaved as if they were in foreign, unfriendly territories, which were to be subjected to their demands of Chauth and Sardeshmukhi. Rajwade, the Maratha historian, has remarked that the Peshwas did not seem to have established institutions to win over to their cause of महाराष्ट्रधर्म the peoples of Karnatak, Dravidisthan, Gujarat, Rajputana, Bundelkhand. They ruled these lands by their sword and diplomacy. The people of these provinces could not bring themselves to look on the Marathas as in any way different from the Muslim conquerors. The result was that between the Maratha rulers and their non-Maratha subjects, feeling of loyalty or gratitude was wanting and the popular support to Maratha rule was altogether absent. The people threw off the Peshwa's yoke at the first sign of his enemy.

Mahadji Sindhia adopted on a large scale the European method of warfare with disciplined battalions and artillery abandoning the old tactics which had made Maratha light cavalry the terror of their enemies. The subject of the effectiveness of the two methods had aroused considerable heat and we may with profit touch on it for a while. That the gun has a longer range and is far more destructive than either the sword or the spear is self-evident and the man who has to choose between the two will always show his preference for the fire-arm. A superficial view of the subject suggests that the adoption of the new method and new weapons by the Marathas was a move in the right direction. They could not have made a better choice. "Once men are taught the modern methods of fighting and given new equipment, they become invincible to old type armies. The dazzling successes of the small armies of Dupleix and Bussy against overwhelming numbers surprised native rulers and made them fall for this new mode of warfare. Trained armies under European officers became the craze of the day." The army organised on European model is no doubt very efficient, but it is a costly and delicate weapon and presupposes a high degree of knowledge of Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry and a highly developed industry. It is dangerous to depend on foreign adventurers in matters vital to the defence of the country. A backward country can fight back better with irregulars against a highly disciplined force as was evidenced by the war in Afghanistan or the Boer war. Regular troops and cannon hampered those rapid marches and manœuvres of light-armed cavalry, the dashing charges and dexterous retreats which had for a hundred years won for the Marathas their victories over the unwieldy Mughal armies and had on occasions perplexed and discomfited the English commanders. All military history has shown that for a rough backward people by far the best chance of successfully resisting a small well-trained force lies in irregular evasive warfare. The new system rendered the Marathas irresistible for their native antagonists, but proved harmful when they were matched against their serious oppo-

nents. Munro spoke of the new change as 'dressing the soldiery for slaughter.' The reliance placed by Maratha chiefs on their trained battalions led to the neglect of the cavalry arm ; the result was, once their trained battalions were beaten, there was nothing left except capitulation.

There is neither room nor need here to discuss the allies' war with Tipu Sultan or Baji Rao's accession to the Peshwaship. The initiative of the tripartite campaign from first to last remained with the English. The role of the Poona Court, if not of the camp-follower, was no better than that of a subordinate ally. It cannot escape the charge of want of prudence in helping its rival to crush its enemy. Baji Rao's accession to the Musnad laid bare all the weaknesses in Maratha character and the drawbacks in their constitution.

Powerful feudatories commenced war on each other and on the Peshwa. Their armies plundered and pillaged at will. The country witnessed all the horrors of civil war. The anarchy, misrule, disorder in the Deccan invited the British to invade Maratha country. Wellesley was, since 1800, massing troops at Harihar, Parenda, Baroda, Cawnpore. Once the Peshwa had accepted British alliance, Wellesley sent forward the armies ordering Sindhia, Holkar to quit Poona and move beyond the Narmada. This was a direct challenge to Sindhia's supremacy in the Deccan. Sindhia, Bhonsle, Holkar tried to patch up their differences and put up a united front, but British diplomacy proved too clever for them and never lost the initiative. The armies of Sindhia and Bhonsle were soundly beaten at Assye, Argoan, Laswari, Agra. Holkar joined the fray later after the defeat of Sindhia and Bhonsle. He was a skilful soldier and showed greater understanding of the old manœuvres. He called on his compatriots and other Indian powers to join him in the holy war against the foreigners. Though there was general sympathy for his cause there was little active response. Holkar protracted the struggle for a while but the result was never in doubt. The magnificent edifice raised by Shivaji and Baji Rao I collapsed with a crash. The Co.'s Directors in England, doubtful of the result of the contest with the Marathas, had cautioned their servants against involving the Company in war with them. But the Governor General and soldiers of the Company on the spot, their servants in India, knew the situation better and forced the issues in defiance of the orders from home.

The end of Maratha power thus came not suddenly ; the situation was deteriorating over decades but nobody seemed able to stop it. As remarked by Rajwade neither sword nor the old-type Maratha diplomacy could avert it. The situation demanded an appeal to higher values of life, called for moral regeneration of society, for its organisation on a new basis. The Saints of Maharashtra had in earlier centuries

prepared the ground, preached a simpler religion based on Bhakti, had taught men that before Him all were equal. They preached the gospel that men should seek Him in their daily life submitting themselves completely to His will in all their activities. "Their lives and teachings elevated the national conception of man's spiritual nature and shook the whole of caste intolerance. This religious movement made the nation more humane and at the same time more prone to hold together by mutual toleration. It tended to raise it to a higher level of capacity, both in thought and action and prepared it to take the lead in wresting its freedom from foreign rulers."

The teachings of the Saints challenged priestly domination and showed little respect for the old ritual; they brought a message of new hope to society and knit the people closer. All castes and communities under Shivaji's leadership united in the great national adventure. With the rise of the Peshwas, orthodoxy asserted itself once more. The simple democratic faith preached by the Saints which had made the country vigorous faded into the background. All the rituals were revived with caste distinctions and caste privileges; the priestly class came to dominate not only the religious and social life of the people but obtained control of the administration as well. A very large share of the national income came to be squandered on the maintenance of temples and monasteries. "All the distinguishing features of purely sacerdotal or caste ascendency characterized the close of the century and introduced a demoralization of which a few people have any correct idea." All this points to the demoralization that had set in in the Maratha society at the end of 18th century. The ruling class had become altogether decadent, ignorant, corrupt, pleasure-seeking and Baji Rao and Daulat Rao Sindhia were no exceptions but typical representatives of this society. The writings of Gopal Hari Deshmukh, known as Lokahitawadi, convey a faithful picture of the demoralized community of the day. Maratha society steeped in mediaeval darkness, could never hope to compete with its viogorous rival who had taken to modern science and modern ways of life.

If Maratha history has a lesson to teach it is that a country to have its place in the comity of nations can never afford to turn its back on light and progress, on the higher moral laws. Life in Maharashtra in the 17th century was young, vigorous, full of faith and idealism. At the end of the next century a darkness descended on the land. Our leaders and thinkers have to be careful that the new Secular State we have proclaimed, allows freedom of thought and expression and offers equal opportunities and equal justice to all, irrespective of class and community; for preserving cultural traditions means neither revivalism nor repression of new ways of life. That way lies ruin.

— 27 —

ASSOCIATION OF SEETĀ AND PŪṢAN IN ṚGVEDA AND ITS ASTRONOMICAL SIGNIFICANCE

B. R. KULKARNI, B. A., Dhulia

It has been pointed out elsewhere[1] that the present-day Hindu life reveals several customs and rites which seem to be deeply rooted in antiquity and can be traced in the Ṛgveda.

It is to point out one more such example and read its significance from the antiquarian's stand-point that this short paper is presented.

There is a prayer[2] in RV IV. 57. 6, 7 addressed to Seetā the presiding deity of corn-fields. In the first stanza viz. 6 the word Seetā leaves no doubt about it and the second stanza too seems to be addressed to her from the context and the mention of the word Seetā. Sāyaṇācārya in his commentary takes the second verse to be addressed to something else and thinks it to be 'dyau.'[3] But from the clear and straight flow of description we are inclined to accept that it is addressed to Seetā[4] and none else as is also suggested by Sarvānukramaṇī.

Seetā as a presiding deity of the corn-field is known not only to Ṛgveda but also to Puranic literature.[5] It has grown into a mythological personality retaining its original significance.[6] However, apart from diferent charming accounts of Seetā available from sources other than the Ṛgveda there is one more unwritten yet equally important source[7] that helps one to detect the continuous flow of cultural current from the Vedic times to the present day and to measure the time span in terms of years.

In Khandesh when the sowing of wheat is finished a little feast is arranged in the field and before feasting the farmer brings some branches of the Arka plant (Calatropis Gigantea) (in Marathi, Rui), and after driving his sowing implement diagonally for say 10 paces towards

1. (i) Arctic Home in the Vedas by Tilak.
(ii) Traces of the Arctic Home in the Present-day Hindu Life by B. R. Kulkarni.

2. अर्वाची सुभगे भव सीते वन्दामहे त्वा।
यथा नः सुभगासति यथा नः सुफलासति ॥ ६
इन्द्रः सीतां नि गृह्णातु तां पूषानु यच्छतु।
सा नः पयस्वती दुहामुत्तरामुत्तरां समाम् ॥ ७ ॥

3. Commentary of Sāyaṇācārya on RV 4. 57. 8 सा नः पयस्वती is explained as सा द्यौः पयस्वती उदकवती दुह्यात्.

4. Preface of Sāyaṇācārya to Sukta 57.

5. Vide : Prāchīna Charitrakosha by Chitrāv. 6. Ibid.

7. Ahirani Language and Culture (in Marathi) by B. R. Kulkarni, page 41.

the centre of the field, plants the branch there and worships it as usual. This is called Seetā. It is a general practice in Khandesh and Hindu farmers never fail to do it.

This practice about the deity Seetā gives us a good clue to translate Seeta from Ṛgveda as the deity and nothing else as Sāyaṇācārya has done.

In the light of this practice when we look at the meaning of the second verse mentioned above we are now inclined to see that Indra and Pūṣan, two more powerful gods, are prayed to lend their helping hand in making the annual Goddess Seetā more fruitful. Indra should hold her and Pūṣan should give her to the worshippers and she should be more and more fruitful every year.

This is what it will mean. In this interpretation the association of Seetā with Pūṣan becomes very significant. Vedic idea about the god Pūṣan is quite in consonance with the growth of corn and product of fields.[8] Besides this god is represented by a star-group called Revatī.[9] Pūṣan is requested to give Seetā to the world and this can be the outcome of the simultaneous rise of the particular star-group and the commencement of the sowing season. Otherwise apart from and above Indra who governed rains, there can be no necessity for asking Pūṣan to give Seetā.

So to reduce the whole problem in a sentence it seems that as suggested by this Vedic evidence, the rise of Pūṣan — the Revati Nakshatra was once coeval with and a signal for sowing wheat.

This statement can be worked out to disclose the time that elapsed after this natural phenomenon.

RISE OF REVATĪ

In order to ascertain the antiquity, the rise of Revatī ought to be taken achronycal, that is, rising at sun-set.[10] And it must be linked with a season. Wheat grows even in summer but only in northern latitudes like England having peculiar islandic position. From the Vedic tradition it is safer to suppose it to be the autumnal rains which produced wheat because in the Vedas Sharada occupies a very popular place and in Avesta too Sharada means rains.

So after this sifting we get that the achronycal rise of Revatī and the autumnal equinox were occurring at one time.

The backward distance of the point of autumnal equinox from the Revatī star-group at present is roughly 20 degrees. This much precession of the equinoxial point can take place in nearly 1400 years.

But to ascertain the Vedic antiquity one must add at least one round of it i.e. 24000 years.

8. Vide : Note No. 5. above.

9. रेवती नक्षत्रं पूषा देवता । तै. सं . 4-4-10 ; all other versions of Yajurveda also mention it.

10. Vide : Lagna System of the Vedanga Jyotisha or An Obsolete Indo-Iranian Time-measure by B. R. Kulkarni.

—28—

MOHAMEDAN EMPERORS AND THE JAIN SAINTS

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Though India has recently suffered a great loss in the form of its partition, owing to the religious jealousies of its two largest communities, yet there was a time when even the Mohammedan Emperors were ready to pay respects to pious and learned persons irrespective of their caste and creed.

We give below the translation of one Farman and one Sanad which were given to some Jain Gurus (saints) and are at present in the possession of Bhattārak Rājavaidya Guran Pt. Udayachandraji of Chanod (in Marwar), a well known physician of Jodhpur and the head of the line of those saints.

FARMAN

This was issued by Emperor Mohammadshah in his 22nd regnal year (1152 A. H.) and is dated 8th March 1740. A. D. It states :—

Shri Babaji Sri Gnan Sagar Svamiji and......Swami were granted the privilege of taking on every crop one rupee and a cocoanut from every house belonging to any Hindu or Muslim in the Suba of Ajmer and particularly from every Bania and Jati of the aforesaid Suba. This privilege was extended to generation after generation , and it is also regranted by Mohammad Shah Badshah Ghazi on the 20th Zilhij in the 22nd regnal year (The seal bears 1133 A. H.).

SANAD

This was issued under the seal of Maharaja Bijayasinghji of Jodhpur, who ruled from 1752 to 1793 A. D. The date of this Sanad is missing. This states:—

According to the orders contained in all the Imperial Farmans of Emperor Aurangzeb, Mohammad Farrukhsiyar, Mohammad Shah and Ahmad Shah, etc. all the honours and treatments have been accorded to Jagat Guru Acharaj Sri Jinchandra Deva Suriji, Sri Jinsukh Suriji, Sri Jinraj Suriji, Sri Ratna Suriji, Sri Kamalsagar Suriji and Shri Jinsenji Dev, who at the time of giving audience, were honoured with "Dandot," Salutations, Takhta-i-khas, Takhta-i-Ravan, Chhatar, Sayagir, Khasa, Palki, Morchhal, Chanvar, gold and silver Chharis and Singhasan-(golden Chair). Their honours and privileges should be kept continued. All castes of Hindus and Mohammedans etc. should give them welcome by 'Pagmanda' (spreading of carpets on their way) on their arrival in the city and

show their respect by doing 'Dandot' and Salutations. People should not disobey these orders and should continue to pay one rupee and one cocoanut as an annual present from each house on every crop and every year. This custom of India should be kept in force without fail. Particularly all castes of Hindus and Mohammedans, etc. should pay respect to Sri Jagat-Guru and regard him as their teacher and if any of the above castes commit any fault, the respected Guru is at liberty to punish him according to his religious laws or he may even pardon him. All the Rajas of ancient times viz, Raja Vikramaditya and Salivahan etc. all Chakravarti Rajas, Maharajas, like Sri Jayachand, who had under his command great armies and Maharaja......Chauhan[1] and all the Rajas, big and small, who used to have due regards for the Gurus of their own accord paid greater respect to their Gurus. Maharaja Ajit Singhji and Sri Maharaja Abhayasinghji and Sri Bada Maharajaji[2] had also accorded the same honour and respect as mentioned in the Badshahi Farmans to both Jagat-Guru Sri Binayasagarji and Jagat-Guru Sri Hemrajji Dev. And Parvanas and Khas-Ruqqas be issued to this effect stipulating that they should be implicitly obeyed. The Junior Chela should obey the order of the Senior Chela.

This Sanad shows that even Emperors Aurangzeb, Farrukhsiyar, Mohammadshah and Ahmad Shah also granted the same privileges to the saints of this branch.

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1. Peshaps Prithviraj, the famous Chauhan ruler.
2. Maharaja Bakhatsinghji of Marwar.

— 29 —

THE INDIGENOUS TENURES AND THE UNIFICATION OF MAHARASHTRA DURING MEDIEVAL PERIOD

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The indigenous tenures which shaped the growth of Maharashtra as a nation during the medieval period were as follows:—

(i) The Watan tenure
(ii) The Thalakari or Mirasi tenure
(iii) The Upari tenure

(*i*) *The Watan Tenure* :— The word 'watan' seems to be of Arabic origin, meaning ' country, native country, place of residence, home.'[1]

As gathered from the watan-papers themselves the word signifies the benefits accruing to a person from an indigenous hereditary office, or office itself, such as those of Deshamukh, Deshapande, Mokadam, Kulkarni and Joshi.[2] Thus from the highest officers of a district or Paraganā—Deshamukh and Deshapande, down to the Balutas (village artisans) of the village establishment, all are Watandārs and enjoyed the rights and perquisites of their Watans according to the practice of the locality.[3] Some times the word is used in connection with the Mirāsi tenure of a Mirāsdār (free holder) as a ' Watan Mirās ', but when so used, it seems to be only confirmatory of the meaning of the word Mirās.[4]

The Watan tenure is chiefly an office tenure. Watandārs such as Deshamukh, Deshapande, Mokadam, Kulkarni, Shete-Mahājan, held lands known as the ' Watani Inām ' (emoluments for the services to be performed), while the Balutas in most of the cases received their payment only in kind. Thus land was not the invariable concommitant of the Watan tenure. The real cause for attraction towards Watan was, however, the *position* that a Watandār enjoyed in the community, by

1. *Wilson's Glossary*, p. 557.
2. SCS 5. 857, 921 and 922. MIS 17.12. Shri S. P. No. 423. SCS 4.692. BIMA (1834) p. 56. *Bavada Daftar* I. 9.
3. MIS 18.8 and EIP (1826) IV, p. 655.
4. ASS 3.306, ELP (1826) IV, p. 587.

receiving his *rights* and *perquisites* from the common people (Huq Rayat Nisbat, हक रयत निसबत) due to the Watan and not merely the land.[5]

It appears that the Watandārs or officers and servants of the paraganā, Tarf, Kasba or Peth (market place) and village communities (Gota), were jointly known as the Deshak, under the Hindu Rājās. But the original native term for the Watan tenure seems to have become completely obsolete under the Sultans of the Deccan.[6]

(ii) *The Thalakari or Mirāsi Tenure—The Thalakari Tenure*—The word Thalakari is derived from the Sanskrit 'Sthala,' meaning the place or a specified piece of land. From the old Thalazādās[7] it seems that the original settler of a village who brought the land under cultivation became the natural proprietor of the land as Manu says, "The land belongs to the clearer of the wood" [8] and was popularly known as 'Thalakari.' The Thalazādās help us to infer that the principle of hereditary rights on land was in vogue even during the Hindu period and the tenure might have been known as the 'Thalakari tenure.' [9]

The Mirasi Tenure—

The word Miras is derived from Arabic. 'The term is used especially in the south of India to signify lands held by absolute hereditary proprietorship.'[10]

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5. For rights and perquisites of different Watans and the customary dues cf. MIS 20.175 ; ASS 1.141., ASS 3.307, 124, 127 ; SL 2.69, 74 etc.

6. *The Deshak* (देशक)—The term 'Deshak' signifies the chief Watandars or executive officers of the native local institution of administration the 'GOTA,' whether of a Paragana, Tarf, Kasba or Peth and village, such as Deshamukh, Deshapande, Mokadam, Kulkarni, Shete, Mahajan and sometimes includes in it even the other petty Watandars or servants of the communities such as the Balutas of a village or khooms of a Peth, cf. DCV. The Paragana Deshak: Nos. 2, 6, 13, 33, 35, 66, 73, 88, 126-28. The Tarf Deshak: Nos. 37, 79, 89, 21, 71, 90. The Kasba Deshak: Nos. 44, 113, 116, 135. The Deshak of a fort: Nos. 20, 43, 58, 62, 63. The Shete Mahajan mentioned under the Deshak: *ibid* Nos. 37, 71, 116, etc. The Mokadam, Kulkarni and the Balutas included in the Deshak : Nos. 37, 43, 44, 58, etc. Thus the Deshak is a constituent part of the local institution of the GOTA and not an independent institution as some previous writers on the subject have observed.

7. *Thalazādā*—A list recording the names of tenants with their portion of land, cf. SCS 7.67. The 'Jamav' section of the Peshwa Daftar, Poona, includes thousands of such 'zādās.'

8. Manu IX, stanza 44 ; Kane, *History of Dharmashāstra* Vol. II, p. 867.

9. EIP, op. cit. pp. 531-41, Robertson's observations on Gatakulī lands.

10. *Wilson's Glossary*, p. 432.

The Mirasi documents brought to light, signify the meaning of the term as positive, permanent and hereditary rights of possession on land.[11] It is also applied to the fees and perquisites receivable by the officers and servants (Watandārs and Balutas or Khooms) of the communities and to hereditary succession to these Watans.[12]

It is probable that the ancient Thalakari tenure was recognised as the 'Mirasi' tenure under the Sultāns of the Deccan.

The Watan tenure as already seen above is an office tenure, while the 'Mirasi' is a land tenure.

(*iii*) *The Upari Tenure*—The Upari or tenant-at-will held land on a renewable lease known as Kaulanāmā, for a short period. The Mirāsi is a free tenure, while Upari is a servile tenure. The Mirāsdār as a free man enjoyed an honourable position in the village community, while the Upari had to depend upon the will of the government officer or a Mirāsdār, who granted him permission to cultivate a portion of land.[13] It seems from the various 'Thalazādās' in the Peshwa Daftar, Poona, that the Uparis were transformed into Mirāsdārs within a short period, of fifteen or twenty years.

Thus the hereditary rights and perquisites in offices and services (Watans) and in land (Mirās) were the main features of the social landscape in Maharashtra during mediaeval period. Geographically such a land system was quite essential for the development of agriculture. The system was organised on family plan and the Watandārs and the Mirāsdārs looked upon themselves as, '*gharabhāū*' (घरभाऊ) or 'brothers by blood relation' and '*birādarbhāū*' (बिरादरभाऊ) or 'brothers

11. SCS 2.94. ASS 3.306. EIP, op. cit, pp. 534ff – translation of the original Mirās-patras given by Robertson.

12. MIS 17.12. Shri S. P. No. 423. SCS 4. 692. SCS 5.921, 922. *Bawadā Daftar* I, No. 9. BIMA (1834), p. 56. DCV, Nos. 86, 87, 92, 79, 105. EIP (1820) Vol. I, pp. 810 – 36, Ellis on Mirāsi rights.

13. EIP (1826) IV, p. 426 (para 127).

The following passage should be noted from the point of view of the development of the Upari tenure :

"An opinion prevails in the country, that under the Old Hindu government all the land was held by Mirās; and the Uparis were introduced as the old proprietors sank, under the tyranny of the Mahommedans. This opinion is supported by the fact that the greater part of fields now cultivated by Upari are recorded in the village books as belonging to absent proprietors, and affords when combined with circumstances observed in other parts of the Peninsula and with the light land tax authorised by Manu, a strong presumption that the revenue system under the Hindus, if they had a uniform system, was founded on private property in soil."—Forrest *Elphinstone*, pp. 279ff.

by or in co-partnership.'[14] And a deliberative body of persons holding these tenures was looked upon as a family unit called the 'Gota' or 'family.'[15] The same local group was styled as the 'Daiva' (दैव) in Karnatak and the 'Samasta' (समस्त) or 'Samasta Mandalik' (समस्त मंडळीक) in Goa territory.[16] This indigenous group, whether of a villlage, Tarf, Kasba or Paragana was autonomous and self-sufficient and had jurisdiction over local problems, social, religious, economic, administrative and judicial.[17] The Gota can even make grants of Watans and lands which were later on confirmed by the government.[18] Similarly grants made by the government were always to be approved of by the Gota.[19]

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14. SCS 3.611. EIP (1826) IV, p. 531. DCV, No. 87.

15. *The Gota* (गोत):—The term Gota seems to be derived from the Sanskrit 'Gotra' meaning 'family' or kinsmen.

From the analysis of Mahazars (cf. to DCV.) it implies a kind of deliberative body composed of Watandārs, Mirāsdārs and Rayat if any, belonging to different castes. As seen above it was organised on family plan. But the indigenous system of tenures seems to be the real tie, which bound together the members of different castes into an independent social and political community. Thus it seems that the Maratha society in the 16th and 17th centuries, had developed into a distinct political body which was styled as the Gota. The following passages may be noted :—

(i) A passage from a letter of Kanohji Raje Prabhavalikar to the Deshapande of Paragana Indāpur :—

"...तुम्ही आम्ही भाऊ आहो वृत्तिवंताची नीति आहे की मार खावे बंदी पडावे परंतु येकाचे वृत्तीवरी येक उठो नये येसी भाऊपणाची नीति तुम्हास व आम्हास उभयपक्षी आहे. पांढरीवरी शतं भीष्म होऊन गेले असतील सात पांच वर्षे वतनावरी नाही तो आजी उभा राहिला म्हणिजे पांचसे वर्षाचे वृत्तिवंत असतील ते येकावरी येक उभे राहातील......"

—SCS 3.611.

(ii) A passage from a decision (Mahazar) of a dispute between Māhigude and Rikame and Yevale about the Mokādam Watan of a village Pasarni from Paragana Wai, dated 1667 A.D.—

"...दिवाणे कीर्दीवरी नजर देऊन खोबीन खोबी आदबखाना राखोन महजर करून जोरावरीनें दिल्हा तरी गोतानी रुजू मानिला नाही. जोरावरीचा महजर. या कारिता येवले व रिकामे गोताचे मुखे व साठी प्रजाचे साक्षीने खोटे असेत. मागती दिवाणचे आंग निघोन हरामजादगी करून गावातून बाहेर जाऊन कीर्दी पाडून खावंदाचा आपणा हुजूर अपमान करून दिवाण बळे महजर करून घेतला. आपले आत्मखुषीने व गोतमुखे महजर जाला नाही......"

—SCS 8.70 (The Diwan was the royal institution of local administration).

16. DCV Nos. 147–49, 160–161.

17. "*A Critical Analysis of Mahazars* (A. D. 1400—1800)" by the present writer published in the DCV.

18. DCV Nos.—19, 86, 87, 92, 105; 141, 142 and 144. SCS 8.70.

19. DCV Nos.—91, 113, 122, 130, 134 and 135.

Thus the native system of tenures served as a basis for the local institutions of administration and justice and the law of Watan or Mirās became the law of the land or the 'common law of the people' under the Sultans of the Deccan. It led to the unification of the masses in Maharashtra and by the end of the 17th Century the Maratha society developed into a distinct political community having jurisdiction over local administration and justice.

References :

ASS = Aitihāsika Saṅkīrṇa Sāhitya.
BIMA = Bharata Itihās Saṁshodhaka Maṇḍala Ahawal.
DCV = Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit Commemoration Volume, published by the D. C. P. R. Institute, Poona, 1949 and the numerals refer to the serial order of the Mahzars, in the article, 'A Critical Analysis of Mahazars.'
EIP = Selection of papers from the Records at the East India House.
MIS = Marāthyāṁchyā Itihāsāchiṁ Sādhaneṁ.
SCS = Siva Charitra Sāhitya.
Shri S. P. = Shrī Sāṃpradāyāchiṁ Kāgada-patreṁ.
SL = Sanads and Letters.

— 30 —

RITUAL NOTES—A STUDY OF BHĀRADVĀJA ŚRAUTA SŪTRA PRAŚNA VII

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The Vedic literature forms the earliest source of the knowledge of ancient Indian religion and culture. It deals in a comprehensive manner with the sacrifice which was the chief religious institution of the Vedic Aryans. The sacrifice was the symbol of both the individual and social activities of the Vedic people ; it aimed at both the physical and metaphysical good of human being. Hence the study of the Vedic ritual is essential for the proper understanding of the ancient Indian civilization and culture. The main source of these studies is evidently the Vedic literature itself edited along scientific lines. It is, therefore, necessary to publish the Vedic texts in as correct a form as possible.

The Bhāradvāja Śrauta Sūtra is one of the six śrauta sūtras that belong to the Taittirīya Saṁhitā of the Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda. It was published in 1934-35 by Dr. Raghu Vira in his Journal of Vedic Studies (Vol. I and II) on the basis of Devanagari and Grantha MSS. The text in the MSS is unfortunately incomplete. Out of the text available in the MSS., a major portion (Praśnas I–XII, the last incomplete) has been printed. The printed text contains, besides other subjects, a fraction of the sūtra for Agniṣṭoma, while the MSS give a complete text of the same. The text is being used for preparing the first volume of the Śrautakośa which is being compiled by the Vaidika Saṁshodhana Maṇḍala, Poona. It is found that the text requires modifications at certain places where the printed text is defective due either to the deficiency of the MSS or to wrong cutting of the sūtras. The most important source for verifying the text is the Āpastamba śrauta sūtra which is more akin to the Bhāradvāja sūtra. Of all the śrauta sūtras belonging to the Taittirīya school, the Baudhāyana sūtra is the oldest. The Āpastamba sūtra is later than that and the Bhāradvāja sūtra lies between these two. Being thus anterior to the Āpastamba sūtra, it is an important sūtra work for the study of Vedic ritual. I have elsewhere[1] attempted to suggest

1. *Notes on the Bhāradvāja Śrauta Sūtra*, Prof. P. K. Gode Commemoration Volume of the New Indian Antiquary (to be published).

corrections in the text of Praśnas VI and VIII of this sūtra, which deal with Agnihotrahoma and Cāturmāsya. In this paper I propose to suggest modifications in the text of Praśna VII which deals with the Nirūḍha Paśubandha sacrifice. For the purpose of understanding the Vedic ritual in a correct manner, it is necessary to revise the text not only of the Bhāradvāja sūtra alone, but of all śrauta sūtras.

1. Bhār. 7.3.8. ध्रुवासि इति सहृत्याग्निरवोक्षति देवेभ्यः शुन्धस्व इति। For सँहृत्य one has to read संहृत्य. The sūtra advises the Adhvaryu to harden the surface of the Uttaravedi with the mantra ध्रुवासि and to sprinkle it with water with the mantra देवेभ्यः शुन्धस्व. The word सँहृत्य does not give the requisite meaning. TS and Āp. Śr support the modification (TS 6.2.7: ध्रुवासीति सं हन्ति धृत्यै. Āp. Śr 7.4.5 : ध्रुवासीति शम्यया संहृत्य ...Rudradatta, the commentator of Āp. Śr explains संहृत्य लोष्टानि विमृद्य). The word संहृत्य is probably a misprint because a MS of the work in the Wai Prājña Pāṭhaśāla library gives the reading संहृत्य.

2. Bhār. 7. 6. 1. अत्र बर्हिरादि कर्म प्रतिपद्यते यदि पूर्वेद्युरग्निं प्रणयेत्। अथ यदि प्रोक्षान्ता परिवसेत् तदानीमेव बर्हिरादि कर्म प्रतिपद्यते॥ The correct reading would be प्रोक्षान्तां in place of प्रोक्षान्ता. In fact the correct reading was found by the editor in a MS, but was simply shown in the foot-note. The sūtra advises as follows: The ritual of the Nirūḍha paśu sacrifice generally goes on for two days, the preliminaries being performed on the former day. If the fire from the Gārhapatya is carried forward on the Uttaravedi on the former day the sacrificial grass is to be procured on the same day immediately after offering the oblations called *Atimukti*. In case the ritual on the former day closed with sprinkling the Uttaravedi with water (*Prokṣaṇa*), the sacrificial grass is to be procured the other day after the carrying of the fire. Hence प्रोक्षान्तां is the right reading, not प्रोक्षान्ता. In fact the reading प्रोक्षान्तां is preferred to प्रोक्षान्ता in another place. Bhār. 7. 4. 5. reads : पूर्वेद्युरग्निं प्रणयेदित्येकं प्रोक्षान्तां परिवसेदित्यपरम्। Here the reading प्रोक्षान्ता is rightly relegated to the foot-note. Āp. Śr. 7. 6. 3 also reads प्रोक्षान्तां कृत्वा etc. which Rudradatta renders by saying दक्षिणतो निःसारणान्तामुत्तरवेदिं कृत्वा.

3. Bhār. 7. 5. 3-4. एतेनैवोत्तरत उपयमनीर्निर्वपति[2] यत्राभिजानाति सीद होतः स्व उ लोके इति॥ ३॥ तस्संभारेष्वग्निं प्रतिष्ठापयति यज्ञ प्रतितिष्ठ...इति॥ ४॥ Here the sūtras are cut at a wrong place. They ought to read like this:— एतेनैवोत्तरत उपयमनीर्निवपति॥ ३॥ यत्राभिजानाति सीद होतः स्व उ लोके इति तस्संभारेष्वग्निं प्रतिष्ठापयति यज्ञ प्रतितिष्ठ...इति॥ ४॥ Their meaning is as follows:—The Adhvaryu pours down the earth meant for support while carrying the fire towards the Āhavanīya fire-place, on the northern side with the same mantra (namely अग्नेर्भस्मास्यग्नेः पुरीषमसि). As soon as he hears the Hotṛ

2. निर्वपति is a misprint for निवपति.

priest reciting the verse सीद होतः स्व उ लोके etc., he places the fire on the Sambhāras in the Āhavanīya fire-place with the mantra यज्ञ प्रतितिष्ठ etc. Āp. Śr supports the modification even though it has different mantras and a different order of ritual. It reads : ऊर्णावन्तं प्रथमः सीद योनिमिति होतुरभिज्ञायाग्ने बाधस्व वि मृधो......॥ यज्ञ प्रतितिष्ठ......प्रत्यष्ठादिति संभारेषु प्रतिष्ठाप्य अग्नेः पुरीष्यमसीत्युत्तरत उपयमनीर्न्युप्य...(7.6.7 to 7.7.1).

4. After laying the Āhavanīya fire the Adhvaryu offers in it oblations of clarified butter with four mantras. The sūtra shows these mantras in a peculiar way. It gives the entire first mantra अग्निर्यज्ञं नयतु प्रजानन् etc. Then it gives वायुरादित्यो यज्ञं नयतु प्रजानन् etc., which means two mantras, namely वायुर्यज्ञं नयतु प्रजानन्......... and आदित्यो यज्ञं नयतु प्रजानन्.... Thus there are three mantras in all and the fourth is wanting. From Baudhāyana sūtra 4. 3 we know that the fourth mantra is यज्ञो यज्ञं नयतु प्रजानन्. So it would be reasonable to read the latter mantra in Bhār as वायुरादित्यो यज्ञो यज्ञं नयतु प्रजानन्.... In fact such reading is found in a MS of the sūtra in the Saraswati Mahal Library, Tanjore. The absence of the word यज्ञो in the printed text may possibly be a misprint. A comparison of the sūtras of Baudhāyana, Bhāradvāja and Āpastamba with regard to the method of prescribing these four mantras is worthy of notice. Baudhāyana gives all these mantras separately (i. e. अग्निर्यज्ञं नयतु..., वायुर्यज्ञं नयतु..., सूर्यो यज्ञं नयतु... and यज्ञो यज्ञं नयतु...). Bhāradvāja set them in two separate mantras as mentioned above. Āpastamba, following the sūtra style more closely, put all of them into one (i. e. अग्निर्वायुरादित्यो यज्ञो यज्ञं नयतु...). The conclusion of placing Bhāradvāja between Baudhāyana and Āpastamba as already mentioned is supported by these facts.

5. Bhār. 7. 7. 4-5. तस्याज्येनैव कल्पो व्याख्यातः ॥ ४ ॥ अन्यत्राधिश्रयणात् समानमाज्यानां ग्रहणात् ॥ ५ ॥. These two sūtras are wrongly cut. It would be correct to read : तस्याज्येनैव कल्पो व्याख्यातोऽन्यत्राधिश्रयणात् ॥ ४ ॥ समानमाज्यानां ग्रहणात् ॥ ५ ॥. The sūtras prescribe that the procedure of taking curds (for preparing the Pṛṣadājya, i. e. a mixture of clarified butter and curds) is the same as that of taking the clarified butter, with the exception that the curds is not to be put on fire. Henceforward the ritual upto the filling of sacrificial spoons (*Ājyagrahaṇa*) is the same as that in the Darśapūrṇamāseṣṭi. Āp. Śr 7. 8. 7-8 supports the above correction (आज्यं निरुप्य दधि निर्वपति ॥ अधिश्रयणवर्जं दधानि क्रियते ॥).

6. Bhār. 7. 9. 9-10. उपवीरासि इति प्लक्षशाखां या बहुपर्णा बहुशाखा ॥ ९ ॥ तयोपाकुर्यात् पशुकामस्य ॥ १० ॥. Here again the sūtras are wrongly cut. They ought to read : उपवीरासि इति प्लक्षशाखाम् ॥ ९ ॥ या बहुपर्णा बहुशाखा तयोपाकुर्यात् पशुकामस्य ॥ १० ॥ In the Paśu sacrifice the Adhvaryu priest takes two Darbha-blades with the mantra इषे त्वा and a twig of the Plakṣa tree with उपवीरासि. With these two things he performs the ceremonial fetching (*Upākaraṇa*) of the animal. If the sacrificer desires animals, the

Adhvaryu should take such a twig of the Plakṣa tree as has many leaves and many smaller twigs. If we join the words या बहुपर्णा बहुशाखा to the former sūtra, the later statement becomes void of force. Āp. Śr 7.12.5–6 puts the same thing in a negative manner : उपवीरसीति प्लक्षशाखां बहुपर्णामप्रतिशुष्काग्रामसुषिराम् ॥ यं कामयेतापशुः स्यादित्यपर्णया तस्य शुष्काग्रयोपाकुर्यात् ॥

7. Bhār. 7. 12. 13. उत्तरत आग्नीध्र उल्मुकं.... The sūtra is left incomplete probably because the editor could not choose the right word for the blank space. The readings in the MSS as noted in the footnote are विमृत्काति, निमृत्काति, निमृत्नाति, निर्मृद्नाति. Āp. Śr. (7. 16. 2 : उल्मुकं निदधाति) does not give a clue to the right word. Another sūtra of Āp.Śr., however, proves helpful in formulating the right reading out of the abovementioned variants. Āp.Śr. 6.18.2: दक्षिणस्य पदः पार्ष्ण्या निमृद्नीयात् lays down that the sacrificer, while reciting the Upasthāna mantras at the Agnihotrahoma, should press down the heel of his right foot on the floor with a certain mantra if he is desirous of the destruction of his enemies. The context of Bhār. 7.12.13 requires the word निमृद्नाति which is very much near all the variants. The sūtra lays down that the Āgnīdhra priest should crush in the northern side of the Śāmitra chamber the firebrand in his hand which he carried there while walking before the sacrificial animal. Fire is to be made out of the burning coals lying on the floor after crushing the firebrand and the various parts of the animal are then to be boiled on it. The firebrand is again to be carried back by the Āgnīdhra to the Āhavanīya fire from which it was taken, after walking with it before the omentum of the animal.

8. Bhār. 7. 13. 6–7. पशोः पाशं प्रमुञ्चति ॥ ६ ॥ शमितार उपेतन इत्येकशूलया पाश उपतृद्य चात्वाले etc. ॥ ७ ॥ This is a wrong division of the sūtras. They should really read : पशोः पाशं प्रमुञ्चति शमितार उपेतन इति ॥ ६ ॥ एकशूलया पाश उपतृद्य चात्वाले etc. ॥ ७ ॥ The mantra शमितार उपेतन seems to be related to the removing of the bond on the neck of the animal. Neither Baudhāyana nor Āpastamba have utilized any mantra for piercing the bond with the one-pronged fork. According to Baudh and Āp. the Adhvaryu (accompanied by the yajamāna-Ap.) enters the Śāmitra chamber with this mantra. With another mantra he removes the bond and with a third mantra he throws it out.

9. Bhār. 7. 15. 13–16. प्रत्याक्रम्य जुह्वा ध्रुवामभिघारयति ॥ १३ ॥ यद्याज्यभागौ करिष्यन् भवत्यथ पृषदाज्यमथ वपाम्। नोपभृतम् ॥ १४ ॥ तत आज्यभागाभ्यां प्रचरति ॥ १५ ॥ यद्याज्यभागौ जुहोति ततः पूर्वं परिवप्यं जुहोति स्वाहा देवेभ्य इति ॥ १६ ॥ These four mantras have to be converted into three as follows : प्रत्याक्रम्य जुह्वा ध्रुवामभिघारयति यद्याज्यभागौ करिष्यन् भवत्यथ पृषदाज्यमथ वपाम्। नोपभृतम् ॥ १३ ॥ तत आज्यभागाभ्यां प्रचरति यद्याज्यभागौ जुहोति ॥ १४ ॥ ततः पूर्वं परिवप्यं जुहोति स्वाहा देवेभ्य इति ॥ १५ ॥ The order of the printed sūtras does not give the correct meaning. The revised order advises as follows : After having offered

the eleventh Prayāja offering, the Adhvaryu should recross the sacrificial altar and should cause the Juhū spoon to trickle down in the Dhruvā spoon if he has to offer the Ājyabhāga offerings, then on the Pṛṣadājya, then on the omentum, but not in the Upabhṛt spoon. Then he should offer the Ājyabhāga offerings if he so desires. Then he should offer the first "Parivapya" offering with the mantra स्वाहा देवेभ्यः. Āp. Śr 7. 20. 5–9 gives similar procedure.

10. Bhār. 7. 16. 13. समुपक्रम्य सहपत्नीकाश्चात्वाले मार्जयन्ते etc. For समुपक्रम्य the South Indian MSS read समुत्क्रम्य which is a better reading. It is again verified by an identical sūtra occurring elsewhere in this very text समुत्क्रम्य सहपत्नीकाश्चात्वाले मार्जयन्ते etc. (Bhār 7. 14. 1). Both Baudh (4. 7) and Āp. (7. 21. 6) have used this very word in this context.

11. Bhār. 7. 23. 4. समिधः कृत्वा प्रतीक्षमायन्ति एधोऽस्येधिषीमहि इत्याहवनीये समिध आधायोपतिष्ठन्ते अपो अन्वचारिषमिति ॥ ४ ॥ We have to read कृत्वाप्रतीक्ष° in place of कृत्वा प्रतीक्ष° which seems to be a printing error. Again the present sūtra is to be cut into two, the latter beginning with एधोऽस्येधिषीमहि. No mantra is to be recited while returning with Samidhs in hand. The mantra एधोऽस्येधिषीमहि is intended for offering Samidhs in the Āhavanīya fire and the other mantra अपो अन्वचारिषम् is meant for Upasthāna.

12. Bhār. 7. 23. 10. यद्यतीयान्मासँ .... The sūtra is left incomplete and the variants for the omitted text are recorded in foot-note probably because the right reading could not be decided. Fortunately the correct reading is found in a MS at the Tanjore Sarasvati Mahal Library which gives the reading यद्यतीयादमाँसखादः स्यात्. The readings in the foot-note as well as the reading in the MS of Wai Prājña Pāṭhaśālā library support the Tanjore reading. The Brāhmaṇa passage quoted immediately afterwards in support of the sūtra also supports the above reading. The Brāhmaṇa passage reads : अत्यशिता ह वा एतस्याग्नयो भवन्ति य आहिताग्निः संवत्सरं पशुनानिष्ट्वा माँसं खादतीति विज्ञायते. The sūtra lays down that the sacrificer should not eat meat in case a year passed without the sacrificer having performed an animal sacrifice.[1]

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1. This paper, originally in Marathi, was read at the 36th Anniversary Day celebration of the Bhārata Itihāsa Saṃshodhaka Maṇḍala, Poona (June 1949).

— 31 —

KARMA IN THE BHAGAVAD-GĪTĀ

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The *Bhagavad-gītā* (BG.) according to some scholars is the gospel of *Karma-yoga*, though it also brings in other matters such as the *jñāna-yoga* and the *bhakti-yoga* side by side with it. In what follows an attempt is made to set forth the views of the BG. on *karma* in the words of the BG. itself as far as possible. In doing this naturally we also see what attitude the BG. shows towards *karma-kāṇḍa* as a whole and also towards the main source of the knowledge thereof viz. the *Vedas*. It shall also be our endeavour to see the value of the different kinds of *karma* and their results, the way, if there is any, of doing *karma* and yet remaining unentangled therein, and also whether *karma* can and should be renounced at all.

It may be noted at the very outset that the problem of *karma* is very subtle even according to the BG. Even the wise are in doubt as regards the exact nature of *karma* and *akarma*[1] and hence the BG. adds that one should clearly understand the nature not only of *karma* and *akarma*, but also of *vikarma*, and further declares that the way of action is unfathomable[2]. Towards the close of the seventh chapter the Lord has told Arjuna that those who resort to Him and endeavour to attain freedom from bondage of old age and death, know fully the *Brahman*, the *adhyātma*, and *karma* also in full[3]. This actuates Arjuna to ask what exactly constituted *karma*[4] and he is told by the Lord that *Karma* is the name given to *visarga* (i. e. the creative power) which affects the origin of *bhūtas* and *bhāvas*.[5] This definition of *karma* as given in the BG. is interesting because therein we see how according to the BG. *karma* is responsible for the creation of everything in this universe. That *karma* is the root of all bondage (or *saṁsāra*) has been stated in the BG. more than once[6]. Thus we see that though the expression *karma*

1. किं कर्म कि.मकर्मेति कवयोऽप्यत्र मोहिताः । 4.16ab
2. कर्मणो ह्यपि बोद्धव्यं बोद्धव्यं च विकर्मण: ।
   अकर्मणश्च बोद्धव्यं गहना कर्मणो गतिः ॥ 4.17
3. जरामरणमोक्षाय मामाश्रित्य यतन्ति ये ।
   ते ब्रह्म तद्विदुः कृत्स्नमध्यात्मं कर्म चाखिलम् ॥ 7.29
4. 8.1
5. भूतभावोद्भवकरो विसर्गः कर्मसंज्ञित: । 8.3cd.
6. Cf. यज्ञार्थात् कर्मणोऽन्यत्र लोकोऽयं कर्मबन्धनः । 3.9cd. Also cf. 2.39cd and 9.28ab where the Lord tells अर्जुन how he may be free from कर्मबन्ध. Also cf. 4.14cd, 14.7cd, etc.

has been used in the BG. in the sense of action or activity, yet it would appear that the Lord here is emphasizing its binding power and suggesting thereby that an activity can be designated *karma* in the real sense of the term only so long as it is possessed of the capacity to create bondage for the doer. But if we could succeed in divesting it of this capacity, then such *karma* would no longer be *karma* even as a lion shorn of his fangs and claws. On the other hand, even absence of activity i. e. apparently doing nothing (*akarma*), if it is accompanied by circumstances resulting in bondage, cannot be fittingly called *akarma*. In fact such absence of *karma* is *karma* because it results in bondage for the agent. This idea about the real nature of *karma* and also of *akarma* lies at the root of the paradoxical statements in the BG. according to which he who sees *karma* in *akarma* and vice versa is intelligent[7]; and such a man though doing all sorts of actions is yet doing nothing.[8]

We thus see that *karma* according to the BG. has a twofold aspect viz. activity and the binding power which latter, as we shall presently see, is dependent on the frame of mind behind the activity. In other words these two aspects of *karma* may be designated external or physical and internal or psychical respectively. This is what the BG. has also stated when it speaks of *karma-codanā* and *karma-saṅgraha*. The former is said to comprise the three factors viz. *jñāna*, *jñeya* and *parijñātā* or the *kartā* as this factor may otherwise be called[9]. This triad appears to signify the urge to action or rather the internal or psychical phenomenon of action as distinguished from the actual performance of it. *Karma-saṅgraha*, on the other hand, is described as constituted of the three factors viz. *karaṇa*, *karma* and *kartā* which are concerned with the actual performance of the action[10]. The expressions *karma-codanā* and *karma-saṅgraha* may thus be said to represent broadly speaking the psychical and the physical aspects of *karma* respectively.

It may be interesting here to observe carefully the several adjectives that have been used in the BG. to describe *karma* and thus get some idea of the various kinds of *karma* envisaged by it. The expression *śārīra* is used to denote mere bodily activities, the implication being that all such actions are only involuntary. They are done by the body alone and not in conjunction with mind or *manas* or *buddhi*. In other words *śārīra* actions are actions done by man without any attach-

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7. कर्मण्यकर्म यः पश्येदकर्मणि च कर्म यः ।
स बुद्धिमान् मनुष्येषु स युक्तः कृत्स्नकर्मकृत् ॥ 4.18
8. कर्मण्यभिप्रवृत्तोऽपि नैव किञ्चित् करोति सः ॥ 4 20cd.
9. ज्ञानं ज्ञेयं परिज्ञाता त्रिविधा कर्मचोदना । 18.18ab
10. करणं कर्म कर्तेति त्रिविधः कर्मसंग्रहः । 18.18cd.

ment or *kartṛtvābhimāna.* About such actions we are told that they are quite unavoidable ; for without them man will find it impossible to live[11]. It must be observed here that even voluntary actions, if they are performed without any attachment or *kartṛtvābhimāna*, would be *śārīra* actions ; and we are told that such mere *śārīra* or bodily actions have no capacity to create bondage for their agent. Man doing mere *śārīra karma* does not incur sin or bondage[12].

Corresponding to the threefold division of *karma* in *karma-kāṇḍa*, we have in the BG. the division of *karmas* into two classes viz. *niyata* and the *kāmya karmas*, the *naimittika karmas* not being referred to separately[13]. The *niyata karma* is a type of *karma* which is never to be abandoned or which has got to be performed. The Lord has emphatically told Arjuna that *niyata karmas* he must perform ; for *karma* is superior to *akarma*[14]; and has later on declared that abandonment of *niyata karma* is not proper.[15] It is, however, stated at the same time that such *karma* is to be performed only because it has got to be done as once's duty i. e. without any attachment, without any feeling of pleasure or hatred[16]. *Yajña*, *dāna* and *tapas* are counted among activities of this class and it is declared that they are the means of purification to the wise[17]. Here we find the idea of *karma* being required for *citta-śuddhi*—an idea which even the BG. appears to have accepted as can be inferred from the statement that the *yogins* perform actions without attachment for self-purification[18]. The *niyata karmas* thus are actions which are not preceded by any selfish or worldly desire or in fact by any desire on the part of the doer, but which only happen to form part of his duty and hence alone are performed by him. This distinguishes the

11. cf. न हि कश्चित् क्षणमपि जातु तिष्ठत्यकर्मकृत् । 3.5ab; शरीरयात्रापि च ते न प्रसिध्द्ध्येदकर्मण: । 3.8cd ; न हि देहभृता शक्यं त्यक्तुं कर्माण्यशेषतः । 18.11ab.

12. शारीरं केवलं कर्म कुर्वन्नाप्नोति किल्बिषम् । 4.21cd.

13 The नैमित्तिक कर्म, also may be included in the नियत कर्म as far as the BG. is concerned. For the main point distinguishing these from the काम्य कर्मs is that they do not proceed from some selfish desire on the part of the agent, but are rather his duty, of course under particular circumstances.

14. नियतं कुरु कर्म त्वं कर्म ज्यायो ह्यकर्मणः । 3.8ab.

15. नियतस्य तु संन्यासः कर्मणो नोपपद्यते । 18.7ab.

16. cf. कार्यमित्येव यत् कर्म नियतं क्रियतेऽर्जुन ।
सङ्गं त्यक्त्वा फलं चैव स त्यागः सात्त्विको मतः ॥ 18.9
Also cf. the definition of सात्त्विक कर्म in the same अध्याय :—
नियतं सङ्गरहितमरागद्वेषतः कृतम् ।
अफलप्रेप्सुना कर्म यत्तत् सात्त्विकमुच्यते ॥ 18.23, Also cf. 18.6.

17. यज्ञदानतपःकर्म न त्याज्यं कार्यमेव तत् ।
यज्ञो दानं तपश्चैव पावनानि मनीषिणाम् ॥ 18.5

18. योगिनः कर्म कुर्वन्ति सङ्गं त्यक्त्वात्मशुद्धये । 5.11cd.

niyata karmas from the *kāmya karmas* which are actuated by a desire to secure some particular result or fruit. The name itself shows that they are performed with a view to achieve some *kāma*. It is only these *karmas* that it is possible to abandon. For we have already seen above that it is impossible for man to abandon *śārīra karmas* which are absolutely necessary for *śarīra-yātrā*, and also the *niyata karmas* which are obligatory. It, therefore, follows that renunciation (of *karma*) can have scope with reference to *kāmya karmas* only. Hence it is that the BG. defines *saṁnyāsa* as the renunciation of the *kāmya karmas* only[19] and avers that it is through this *saṁnyāsa* that one attains perfection in actionlessness[20], which can never be achieved by merely refraining from all activity[21].

From a different point of view the *niyata karma* is described as *śāstra-vidhānokta* or *svabhāva-niyata*. Towards the end of the sixteenth chapter the Lord has said that *śāstra* is the main source of knowing what is *kārya* and what is *akārya*; and that one should do all actions as they have been laid down in the *śāstra*[22]. This evidently refers to the various actions which persons of different classes and stages of life are expected to do under different circumstances as laid down in *śruti* and *smṛti*. But on what basis have these duties been assigned to man? The answer to this question is to be found in the expression *svabhāva-niyata*. The Lord has declared that he has created *cāturvarṇya* on the basis of the distinctions of *guṇakarma*[23]. Later on we are told in some details the duties of the people of the different castes[24]; and there it has been asserted that these duties of the different *varṇas* are in keeping with their natural characteristics[25]. A man is born with an admixture of the three *guṇas*[26] which makes him naturally fit for these *karmas* only and not others. Thus it would appear that the BG. believes that a man is born for particular types of actions and hence these actions are designated by it *svabhāvaja* or *svabhāva-niyata* or even *sahaja* (or innate). This belief gives rise to another idea preached in the BG. viz. that *svadharma*, though imperfect, is to be preferred to even well exe-

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19. काम्यानां कर्मणां न्यासं संन्यासं कवयो विदुः ॥ 18.2cd.
20. नैष्कर्म्यसिद्धिं परमां संन्यासेनाधिगच्छति ॥ 18.49cd.
21. न कर्मणामनारम्भान्नैष्कर्म्यं पुरुषोऽश्नुते । 3.4ab.
22. तस्माच्छास्त्रं प्रमाणं ते कार्याकार्यव्यवस्थितौ ।
ज्ञात्वा शास्त्रविधानोक्तं कर्म कर्तुमिहार्हसि ॥ 16.24
23. चातुर्वर्ण्यं मया सृष्टं गुणकर्मविभागशः । 4.13ab
24. 18. 42-44.
25. ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियविशां शूद्राणां च परंतप ।
कर्माणि प्रविभक्तानि स्वभावप्रभवैर्गुणैः ॥ 18.41
26. 18. 40.

cuted *paradharma*[27]. It is evident that man by nature being adapted to the *svabhāvaja karma* (i.e. *svadharma*) will be able to do it more easily and with better efficiency than the *para-dharma* to which he is not so adapted. But the main danger in the performance of *para-dharma* is that while doing it one has to abandon his *sva-dharma* and thus fall a prey to *rāga* and *dveṣa*—*rāga* for the *para-dharma* and *dveṣa* for the *sva-dharma*—which are the root of all bondage. This is what the Lord means when he exhorts Arjuna saying '*para-dharma* is dangerous'[28]. While performing *sva-dharma* one can be free from *rāga* and *dveṣa* if one does it only because it is his duty; but *para-dharma* is not *niyata* and hence it is impossible to take to it without at the same time falling into the clutches of *rāga* and *dveṣa*. This very idea is again implied in the Lord's statement that 'A wise man neither hates an *akuśala karma* nor is he attached to a *kuśala karma*'[29] where the expressions *kuśala karma* and *akuśala karma* respectively correspond to *svanuṣṭhita paradharma* and *viguṇa svadharma*.

Yajñārtha and *madartha* are two other adjectives used in the BG. to describe *karma*. The former refers to the activities in connection with sacrifices and sacrifices themselves. Now *yajña*, as we have seen above, is a *niyata karma*; and hence it follows that all *karmas* for *yajña* are also equally *niyata*. Thus it is obvious that *yajñārtha karma* should not be abandoned, but should be performed only as one's duty. If done like this, naturally it will not result in any bondage for the performer. This is what the Lord has declared saying that this world has its bondage in all karmas except those performed for the purposes of *yajña*[30]. One who performs the *yajñārtha karma* is not affected at all even though *karma* is thus performed by him[31]. Similar is the case with what is called *madartha karma*[32]. This *karma* also is done for the Lord or is resigned to Him. The agent here does not assume the *kartṛtva* for himself and is thus above *rāga* and *dveṣa*. The natural result, therefore, is that this *karma* also is devoid of any power to create any bondage.

A study of these epithets thus reveals to us the one main principle about *karma* preached by the BG. viz. that *karma* results in bondage or is unable to do so according as it is or is not performed with *rāga* and *dveṣa* or *saṅga*. This in other words means that the real *bandhakatva* of *karma* lies not in the physical activity but in the mental attitude accompanying it—an idea which lies at the basis of some paradoxical statements in

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27. श्रेयान् स्वधर्मो विगुणः परधर्मात् स्वनुष्ठितात् । 3.35ab ; 18.47ab
28. स्वधर्मे निधनं श्रेयः परधर्मो भयावहः ॥ 3.35cd
29. न द्वेष्ट्यकुशलं कर्म कुशले नानुषज्जते । 18.10ab
30. यज्ञार्थात् कर्मणोऽन्यत्र लोकोऽयं कर्मबन्धनः । 3.9ab
31. यज्ञायाचरतः कर्म समग्रं प्रविलीयते ॥ 4.23cd
32. मदर्थमपि कर्माणि कुर्वन् सिद्धिमवाप्स्यसि ॥ 12.10cd

the BG. as we have noticed above. This very idea becomes clearer when we look to what the Lord describes as His *divya karma*. In the fourth chapter the Lord with a view to emphasize the importance of *karma* and at the same time to show the way to do it without creating any bondage, has described how He Himself is performing several actions, though He has nothing to gain thereby[33]. There we see how the Lord is laying stress on the two factors viz. absence of *kāma* or *saṅga* and absence of *dveṣa*. Thus he does not hate *karma*, nor is He attached to it ; but He does it merely because He should. All the activity of the Lord has been called *divyam karma*. This, as we can see, differs from the actions on the part of an ordinary man (or *laukikam karma*, as we may call it) in this that the latter is actuated by *rāga* and *dveṣa* while the former is not.

This brings us to the threefold classification of *karma* adopted in the last chapter of the BG. Action that is not accompanied by *rāga*, *dveṣa* or attachment and is done without any eye on the fruit thereof, and only because it is *niyata*, is said to be *sāttvika*[34] ; while that which is accompanied by these factors and is carried with great effort and *ahaṅkāra* is said to be *rājasa*.[35] *Tāmasa* is the name given to the third class of *karmas* which one commits through delusion or infatuation heedless of consequences and capacities[36]. This shows how the *sāttvika karma* corresponds to the *karma* divested of its binding capacity while the other two types of *karmas* cannot but be creative of bondage. At another place we are told that *sukṛta karma* (i.e. *sattvika karma*) yields a *sāttvika* and *nirmala phala* while the other two types of *karmas* result in *duḥkha* and *ajñāna* respectively[37].

We now come to the question whether *karma* can and should be renounced at all. In this connection it has already been observed that according to the BG. renunciation or *saṁnyāsa* means the abandonment of *kāmya karmas* only. The other *karmas* cannot and should not be abandoned. The BG. has more than once stated that it is impossible for man to abandon all *karma* in toto, and thus attain *naiṣkarmya* in the literal sense of the term[38]. Perfect *naiṣkarmya*, according to the BG., is attained by *saṁnyāsa* which it defines as the abandonment of

33. 4.6-9. 34. 18. 23 cf. Note 16 above.

35. यत्तु कामेप्सुना कर्म साहङ्कारेण वा पुनः ।
क्रियते बहुलायासं तद्राजसमुदाहृतम् ॥ 18.24

36. अनुबन्धं क्षयं हिंसामनपेक्ष्य च पौरुषम् ।
मोहादारभ्यते कर्म यत्तत्तामसमुच्यते ॥ 18.25

37. कर्मणः सुकृतस्याहुः सात्त्विकं निर्मलं फलम् ।
रजसस्तु फलं दुःखमज्ञानं तमसः फलम् ॥14.16

38. न हि देहभृता शक्यं त्यक्तुं कर्माण्यशेषतः । 18.11ab ; न कर्मणामनारम्भान्नैष्कर्म्यं पुरुषोऽश्नुते । 3.4ab

the *kāmya karmas* (only)[39]. It is, however, not unlikely that somebody might take the word *naiṣkarmya* or *saṁnyāsa* in a wider sense and try to abandon even the *niyata karmas* along with the *kāmya* ones. But the Lord in no ambiguous terms has declared that such abandonment of *niyata karmas* through fear of fatigue or through delusion is only *rājasa* or *tāmasa* variety of *tyāga* ; and that one who performs such a tyāga cannot reap the fruit of *tyāga* i. e. the *sāttvika tyāga*[40]. Hence it is that the Lord has in definite terms stated it as his considered opinion that *yajña, dāna* etc. should be performed without any attachment or desire for fruit[41]. Abandonment of *karma-phala* constitutes the best type of *tyāga*[42] or *saṁnyāsa*; and those who take to this *saṁnyāsa* do not receive and hence are not bound by the fruit of actions performed by them. It is only to the *atyāginaḥ* that the *karmas* yield good, bad or indifferent results which all ultimately mean bondage for the agent[43].

But why should a *jñānin* perform any action at all ? Can he not renounce it completely ? The BG. answers this latter question only negatively pointing out that even a *jñānin* will act under the compelling influence of his *prakṛti*, and that no amount of *nigraha* or self-restraint will enable him to withstand the force of *prakṛti*. For all the beings ultimately yield to their *prakṛti* only[44]. If thus a *jñānin* must perform action, what should be his idea in performing it ? For this the Lord has described his *divyam karma* which He does, though He has nothing to achieve thereby ; and has added that He does it for *loka-saṅgraha*. For if He were to abandon all action, His example would be followed by all creatures, which ultimately would lead to their utter annihilation[45]. It is thus for *loka-saṅgraha* that a *jñānin* must act[46] and this he has to do apparently in the fashion of an ordinary man lest he should cause *buddhi-bheda* among the ignorant. The main point of distinction between the *jñānin* and the ignorant is that though

39. See notes 19 and 20 above.

40. नियतस्य तु संन्यासः कर्मणो नोपपद्यते।
मोहात्तस्य परित्यागस्तामसः परिकीर्तितः ॥
दुःखमित्येव यत्कर्म कायक्लेशभयात् त्यजेत्।
स कृत्वा राजसं त्यागं नैव त्यागफलं लभेत् ॥ 18.27f.

41. एतान्यपि तु कर्माणि सङ्गं त्यक्त्वा फलानि च।
कर्तव्यानीति मे पार्थ निश्चितं मतमुत्तमम् ॥ 18.6

42. सर्वकर्मफलत्यागं प्राहुस्त्यागं विचक्षणाः ॥ 18.2cd.

43. अनिष्टमिष्टं मिश्रं च त्रिविधं कर्मणः फलम्।
भवत्यत्यागिनां प्रेत्य न तु संन्यासिनां क्वचित् ॥ 18.12

44. सदृशं चेष्टते स्वस्याः प्रकृतेर्ज्ञानवानपि।
प्रकृतिं यान्ति भूतानि निग्रहः किं करिष्यति ॥ 3.33

45. 3. 22-24. 46. 3. 20 f.

both are performing actions the one does them without attachment while the other does them with it[47].

We shall bring this paper to a close by briefly reviewing the attitude of the BG. towards *karma-kāṇḍa* and the source of its knowledge, the *Veda*. We have already seen that *yajña*, according to the BG., is one of the *niyata karmas* and should not, therefore, be abandoned. In fact *yajñas* etc., are useful in bringing about self-purification. The BG. tells us how *yajña* was created by the *prajāpati* along with the *prajāḥ* with the express desire that it should serve as their wish-yielding cow[48]. It further tells us how the cycle of *yajña*[49] has been set afoot and how it is the duty of every one to keep it going on, so much so that one who does not do so lives a sinful life, nay he lives in vain[50]. It is also argued that man gets all sorts of enjoyments from the gods ; and that it, therefore, behoves man to please the gods, his benefactors by offering them sacrifices, so much so that one who enjoys the gifts of the gods without giving them at least a part thereof by way of *yajña* is no better than a thief[51]. Thus the ultimate view is that those who act for themselves incur sin while those who act for sacrifice are relieved of all sin[52].

It must, however, be noted that the BG. does not rest satisfied with this—what may be called the traditional—view about *yajña*. It sublimates the idea of sacrifice and shows how several other phenomena can also be given the same name. The ordinary sacrifice is in the BG. referred to as *dravya-yajña* which consists of throwing oblations into the fire. Now taking this idea of 'throwing of something into something else' and applying it to other spheres also, the BG. declares that there are several types of *yajñas*. In the fourth chapter it has described several such sacrifices and named some of them as *tapoyajña*, *yogayajña* and *jñānayajña*[53]. Having thus widened and at the same time sublimated the concept of *yajña*, the BG. at last remarks that *jñānayajña* is superior to *dravyayajña* ; for with *jñana* all *karma* is at an

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47. 3. 25. f.
48. सहयज्ञाः प्रजाः सृष्ट्वा पुरोवाच प्रजापतिः ।
अनेन प्रसविष्यध्वमेष वोऽस्त्विष्टकामधुक् ॥ 3.10
49. cf. 3. 14f.
50. एवं प्रवर्तितं चक्रं नानुवर्तयतीह यः ।
अघायुरिन्द्रियारामो मोघं पार्थ स जीवति ॥ 3.16
51. इष्टान् भोगान् हि वो देवा दास्यन्ते यज्ञभाविताः ।
तैर्दत्तानप्रदायैभ्यो यो भुङ्क्ते स्तेन एव सः ॥ 3.12
52. यज्ञशिष्टाशिनः सन्तो मुच्यन्ते सर्वकिल्बिषैः ।
भुञ्जते ते त्वघं पापा ये पचन्त्यात्मकारणात् ॥ 3.13
53. 4. 24-32.

end[54], which only means that *karma* performed after *jñāna* (i. e. accompanied by proper attitude of mind) cannot result in bondage and is, therefore, as good as non-existing or dead.

The attitude of the BG. towards the *karma-kāṇḍa* in general, however, is realized when we find the Lord declaring that *karma* is far inferior to *buddhi-yoga*[55] or *jñāna* which evidently stands for the right type of mental attitude towards *karma*—the attitude which turns *karma* into *akarma* and which leads one to the Lord[56]. Similarly we find the Lord referring to persons running after various other deities with a view to secure some worldly objects and declaring that they in fact serve him only of course in a wrong manner[57], and that it is from Him only that they secure their desired objects[58]. They follow a wrong path of worshipping the Lord and the fruit they reap is only ephemeral[59]. This very well shows how in the opinion of the BG. *karma* for some selfish end or unaccompanied by the right frame of mind or disinterestedness is quite sure to result in bondage and hence inferior to *buddhi-yoga* or *jñāna* which leads to freedom from bondage or attainment of Godhead[60].

As for the Veda we see that the BG. does recognize and emphasize its importance as a means of knowing *dharma*. The Lord has in very clear terms told Arjuna that *śāstra* is the authority for deciding what is *kārya* and what is *akārya*, and that he should perform actions as they have been laid down in the injunctions of the *śāstra* or the Veda[61]. But places are not wanting where the BG. appears to speak rather disparagingly about the *Veda*. Thus Arjuna is told that the *Vedas* all pertain to matter under the purview of the three *guṇas* and that his endeavour should be to rise above the *guṇas*[62]. Similarly on the

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54. श्रेयान् द्रव्यमयाद् यज्ञाज्ज्ञानयज्ञः परंतप ।
सर्वं कर्माखिलं पार्थ ज्ञाने परिसमाप्यते ॥ 4.33
55. दूरेण ह्यवरं कर्म बुद्धियोगाद्धनञ्जय । 2.49ab
56. cf. कर्मजं बुद्धियुक्ता हि फलं त्यक्त्वा मनीषिणः ।
जन्मबन्धविनिर्मुक्ताः पदं गच्छन्त्यनामयम् ॥ 2.51. Also cf 2.50ab
57. कामैस्तैस्तैर्हृतज्ञानाः प्रपद्यन्तेऽन्यदेवताः ।
तं तं नियममास्थाय प्रकृत्या नियताः स्वया ॥ 7.20
येऽप्यन्यदेवता भक्ता यजन्ते श्रद्धयान्विताः ।
तेऽपि मामेव कौन्तेय यजन्त्यविधिपूर्वकम् ॥ 9.23 ; Also cf. 4.12
58. लभते च ततः कामान् मयैव विहितान् हि तान् ॥ 7.22cd
59. अन्तवत्तु फलं तेषां तद् भवत्यल्पमेधसाम् । 7.23ab
60. cf दूरेण ह्यवरं कर्म बुद्धियोगाद्धनञ्जय । 2.49ab ; बुद्ध्या युक्तो यया पार्थ कर्मबन्धं प्रहास्यसि ॥ 2.39cd ; ददामि बुद्धियोगं तं येन मामुपयान्ति ते ॥ 10.10cd ; also see Note 56 above.
61. 16. 24
62. त्रैगुण्यविषया वेदा निस्त्रैगुण्यो भवार्जुन । 2.45ab

analogy of an *udapāna* at a place abounding in water it is declared that to one who is possessed of knowledge, the *Vedas* are of little use[63]. In still clearer terms does the BG. put down the *Veda* or *śruti* when the Lord tells Arjuna that he would attain *yoga* only when his *buddhi* running hither and thither under the influence of *śruti* becomes calm and stands still[64]. This shows that according to the BG. *śruti* is a sort of hindrance to the attainment of the *yoga* or summum bonum—an idea which is also implied in the two passages referred to above. In yet another passage we find the Lord declaring emphatically that it is impossible for any one to perceive the *viśva-rūpa* by means of *Vedas*, *tapas*, *yajña* or *dāna*[65]. It can be seen through devotion alone[66]. Even *jñāna* is said to yield a result that is superior to the fruit that the Vedas etc. are said to yield[67]. From all these passages it is evident that while recognizing the due importance of the *Vedas*, the BG. would assert that they ultimately fall short of the final goal or the summum bonum[68] which can be attained by reaching a level above them and attaining *yoga*, or *jñāna*, or *bhakti*; while its teaching on कर्म can be very well summarized in one of its own verses :

कर्मण्येवाधिकारस्ते मा फलेषु कदाचन ।
मा कर्मफलहेतुर्भूर्मा ते सङ्गोऽस्त्वकर्मणि ॥

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63. यावानर्थ उदपाने सर्वतः संप्लुतोदके ।
तावान् सर्वेषु वेदेषु ब्राह्मणस्य विजानतः ॥ 2.46

64. श्रुतिविप्रतिपन्ना ते यदा स्थास्यति निश्चला ।
समाधावचला बुद्धिस्तदा योगमवाप्स्यसि ॥ 2.53

65. नाहं वेदैर्न तपसा न दानेन न चेज्यया ।
शक्य एवंविधो द्रष्टुं दृष्टवानसि मां यथा ॥ 11.53 ; Also cf. 11.48

66. भक्त्या त्वनन्यया शक्य अहमेवंविधोऽर्जुन ।
ज्ञातुं द्रष्टुं च तत्त्वेन प्रवेष्टुं च परंतप ॥ 11.54

67. वेदेषु यज्ञेषु तपःसु चैव दानेषु यत्पुण्यफलं प्रदिष्टम् ।
अत्येति तत् सर्वमिदं विदित्वा योगी परं स्थानमुपैति चाद्यम् ॥ 8.28

68. त्रैविद्या मां सोमपाः पूतपापा यज्ञैरिष्ट्वा स्वर्गतिं प्रार्थयन्ते ।
ते पुण्यमासाद्य सुरेन्द्रलोकमश्नन्ति दिव्यान् दिवि देवभोगान् ॥
ते तं भुक्त्वा स्वर्गलोकं विशालं क्षीणे पुण्ये मर्त्यलोकं विशन्ति ।
एवं त्रयीधर्ममनुप्रपन्ना गतागतं कामकामा लभन्ते ॥ 9.20–21

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ST. THOMAS' TOMBS, SKELETONS, AND BODIES

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I. San Thome Cathedral Tomb, Madras

The best known of the original tombs of the Apostle St. Thomas in which he is alleged to have been buried *first*, is the one some 6 ft. below the surface floor, in the centre of the Catholic Cathedral at San Thomè of Mylapore, a suburb of Madras, with a recent Latin inscription on a metal plate on the Gospel (north) side of the tomb, which reads:—

HIC

Spectabili Referente Veteri Traditione, corpus est humatum
B. Thomæ Apostoli,
Qui kum diceretur Didymus et unus
esset de duodcim,
Lancea transfixus in vicinia
vitam pro fide effudit
Magistri
A. D. 68.

[Here is buried according to ancient tradition, the body of St. Thomas, Didymus, one of the Twelve, who was transfixed with a lance in this vicinity in A. D. 68.]

It may be pointed out here that since 1720 A. D., and not before, Malabar documents have been giving 72 A. D. as the year of St. Thomas' transfixion with a *Śūlam* (lance) or a *mūrccakkol* (pointed rod, as in Mārggam Kaḷi Song, of 1732) by an Emprān (Kanara Brahmin *pujāri*); and the yet undiscovered, and unproved Tamil "*Caritam*" of St. Thomas finished in 72 A. D. by a Travancore disciple of his is alleged to affirm that the Apostle died precisely "84 minutes before sunset on 3rd karkadagam 72 A. D.," the date of death being December 21 according to Mylapore. No St. Thomas years at all are found in Malabar, or Mylapore documents, or in the records of other places, prior to the 18th century. Let us note also that the Latin inscription is based merely on "veteri traditione," which however is not found recorded or definitely mentioned before the 13th century, the more ancient traditions and documents giving only India, Parthia, Iotha (= Iorha, Edessa), or Calamina, vaguely, as the place of the first or second burial.

The San Thome tomb is now a brick crypt at the bottom of a pit some 6 ft. deep, and there are two flights of steps leading to the very border of the grave. The pit will usually have some red earth put from time to time at the bottom, which pilgrims and others may obtain for use in miraculous cures.

As in the case of the red sands at Oriyūr in Ramnad District on the Madras side, where John de Britto was martyred in 1693, and in the case of the red gravel at Kirkuk in Persia where 10 bishops and many other Christians were martyred in 448 A. D. (*vide* Hist. of Assyrian Church by Wigram, pp. 138, 158), the natural redness of the earth put in the San Thome pit is said to be due to blood (of St. Thomas.)

The walls of the crypt are said to be made of large bricks, each bearing a special mark like those from modern brickilns. The age of the bricks, or the dimensions of the underground crypt have not yet been ascertained. The stone slab found at the very bottom during excavation in 1523 may still be *in situ*, undisturbed. A pair of stone slabs above the bones found in the tomb were taken out at that time. Above them were 2 layers of bricks. (Are they the same as the present bricks ?)

II. Royal Tomb of the Acts

The earliest extant St. Thomas document (other than the New Testament) is the Syriac Gnostic *Acts* of 200-220 A. D. It says that he was, after his prayer to God, killed on a mountain (in about 35 A. D.) outside king Mazdai's city, with lances by four soldiers of Mazdai (a regular Old-Persian name). And "all the brethren (= Christians) wept and wrapped him in beautiful shawls, and many linen cloths, and laid him in the tomb in which the ancient kings were buried". This tomb was probably a cave cut into a rock, or a substantial one made of chiselled granite blocks, or burnt bricks of the pre-Christian age, and abandoned by kings of a dynasty conquered by the contemporary one of Gundaphar, converted by St. Thomas, and identified with the Parthian Gudaphar (Gudaphara, Gondo-phares, Vinda-pharna, A. D. 19 to 55 plus x).

The *Acts* adds that after some time when Mazdai, though he hated St. Thomas, had to "go and open the grave and take one of the bones of the Apostle of God and touch" with it his son, a demoniac, to cure him, he "found not the bones. For one of the brethren (= Christians) had taken them away secretly and carried them into the regions of the west". This transfer could not have been to Edessa (Uraha, Urfa), where the Gnostic *Acts* was written in about 200–220 A. D. For it was only in 232–3 that the people of Edessa requested (as the Latin *Passio Thomae*, *ca.* 500 A. D., says) their conqueror Alexander Severus to get from "the princes of India" (viz. the Kushans and Sakas and Parthians

then in the Indus region) the bones of St. Thomas who was very dear to them also (perhaps through his sojourn among them while on his way to India in about 30 A. D. from Jerusalem *via* his own Galilee). " One of the brethren ", i. e. one of St. Thomas' converts in Mazdai's kingdom, probably his son Vizan, or his general Sifur, " a great man throughout all India " (= the Indus region) had to take the bones " secretly " (without the knowledge of Mazdai and his kinsman Karish (Persian Koresh, Cyrus) who were his enemies on account of the conversion of their wives Tertia and Mygdonia, and others), and carry them into the regions of the west (not made known to the author of the Acts and others in Edessa), probably because his converts feared that the bones would not be safe in his enemy's kingdom. So they were secretly transferred from the royal tomb in Mazdai's kingdom to some place west of it (and not to Edessa), and safely deposited in a royal tomb, or rather in Gundaphar's palace itself. Later on when about 50 A. D. the Kushan invaders drove Gundaphar to the lower Indus region the bones must have been taken with him there.

St. Isidore of Seville, Spain (d. 636) says: " Therefore, this Thomas preached to the Parthians and the Medes, up to the furthest eastern parts (*ad extremam orientalum plagam*), and there preached the Gospel and suffered martyrdom. Indeed being pierced with a lance, he died at Calamina, a town of India and was honourably buried there on the 12th before the Kalends of January " (= Dec. 21). And in his *Etymologiarum Liber* the same author calls the land of the Parthians and Medes Parthia, and describes it as extending " from the Tigris to the Indus." So Calamina of India in the easternmost part of Media—Parthia was to him in the Indus region, and not on the East Coast of India (according to the later identification by Sir John de Mandeville (1357-71) and Barbosa (*ca* 1514). See III, IV, V infra.

He therefore agrees with the *Clementine Recognitions* (3rd century), and Origen of Alexandria, who in 230 had recorded a tradition that St. Thomas went to Parthia (and presumably died there). In St. Thomas' days N. W. India (now Pakistan) was ruled by the Parthian Gondophares (Gudaphar), and the neighbouring Parthian empire of Persia came to an end only in 225, five years before Origen took down the above tradition. It must have been current in Alexandria, Palestine, Antioch, or Seville, and not in Edessa, which according to the *Acts* said at about the same time as Origen that St. Thomas preached in Sandaruk, and then in Gundaphar's and Mazdai's Indian kingdoms and was killed and buried in the latter (say, in 33 A. D.).

This Sandaruk may be (Alek-) *sander-uk*, i. e. " Alexandria among the Oritae " founded by Alexander the Great in Baluchistan, which in the days of St. Thomas and Origen was under Parthian domi-

nation. The Syriac *Doctrine of the Apostles* too said in the same century (about 250, after the bones had reached Edessa from India) that St. Thomas was "guide and ruler in the church which he built" in "India and its own countries" (viz. the Indus region under Gundaphar and Mazdai of the *Acts*).

And the city of Calamina in that Indusian India, the most ancient India proper, may be Kala-wān, or Kala-ka-Serai in Taxila, Gondophares' capital city. Kala-wān may be a Persian name, since *kala* in Persian means a castle as in Kala' Atishparastān, the Castle of the Fire-Worshippers; and *wan* is a suffix as in Khanjār-i-Hundwān, or Hindūwānī (= a hanger of Indian steel), called in Pahlavi *pōlāvatēn*, meaning (steel) relating to the Indian city of Pokkalavata (Pali), Sanskrit Pushkalāvatī.

II. A. Is the Acts Mere Fable?

As against the unproved first century *Caritam* and the 'Rampān's' (= monk's) *Song* of 1601, the following points about the Syriac *Acts* of Edessa (200–220 A.D.) are worth consideration, in spite of the condemnation of it by some writers as an apocryphal fable containing heretical doctrines.

1. Dr. F. C. Burkitt of Cambridge, the Syriac scholar and church historian, declares after a long period of critical study of the *Acts* that it "is mostly a work of imagination, based upon a minimum of sober history," although after a preliminary study and translation of it into English he had condemned it as "an elaborate romance, told with much skill in the delineation of character" (in *Journal of Theological Studies*, 1900, pp. 280–90). See *Kerala Society Papers*, Vol. I, Series 6, Trivandrum, 1930, p. 291, col. 1 for his conclusion cited above. From col. 2 of the same page, and from his article '*St. Thomas*' in the 1946 (two) editions of *Ency. Brit.* it is seen that he does not include Gundaphar in the "minimum of sober history." But Gundaphar and Gad are now regarded by most scholars as historical.

2. Karl Schmidt the German scholar who made a special study of apocryphal *Acts* of Thomas, Peter, Paul, Andrew, etc. has given it as his conclusion that there must have been a genuine untainted original *Acts* of Thomas also (probably of the first century). "*Der gnostiche Apostelroman ist für mich ein Phantom*," says Schmidt, i.e. a Gnostic romance of the Apostles is to me a phantom. See Medlycott's *India and Thomas*, 1905, Preface pp. X and XI. The Gospel of Luke, now extant, was garbled by Marcion for heretical purposes.

3. The Syriac *Doctrine of the Apostles* (*ca.* 250) says that "what Thomas wrote from India" (to Edessa, most probably) and what other Apostles also wrote from other places "were received and read in the

churches" (of Edessa and other Christian centres) "in every place, like those Triumphs of their Acts, which Luke wrote" (*viz.* St. Luke's *Acts of the Apostles, ca.* 85 A.D., still extant), "are read, that by this the Apostles might be known."

St. Thomas' letter or letters from India must naturally have mentioned some first century localities there, and his journeys and acts and the names of the converted kings at least, and they must have been familiar to the churches of Edessa and neighbourhood through frequent listening to his communication read to them. The genuine *Acts* of Thomas (now lost) must have taken its details from the above communication and probably from other letters sent by his Christians about his martyrdom.

4. The genuine *Acts* too (say, of about 50 A. D., as St. Thomas may have reached India in about 32, and been killed about 33 A. D.) must have been read frequently and the particulars in it well known in Edessa for 6 or 7 generations when the Gnostics wrote their garbled *Acts*, and regularly read it out. It was impossible therefore to alter the Indian or Parthian names and other prominent details in the letters and the original *Acts* without arousing suspicion about the genuineness of the new *Acts*. But we find in this not even one of the well known South Indian names (Muziris, Brakare, Comorin, Purrhon Mountain, Aioi, Kerobothra, Pandya, Kolchis, Kaberis, Zora, Maliarpha, &c), or even a trace of *peculiarly South* Indian local colouring though Medlycott finds it in that Gostic *Acts*.

II. B. The Gundaphar Section

The Gundaphar section of the *Acts* has been in recent years accepted wholly or in part by different writers.

(*a*) Rev. Dr. J. N. Farquhar, in his St. Thomas in North India, 1926, and South India, 1927, written at my instance, and with my Engish translation of the *Song* of 1601, and my express caution about its being an unproved document, before him, accepted the Sandaruk and Gundaphar sections, but rejected the statement that St. Thomas went to his next field of labour in a bullock cart. After some correspondence between us he said in his reply of 25th August 1926 thus: "I recognise that I have gone too far in speaking of the two fields of Thomas in *The Acts* as far sundered. I am cutting that out" (at the proof stage).

But he did not score it out. In fact he could not, because by doing so he would be prevented from writing his next paper on St. Thomas in South India as already planned. This was published in 1927, and both were reviewed by me in *The Young Men of India*, Calcutta, May 1926 and July 1927, the first favourably, but the second adversely.

He could, in the alternative, have accepted the cart-journey as a fact, and rejected the martyrdom *there* as fiction.

So he assigned to the Apostle a voyage down the Indus to Pattala, at its mouth, and thence by sea to Cranganore, and relied upon the unproved *Song* of 1601 for even the date of landing there, viz, 50 A. D.

(*b*) Rev. Fr. H. Heras, S. J., Bombay, in his *Two Apostles of India* (Bartholomew and Thomas), Trichinopoly, 1944, supports Dr. Farquhar (1926-27), but accepting the cart-journey in the Gundaphar section, makes St. Thomas "follow on the wake of—the (defeated) Parthians .... to Muthra, Malwa, and Saurașțra (Kathiawar) and finally to Konkan .... (Kalyan, Thana and Chaul)......... always announcing .... the Gospel." (p. 39). In Konkan "he heard .... of St. Bartholomew's martyrdom (there) only some eight years before; ......and even he inspected and read......(in 50 A. D.) the old copy of the Gospel of St. Mathew"[1] left there by St. Bartholomew (ibid, p. 40).

Then St. Thomas "sailed, probably from Kalyān" for Malabar, *via* Socotra[2] (pp. 40, 42), and landed on the "island of Malankara" (no, Mālyānkara) west of Muziris in Cranganore, Cochin. (*ibid*. p. 43). For the rest of St. Thomas' story Fr. Heras relies upon Fr. Roscea's Italian translation (Rome, 1938) of the *Song* of 1601, which the translator[3] styles "*La Leggenda* di S. Tomaso Apostolo", and not history ("*Caritam*").

3. F. A. D'Cruz, of Mylapore, says: "That the Apostle did visit the courts of two kings reigning in India, one of whom may be taken for certainty to be *Gondophares* in the North, while the other...Mazdai may reasonably be identified with *Mahadeva*, a name common enough

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1. But most scholars assign St. Matt. Gospel in Greek to the latter part of the first century. And all old writers from Eusebius (325) to the 10th century *except* St. Jerome *alone*, are agreed that Bartholomew's field was an "India other than St. Thomas' India," and according to Rufinus, 4th cent., it was "Citerior India adherent to Ethiopia", i. e. citerior *Arabia*. There are no Bartholomew documents earlier than Eusebius, *History* See JIH, Aug 1947 to Aug. 1948 on Bartholomew's India and other ancient Indias.

2. Latter day tradition-mongers assigned to Thomas China, Malacca, Germany, Brazil, etc.

3. In his reply to me from Calicut, Malabar, dated 1-2-1946, Fr. Rocca says: "I did not add any special historical reference or discussion on the author or age of composition" of the *Song*. Neither has Fr. Heras considered whether the Song had its existence between 1601 and 1892, and whether the first cent. *Caritam* summarised in the *Song* in 1601 existed at any time, anywhere till this day. No one has yet succeeded in doing so, or in producing the MS. *Caritam* used in 1601, or a later copy of it.

among kings of the South Indian dynasties," (*St. Thomas*, Madras, 1929, p. 139). But Mahadeva as a personal name, or a title was common enough among kings and others in North and N. W. India too. "Reasonably", therefore, Mazdai can be identified with a N. W. Indian king, as Mazdai is a good " Old-Persian " name, according to Dr. F. C. Burkitt.

4. Rev. Fr. H. Hosten (d. 1935) identifies Sandaruk of the *Acts* with Cranganore in Cochin, and therefore all the incidents in the Gundaphar and Mazdai sections also of the *Acts* took place in South India. Gundaphar he identifies with Kaṇḍappa Raja of Mylapore, without attempting to show that there was such a king there in St. Thomas' days.

5. Dr. P. J. Thomas, of Travancore, in 1924, said that the Cranganore king Baṇa Perumāḷ[4] who became a "Bauddha" according to Malabar Brahmin accounts, was one converted to Christianity by St. Thomas. *Vide* JRAS, Centenary Supplement, 1924, pp. 213–'23. And to him Gundaphar of the *Acts* is Kandappa Raja of Mylapore, he being "sceptical......about the North Indian apostolate of Thomas," [5] and convinced that the unproved *Caritam* of 72 A. D., and the *Song* of 1601 are genuine and authentic, as well as other versions—diverse, and mutually contradictory—of the Malabar and Mylapore traditions, not found recorded earlier, respectively, than the 16th and 13th centuries.

Dr. Thomas said in his paper of Jan. 1924 " that the *Acts* (Syriac) ...is but a romance, written with a propagandist (Gnostic) object.[6]...... Hardly any of its characters have Indian names, and Bishop Medlycott's attempt at finding in it Indian manners and customs has had little success." Why, if Gundaphar, Gad, Mazdai, Sifur, and Vizan, the principal characters, were in the *Parthian* N. W. part of India (now Pakistan),

4. But the date of that convert Paḷḷi-Vāṇa Perumāl is given in Malabar Brahmin MSS. as " *rauravam* dēva-rājyam " (= Thursday, 17th Feb. 317 A. D.). See my article *An Indian Christian Date, A. D. 317* in JIH, April 1948, pp. 27–44.

5. *Vide* his article in *Young Men of India*, Calcutta, Nov. 1927, p. 653, and his paper *A Hindu Tradition on St. Thomas*, Calcutta, 1924, read in Jan. 1924 at the sixth meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission, Madras.

Against Prof. Milne Rae of Madras (*The Syrian Church in India*, Edinburgh, 1892) Rao Bahadur Rev. John Kurien, of Travancore, then a student of the Professor at Madras Christian College, contended that Gundaphar is Khaṇda-paraśu a South Indian king. When such kings as Kandappa Raja and Khanda-paraśu are discovered we shall certainly have to consider their claims.

6. Was the *Song* of 1601 written in 1892 or before with the object of establishing the dates and other details in the various variegated versions of the Malabar tradition (found only since the 16th century), on the authority of the alleged *contemporary Caritam* (72 A. D.) and of refuting the Muslim claim to the San Thomé tomb recorded by Marco Polo, 1293?

it was quite natural that Indian names could not occur in the Syriac *Acts*, or the previous genuine *Acts*, or in the letters of St. Thomas (and others) from that region. Dr. Thomas thinks that the Syriac *Acts* is a version of the Malabar tradition (of about 200 A. D.). Then why did the Edessene author convert the South Indian names into Parthian or Old-Persian, and not into Syrian, or Greek, or Roman?

6. Rev. Fr. Bernard, who first published the *Song* of 1601, identified (in 1916) Sandaruk with Cranganore, in Cochin, and regarded Gundaphar or Gudnaphar as a corrupt form of Cōla Perumāl (=the Chola king)! See pp. 170–'83 of his Malayalam *St. Thomas Christians*, 1916.[7]

7. Rev. Fr. Dr. Placid, of Travancore, remarks on the *Acts* as follows in his *St. Thomas in South India*, Trichinopoly, 1940 :—

a. "The *Acts* also mention the kingdom of Mazdai......as situated in the vicinity of that of Gondophares" (p. 15), and not as "far sundered." as Dr. Farquhar supposed.

b. "As for Gondophares, he may, or may not be the same as Gundaphar" (of the *Acts*), p. 15.

c. "The presence of his coins in the Kabul region" (and several regions of North India) "need not argue that he was king there.......It could very well be that Gondophares was a South Indian king whose territory extended as far as North India" (p. 16), and, let us add, Afghanistan.

But has there been found in South India, or anywhere in the Vindhya region any coin of Gondophares, and Gondophares *cum* Gadana, or any intaglio with Gadana's name (like that in N. W. Frontier Province), or any Gondophares inscription (like the one of Takht-i-Bahi, N. E. of Peshawar)? *None at all.* Let us note that Fr. Heras (*Two Apostles*, 1944, p. 6) takes the mention of Gudnaphar and Gad as "the main point of *The Acts*...that proves the historicity of the Mission of the Apostle to Northern India."

Indeed the discovery of the existence in St. Thomas' days of Gunda-

7. After some private correspondence between us on the utter lack of evidence for the *Song* or the *Caritam*, Fr. Bernard published in 1924 in English his *Brief Sketch*. In this he does not mention the Rampan's *Song* of 1601 as evidence, but in the footnote on page 2 refers to "The ancient Malayalam ballad known as "Thoma Parvam" and "other ancient songs" vaguely. But that *Parvam* is *not* the same as the Rampan's *Song* of 1601, nor the famous *Mārggam kali Song* of 1732 A. D. Nor is it the *Vīradiān Song* given by him on pp. 5–6 as No. V among VII "of the numerous local evidences attesting the preaching of St. Thomas in South India" (*op. cit.* pp. 2–7).

phar and Gadana in the Panjab, and their identification with Gudnaphar of the *Acts* (and "Gōna" of its Ethiopic[8] version) have incited the advocates of the *Song* of 1601 and other South Indian documents and traditions in Tamil and Malayalam—all dating since the 16th century, except the Muslim claim of 1293 and its versions in Marignolli (1348), Barbosa (1514) and Diogo (1543), to offer such explanations as the above (in Nos. 4 to 7).

III. St. Thomas-Muslim Tomb of 1293

The third St. Thomas tomb is the one at an unspecified locality (probably the San Thome tomb, No. I, *ante*) in the Province of Maabar (= the Coro-mandel region). Marco Polo heard of it in 1293 while he was in Maabar (perhaps in Pulicat),[9] his informant being probably some Armenian Christian (and not a Saracen Muslim). See his *Travels*, Bk. III, ch. 18 in Yule and Cordier's edition, Vol. II.

He was informed of two rival claims thus: "The Body of Messer St. Thomas the Apostle lies in this province of Maabar at a certain little town" (which I suppose was Mylapore).[10] "having no great population....Both Christians and Saracens, however, greatly frequent it in pilgrimage....The Christians who go thither in pilgrimage take of the earth from the place where the saint was killed" (and not where he was buried inside his hermitage) "and give a portion thereof to any one who is sick of a quartan or a tertian fever; and by the power of God and of St. Thomas the sick man is incontinently cured. The earth I should tell you is red."-(Yule and Cordier's edition, Vol. II, London, 1903, pp. 353-4). This last statement does not necessarily imply that Marco actually saw the spot. Perhaps he was shown a specimen of the red earth treasured by some Christian. For red sands and red gravel see §I, last para.

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8. The Ethiopic version of the Syriac Acts agrees substantially with the Syriac, as the Greek version of the 4th century does. But the Latin *Passio* (*ca.* 500) differs from the Syriac or the Greek in several points. The Malabar (16th cent. and later) versions influenced by the *Passio* and other European stories are the worst. Naturally the later the adaptation the worse it is.

Sir E. A. Wallis Budge (1901) has in his English translation "King of Gōnā." It may be King Gona, viz. *Gudna* of Gudna-phar. If King of Gona is retained Gona may be *Gāndā* of Ganda-ria (= Gandhara) where Gondophares ruled.

There is said to be old Telugu Song on St. Thomas. But I am convinced that it is really a song on Thaddeus.

9. Pulicat may be Ptolemy's Poduca, usually identified with Pondicherry, in Tamil Puduccēri.

10. Ptolemy's Maliarpha = perhaps Tamil *Mayil-ārppu-ūr*, the peafowl-cry-village, or peafowl-abundance-village. Four or five other derivations too are possible.

Since at least 1288 there was a Christian Church there, and "houses that belonged to the church, and stood round about it." In these houses the pilgrims (Muslim and Christian) "laid their heads." The body was probably buried inside the chancel of the church, which (chancel) had been the hermitage of the holy man. In 1293 there were "Christians who have charge of the church, have a great number of Indian Nut trees, whereby they get their living" (p. 354). These were probably the "nargyl" (= *nārikēla*, coconut) trees seen there by Marignolli during his four days' stay there in 1348. The Christians must have lived near the church and its outhouses, and kept the lamp burning continually at the tomb; and perhaps there were no Muslims' houses there.

"Now I will tell you the manner in which the Christian brethren who keep the church relate the story of the Saint's death." Why does he not say the *Apostle's* death, or St. *Thomas'* death? He must have been aware already that all the European documents on St. Thomas said that he was killed by Mazdai's four soldiers with lances (according to the Greek *Praxeis* of St. Thomas,) or by the flamen at a Sun temple with a sword (as the Latin *Passio* and other writings told him). So he had naturally his doubts about the entirely different *mise en scene* of the death narrated to him as the Mylapore *Christians'* account. He could excuse the Muslims if they gave him such a totally different version (as that reproduced below).

"They (the Christians) tell that the Saint was in the wood outside his hermitage saying his prayers; and round about him were many peacocks, for these are more plentiful in that country" (at some distance from where Marco was) "than anywhere else. And one of the Idolators of that country being of the lineage" (caste) "of those called *Govi* that I told you of" (in Book III, ch. 17), "having gone with his bow and arrows to shoot peafowl, not seeing the saint, let fly an arrow at one of the peacocks; and the arrow struck the holy man" (again he avoids the word Apostle, or Thomas) "in the right side, insomuch that he died of the wound, sweetly addressing himself to his Creator." (This seems to be a translation of the South Indian *Muslims'* word *paṭaittavan* (Tamil), *paṭaccavan* (Malayalam) = Creator, for God, Allah). "Before he came to that place where he thus died" (in a manner entirely different from what the Christians in Syria, Armenia, Persia and other parts of West Asia and also from what I, Marco Polo, and all other European Christians have been saying and believing), "he had been in Nubia, where he converted much people to the faith of Jesus Christ." (p. 355). Of course the Christians who believed that they were describing the circumstances of St. Thomas' death could not but end by saying that in Nubia or any other place he converted many to the *Christian* faith.

Marco's suspicions must have gained in strength when he was told that the saint preached in Nubia. For no account known to him till 1293 told him that St. Thomas went to *Nubia.* His preaching in Media, Parthia, Hyrcania, Karmania, Persia, etc. and even Abyssinia (Bk. III, ch. 35) he had read about,-or-heard of, but never his labours in Nubia.

Now comes the *denouement.* " Both Christians and Saracens" (Muslims from some distant places, probably from Nubia too), " however, greatly frequent it in pilgrimage. For the Saracens also do hold the Saint " (again Marco avoids the word Apostle, or Thomas) " in great reverence, and say that he was one of their own Saracens and a great prophet " (like " Isa Nabi," the prophet Jesus, and not like one of His 12 " *hawāriyūn* " in the Quran) " giving him the title of Avarian," which is as much as to say " Holy Man ". See Marco's *Travels*, 1903, Vol. II, p. 353.

The above Muslim account was given to Marco by some Christian informant, perhaps an Armenian. The details show that the Muslims did not mean St. Thomas by the title avarian. In fact an Arabic-Tamil word is usually applied in the form avliā, or avliān in all India, North and South, to a *Muslim* " holy man " and not to a Christian saint. Besides, no record ranging from 200 (the *Acts*) to 1293 (Marco) says that St. Thomas was ever in *Nubia* or that he was killed *accidentally*, and that by a Govi (= pariah) fowler, and with his *arrow.* No documents from 16th cent. to this day tell us that the manner of St. Thomas' death was that narrated to Marco.

III A. Govi Caste's Witness

There was as witness a whole caste of Hindu Govis. In Bk. III, ch. 17 (1903 edition, Vol. II, p. 341) Marco himself says: " And about the race of *Govis*, I should tell you that nothing on earth would induce them to enter the place where Messer St. Thomas is—I mean where his body lies" (originally inside his hermitage, which was in the compound in which his house stood), " which is in a certain city" (Mylapore) " of the province of Maabar. Indeed, were even 20 or 30 men to lay hold of one of these *Govis* and to try to hold him in the place where " (= the compound in which) " the body of the Blessed Apostle of Jesus Christ " (as the Christians call the

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11. In 1629 Joseph Scaliger took avarian as representing the plural harvāriyün (singular harvāriy), applied in the Quran to the disciples of Jesus. It means pure men, literally. He was probably not aware that aulia and aulian were used in North and South India for a Muslim holy man. Marco probably changed the *l* into *r* as Europeans generally did, e. g. Cola-Zora, Silamdiv-Serendib, Mailapore-Mirapore (in the Catalan map, ca. 1375). Avarian is, more probably, hawāriy plus Tamil *ān*, masculine suffix.

Nubian Muslim *avariān*)" lies buried, they could not do it! Such is the influence of the Saint; for it was by people" (the fowler and his companion) " of this generation (=" race", caste) that he was slain, as you shall presently hear" (in ch. 18 of Marco's III Book). This was quoted in full, *supra*.

III B. Later Christian Witnesses

1. Marignolli (1348 A. D.),
2. Barbosa (in or about 1514), and
3. Diogo Fernandez (1517-43) heard the tradition about the holy man buried in the above place in practically the same form as was recorded by Marco.

Col. Yule says: "The account of the Saint's death was no doubt that current among the native Christians" (of Mylapore, and Muslims, Gories, and Armenians we may add), " for it is told in much the same way by Marignolli" (who had previously lived among the Quilon Malabar Christians for 16 months) " and by Barbosa" (who was 16 years in the Indian ocean, till 1515-16), " and was related also in the same manner by one Diogo Fernandez who gave evidence before the commission of Duarte Menezes,"...See *De Couto* Dec. V. Liv. vi cap. 2, and Dec.VII. Liv. x. Cap. 5)". *Vide* Yule's Marco, 1903, II, p. 358.

We do not know what the Malabar tradition[12] about the manner of death was in the above 1293, or in 1348. But the Malabar account in the 17th century was that St. Thomas was killed with a lance by an Emprān Brahmin priest. Besides it was at a Hindu temple, and that version is religiously respected and firmly believed even today, although the Syriac Office at the same time refers to " the blood of his *neck*," which suggests the sword of the Latin *Passio*, or a chopper, or an axe, and not a lance, or spear, or arrow.

III C. The Bones as Witness

The Loma MS., Goa 31, fols. v 29r, v or 23 r, 23 v says: " This impression of the foot, the witness" (Diogo Fernandez of 1517-43) " says he saw it in his (=St. Thomas') holy house, as I said already above. And the blessed" (St. Thomas of the Christians, and the Nubian Saracen avariān of the Muslims) " being in meditation, called those who killed him (=the Govi fowler and his companion), " who, having fallen, lay on the ground, and then, they say (=tradition says),

12. Marignolli who had been for about 16 months among the Quilon Malabar Christians before his short stay in Mylapore for 4 days, must have heard from the Quilon Christian Mudalālis their account of St. Thomas' death. And if it was different from the Mylapur account of 1348 he would naturally have expressly pointed it out in his book. But we see no such mention in it. So Malabar too had the same version in Marignollis' time though it is not found recorded.

he told them to have no fear " (lest the *avarian's* Muslim companions would avenge his accidental wound), " and to go to his house, and to call his treasurer and his " (Muslim) " disciples" (asking them) " to come to him and to take and place him in the chapel " (hermitage in Marco) " which he had made " (in the precincts of the above house). " And they did so, and placed him in his house, in the chapel of which I already spoke above ". (Was the chapel one of the rooms of the house itself ?). The above details do not apply to St. Thomas as described in any account of his last moments.

The Loma MS. continues, and that most significantly, thus : " Thence, say and swear " (underline *swear*) " those of the country" (Christians and Muslims), " his relics were never taken or disturbed except in the manner I have already said above " (*i. e.*, by the Portuguese excavators of 1523—Diogo Fernandes and others,—on a Saturday afternoon in July, as Diogo deposed on oath in 1543.[13] This was not at all the fate of Thomas' bones; for, as all authorities attest, they were first in his enemy Mazdai's own life-time itself removed "*secretly*" to the west of the original royal tomb, probably to Gundaphar's palace, and later to Edessa at the instance of Alexander Severus, in or shortly after 232-3 A. D.

In 1523 the Portuguese excavators found in the Mylapore tomb some bones of the *skull*, etc. But at that very moment the "*entire*" skull, etc. of St. Thomas were at Ortona in Italy (from India *via* Edessa and Chios). Two skulls of St. Thomas ! ! To be sure, the Ortona skull was *entire.* For Dr. Medlycott says (*India and Thomas*, 1905, p. 116): (The people of Ortona) " were afterwards able,...to reconstruct the skull so thoroughly that *no part was found missing*" (after Ali Pasha the Turk had, in August 1566, exploded the altar of St. Thomas). (Italics mine). That entire skull is now " in a siver bust (of St. Thomas), and is exposed to public veneration on the celebration of the feast " of the Apostle, as D'Cruz says (p. 89 *St. Thomas*, 1929).

III D. Conclusion

From the foregoing discussion we see that—

1. The details given by Marco in 1293,

2. The witness of the Govi caste,

3. The repetition of the details of 1293 by Marignolli (1348), Barbosa (1514), Diogo Fernandez, (1549), and the Loma MS. (date unknown),

4. The undisturbed existence of the bones of the skull, ribs, the

13. See *Kerala Society Papers*, Vol. II, Series 9, 1932, pp. 205-17 for Doigo's deposition on oath, 1543, and notes.

thigh bone, &c. in the outer half of the tomb opened in 1523 by Diogo and others, whereas no bones could exist if it were St. Thomas' tomb, and

5. The totally different circumstances of St. Thomas' death as religiously contended by Malabar since at least 1550 (though not probably in Marignolli's days), and by non-Malabar writers since at least 200. A. D., and

6. to crown all the above, the two skulls of St. Thomas—all these conspire to suggest that the saint buried in the San Thomè tomb visited by Christian and Muslim pilgrims from before 1288 *is not St. Thomas'*.

III E. Tombs of 1293, 1348, 1514, and 1523

Now is it possible to argue against the above suggestion

1. That the Muslim avarian's tomb of 1288-93 was different from the one at which Marignolli stayed for 4 days in 1348, and the same tomb (perhaps) seen by Barbosa in about 1514, and opened by Diogo and others in 1523, and

2. That the tomb (with Latin inscription) now inside the San Thomè Cathedral, though identical with these three of 1348, 1514, and 1523, is not the same as the Muslim tomb of 1288-93, and

3. That the Christian pilgrims of 1288-93 were wrong in supposing that it was St. Thomas' tomb,[14] they having been probably misled by

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14. Some other burial-places are found mentioned in documents. They are most of them really the second, third, or fourth places of burial, or preservation in a casket, concha, ciborium, reliquary, or other receptacle, of some of the bones, or bone fragments.

1. The Ethiopic version of the *Acts* says that St. Thomas was martyred and buried in Qantaria. This is Gandaria, Gāndhāra, Gondophares' kingdom in N. W. India.

2. In the *Diatessaron* MS. of 546 A. D. of Victor, Bishop of Capua, St. Thomas is said to be buried "*In India civitate Iothobis.*" This city of Iotha may be Iorha, i. e. Urha, Edessa in Mesopotamia, which some writers called India. It was the place where the bones from India proper were preserved in a concha.

3. Abbot Zadoi mentions (*ca* 350) only a St. Thomas monastery, and no tomb, or bones. Besides the monastery was on "the Black Island south of Baith Katraye," the Katar region of eastern Arabia. So it could not be in Mylapore as some do contend.

4. In about 590 Theodore, a Syrian pilgrim, visited St. Thomas' tomb, perpetual lamp, monastery, and church "*in loco regionis Indiae quo prius quievit,*," where he *first* rested. This must have been the *empty* tomb in N. W. India, in "Calamina of India," as St. Isidore said *ca*. 630.

5. In 883 King Alfred did not send his alms for St. Thomas to his *tomb*, or to his *Christians*, as some think.

6. In the 9th and 10th centuries Muslim writers mention a 'Betumah,'

the Arabic appellation Tawwāmā or Sawwāmā (resembling Tōmā) which the Muslims applied to their "own Saracen avarian from Nubiā."

Let impartial critics consider the above contention of the interested party. It may be granted that Tawwāmā is actually found as part of the name of M. Sharfuddin Tawwāmā, the great Muslim savant who lived at Sonargaon in Bengal, having been "practically exiled (thither) by the then Sultan of Delhi," in the 13th century, where the famous Bihar "aulia or makhdum" (= master) learned theology as his disciple. This "aulia" later on became a disciple of "the famous Nizamuddin aulia of Delhi." See JBRS, September 1948, p. 89. Incidentally we see Arabic *aulia* used in Delhi too in the singular, though it is really the plural of *vali*, a "holy man." In Tamil and Malayalam aulia takes the masculine singular suffix ān and becomes avaliān, singular. (See §III A, last para, and footnote).

It could be conceded also that Arabic *sawwām* (= one who fasts much) could become Tawwāmā in Tamil and Malayalam, which the Christians probably misinterpreted as Syriac Tōmā (= English Thomas, Portuguese Thome, Latin Thoma).

IV. Mylapore Tomb of 1522

In 1522 the Portuguese opened a "grave of St. Thomas" and took out the remnants of the entire skeleton, which was sent to Goa. It was not the old Portuguese settler Diogo (see §V *infra*) who pointed out that grave as St. Thomas'. For he was then away in Malacca, and on his return pointed out the real tomb, and himself took part in its opening in 1523. In 1514 or before a Moor was lighting the lamp at the tomb, and also Gentiles, as Barbosa says about 1514, and he mentions no Christians there, though one or two Christian pilgrims might have been at the real tomb in San Thome.

It was dear to the old Moor, the Gentiles, and the Christian pilgrims. And so there was every reason why they should prevent the new foreign Portuguese of a different sort of Christianity from tampering with their precious tomb. It is very likely therefore that the Portuguese of 1522 were shown one of the *other* tombs in Mylapore as St. Thomas', the Moor probably believing that the tomb he lighted was his own Muslim *avarian's* (as in 1293 : see §III *supra*).

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which some have regarded as meaning 'the house of Thomas,' and as applied to Mylapore. But according to Col. Gerini (Asiatic Society Monographs, Vol. I : *Researches on Ptolemy's Geography of Eastern Asia*, London, 1909, p. 199, Betumah is Tamasak or Ujong Tanah of the Malays Tan-ma-hsi of the Chinese, and Tamus, or Tamarus, promontarium of Strabo, Mela, &c., commonly called Samara after the 5th century. In his map it is marked east of Singapore, as the south-eastern extremity of the Malaya Peninsula.

Yule says: "The Portuguese ignored the ancient translation of the Saint's remains to Edessa, and in 1522,...the Apostle's bones were found, besides those of the king whom he had converted"—the first *white*, and the second *black*! See Yule and Cordier's *Marco*, Vol. II, 1903, p. 358. "The supposed relics were transferred to Goa, where they are still" (in 1903) "preserved in the Church of St. Thomas in that city" (both the skeletons).[15] *Vide loc. cit. ante.* Are they there even now, in 1950? Did the Portuguese who searched for the tomb know at all, or remember that the bones of St. Thomas had been removed from India to Edessa? But as the Loma MS. cited *ante* (III C) those in Mylapore (and perhaps in Malabar too) in 1523 and before "said and swore" that his relics—(those in the Christian-Muslim tomb of 1293)—had *never been* "taken or disturbed" except in 1523. The better informed Portuguese scholars in Gova, however, knew from their Roman Martyrology, hagiograpies, *Passio*, &c. that St. Thomas' bones (and not those in the tomb of 1293) had been removed from somewhere in India, to Edessa.

V. Mylapore Tomb of 1523

In about 1514, when Barbosa perhaps visited San Thome, then almost uninhabited by Christians (and probably so since about 1455), there was an old Muslim there who kept the lamp at the tomb burning. Barbosa says: "so he (St. Thomas) remains in that hermitage" (St. Thomas' *casa*, house, then the chancel of the ruined church) "very humbly, and lighted up by the grace of God, because the Moors and Gentiles light him up, each one saying that he is something belonging to them." These Gentiles were probably descendants of Mylapore Christians who like the ancestors of the Moor[16] then and in 1517, and later, at the tomb, had in a previous century seceded from Christianity.

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15. See Col. Love's *Vestiges of Old Madras* for the white and black skeletons of 1522. Also Maffei (*Historiarum Indicarum*, libri XVI, Florentiae, 1588, pp. 159–60) says that the bones of St. Thomas were recognised by the fact that they were *white*, while those of "Sagamus" the Indian king, and of the Indian disciples were black. The Italian Nicholas of Pistoia, the Hungarian pilgrim Domyngo, and some Armenians and Persians—all white people with "white bones" had been buried in Mylapore before the excavation of 1522. Some Chinese or Tartar pilgrims too must have been buried there. Their bones would have been yellow according to the excavators' notion! Ep. Marignolli mentions Tartars (=probably Muslims) visiting the tomb. Barbosa says that "some Chinese came also, who wished to cut off his arm ..(as) on burying him" (St. Thomas, but really the Muslim avarian) "they could never put his right arm in the tomb." (But the Chinese did not get the arm as "he withdrew his arm inside, they say, and it was never seen again" outside the tomb). Fine fiction!

16. That old Moor, said Diogo in 1543, had been blind and had

In 1517 Diogo and his companions Bastiao, and the Armenian Koja Ikandar and many other Armenians (Christians) who brought Diaoo to Mylapore from Malacca " to show him the house (*casa*) of the Apostle St. Thomas," found the tomb lighted by the same old Moor (Christian—Hindu ancestors' son). Diogo returned to Malacca, and came again in 1522. In 1523, Manoel de Faria, Captain of the Coromandel and Fishery Coasts engaged him and some others " to dig and search " the tomb " of St. Thomas," in July 1523 on a Saturday night and the next day morning.

The relics found were—

1. some bones of the head, and then
2. of ribs, and
3. of the whole body (= the trunk), and
4, one of the thighs of the legs ;
5. "lastly they took out all the bones which were much worn out." " The rest of the bones " " lay under the foundation of the sanctuary," viz. of the northern wall of the chancel.[17]

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recovered sight and health from the Apostle a short time back " (before March 1517), " which Moor told us that he had been Moor since two years before, and that first he had been a gentile, and seemed to be sixty years of age, and that his fathers and grandfathers had been gentiles. And he told us that he " (for want of Christians residing there around the church, or near it) " had the charge of lighting the house (*caza*) of the Apostle, and he gave us to understand that he proceeded from the Christaians of St. Thomas " (*Q'Elle procedia dos Christaos de S. Thome*, in the original Portuguese). He means that his Hindu fathers and grandfathers descended from one of the Christians of Mylapore who had seceded to Hinduism generations before. In 1280 and later Moors were powerful in Maabar, for a Muslim envoy Chamalating (Jamaluddin) was sent from Maabar to the Mongol (Chinese) court. See Yule's *Marco*, II, 1903 p. 337, note 1.

17. The fact that " the rest of the bones (below the thigh bone) lay under the foundation of the sanctury " (the chancel) shows that its northern wall was built upon a portion of the tomb, the stone-slab at the bottom of which was about 11 feet below the ground level outside the chancel. Some portion of the tomb was outside the northern wall. Why ? Probably to make it accessible to pilgrims (Muslims at first before 1288 ; later Christians also ; and by about 1500, Hindus too) even when the church was kept closed by the Christian priest.

Evidently the chancel was not built by the man buried in the tomb. And if the tomb was in the north and south direction, and the head was in the north, the orientation of the dead body conformed to the practice of Muslims, and differed from that of the Hindus, or Christians.

But in the East, Muslims sometimes bury the dead body in the east and west direction, with the head in the east, and the face slightly inclined so as to look towards the kabala at Mecca, which is to the N.W. from San

6. There was found also "one iron of lance, of the shape of an olive leaf entirely of Malabar iron, and inside the concave handle it had a small wooden piece," and

7. "an earthen vessel that would hold one *almude*" (= about 1/13 of an English bushel), "and it was full of earth, and it lay at the foot of the cave (*cova*)," i. e. the tomb. This vessel probably contained the avarian's blood gathered from the spot where he fell, while in prayer, and the "iron of lance" was probably the broad, worn out arrow-head of the Govi, and not a lance-head.

Muslim writers of the 10th or 9th century do not mention the tomb of 1293 (Marco Polo), or pilgrimages to it. Could we therefore infer that the Muslim avarian was buried in it in about the 11th century ? As shown in footnote 14, 6 *ante* "Betumah" mentioned by Muslim travellers of the 9th–10th centuries is not Mylapore.

VI. The South Travancore Tomb

In about 1924 an old parishioner of the Jacobite Syrian[18] church of the "Tarisāykkaḷ cheṭṭis" (= Christian merchants) at Tiruvāmkōṭu, the ancient capital in South Travancore, said that there was a tradition there that the big tomb in the Southern yard of the church contained St. Thomas, and a priest of his, both of whom came there from Mylapore along with some Christians to escape the king's persecution. But later tradition assigned the tomb to two priests who came with St. Thomas from Mylapore ; and the present tradition is quite different.

Now those who believed that St. Thomas lay buried in the present San Thome tomb could ply the above said old man with questions as to the age of his tradition, and demand evidence for his statements. He could then turn the tables on them by asking for evidence to show :– (1) that their tradition existed in the first, second, third, and other centuries before the 13th, (2) that there were Christians in Maabar in all the centuries before Cosmas (525), (3) that any Apostle or others set up crosses in the first century, (4) that their first cent. Tamil "*Caritam*" existed anywhere at any time, (5) that their *Song* of 1601 had its existence between 1601 and 1892, (6) that Thomas Kana's date is 345 A. D., (7) that Makōtaiyar city founded by him did exist before 700 A. D., (8) that their Iravi Korttan copper-plate is of 230 A. D., (9) that St. Thomas was killed by an Empran, with a lance, or by a Sun

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Thome Cathedral. Is the tomb in the Cathedral in the N.–S., or E.–W. direction ? The E.–W. direction of tombs is common to both Christians and Muslims, with the difference that the Christian's head will be in the west, looking to the east from which quarter Christ is believed to come to the earth again.

18. These Syrian Rite Christians are mentioned by Barbosa (c. 1514), and in the Decrees of the Synod of Diamper (1599), and by Moens (1781).

temple priest with a sword, or by a king's 4 soldiers with their lances, (10) that their present Syriac Office for the feast of St. Thomas existed in the centuries before the Portuguese, with the same wording, and also for evidence for other things. As a matter of fact no one has found evidence on the points raised above.

VII. A New St. Thomas' Tomb

Mr. A. Bālakrishna Pillai, B. A., B. L., a reputed Hindu researcher of Travancore, has in an article in the Malayalam Christian religious weekly *Viswadeepam*, Kottayam, Travancore, Dec. 1946, pp. 13–19, invented 3 Mylapores other than Madras-Mylapore, the third of which he calls Palani-Mailāppūr. There, says he, St. Thomas lay buried in the ruined village of Kalayamuttūr, 3 miles west of Paḻani, far to the S. W. of Mylapore proper, his Kalayamuttūr being Kalamina (of St. Isidore, d. 636, and later writers).

Mr. Pillai's Kalamina-Kalayamuttūr identification may be laughed at by Christians. But they will be catching a Tartar. For he can legitimately retort by demanding evidence (1) for their belief since the 13th century that it is St. Thomas, and not a Muslim avariān, who lay buried in San Thome in 1293, (2) for their recent identification of Sandaruk with Canganore, of Gundaphar with Kandappa Raja, Khandaparasu, Kuntapparasu, etc., and Mazdai with Vāsudēva, Mahādēva, Matthāyi, etc., (3) for the dates 52, 72, 68, etc. relating to St. Thomas, and for several other things.

VIII. Mylapore's Attitude

In his *St. Thomas*, Madras, 1929, F. A. D' Cruz a Catholic of Mylapore says (on pp. 112–13): "Catholics who venerate the tomb are not compelled to believe in its genuineness ; and they know well that it is a question of evidence and that they may be mistaken as to the fact. They regard it, in any case, in the light of a memorial, whereby the saint is remembered and honoured. If miracles are said to have occurred in connection with the reputed tomb or relics, Catholics understand again that here also it is a question of evidence, and that, if genuine, they are the result of faith excited by the memorial of the saint, whose intercession had been implored by clients for Divine interposition on their behalf."

This confirms what Col. H. Yule had observed in 1903, on p. 358 of his *Marco*, Vol. II. He said : "The question" (of St. Thomas) "appears to have become a party one among Romanists in India, in connection with other differences, and I see that the authorities now ruling the Catholics at Madras are strong in disparagement of the special sanctity of the localities, and of the whole story connecting St. Thomas with Mylapore."

And in the 3rd para of his Apostolic Letter of 21st Dec. 1923,

H. H. Pope Pius XI says: " As the origin of that (Malabar) church is from very ancient Christian congregations who received the light of the gospel from St. Thomas the Apostle, it occupies a high position among the eastern churches." Here the origin of the Malabar church is not stated to have been directly from St. Thomas (in the first century), but to have been from very ancient St. Thomas Christian congregations. Is it perhaps meant that those St. Thomas Christians came from outside Malabar and settled down there, and made converts who thus could claim to be themselves St. Thomas Christians ? Probably, not.

IX. St. Thomas' Skeletons and Bones

The following bone relics said to be of St. Thomas are known :—

1. The bones removed from India of Gundaphar-Mazdai (probably N. W. India, now Pakistan) to Edessa in or shortly after 232-3 A. D., and kept probably in its church built after the first one had been destroyed by a flood in 201 A. D. In 394 (Aug. 22) they were transferred to another church there. In *ca.* 1144 they had to be removed for safety to Chios Island, west of Asia Minor, and buried there under an inscribed stone slab ; then in 1258 they were taken to Ortona on the Sea, in Central Italy, where they still exist in the church.

By 402 A. D. fragments of St. Thomas' bones were at least in Brescia, Nola, and Milan, all in upper Italy, and some probably in the St. Thomas shrine built in Rome by Pope Symmachus (A. D. 498-514). All these were probably obtained from Edessa when the bones were transferred to the new church in 394. The alms sent to St. Thomas by King Alfred in 883 could be offered at the Shrine of Symmachus, or at Milan, Nola, or Brescia to the entire satisfaction of the king and the Saint. For a sermon of 402 A.D. by Bp. Gaudentius said " The relics of the just " (St. Thomas) " have gone round the world" (after 22nd August 394). " Every corner of the earth holds a part of St. Thomas." This is probably an oratorical exaggeration. " He has filled every place and in each place he subsists *entire* "—e. g. in Milan, Brescia, and Nola, and probably in Symmachus' St. Thomas shrine.

2. The white skeleton was taken out by the Portuguese from a San Thome tomb in 1522, and kept in the St. Thomas church at Goa in 1903, and probably is there even now. See § *IV ante*.

3. The skull-fragments, ribs, thigh bone, &c., taken out by Diogo and other Portuguese in 1523, from the present San Thome Cathedral tomb. See § V *ante*. They were all kept in a coffer. In 1545 St. Xavier was given only a small portion. In 1559 the coffer with the bones was carried away to Chandragiri by " Rama Raju " king af Vijayanagar, but was returned before 1565 owing to a miraculous apparition of St. Mary to the queen in her dreams.

Then half of the bones and the lance-head were taken by Fr. Lobo for the Goa Viceroy Constantino, but left with Bishop Jorge of Cochin. In April 1601 they were given back to San Thome. See Documents 1 and 2 in *Kerala Society Papers*, II, pp. 205-221, and p. 270.

These bones of 1523 are identical with those that the St. Thomas-Muslim tomb of 1293 held. They must have further crumbled during the 230 years since Marco heard of the tomb in 1293.

4 to 6. The skeletons inside the undecayed bodies of St. Thomas mentioned in about 1122 and 1370, and the bones of the arm and finger in Italy. See § X below.

X. Which is Genuine?

(*a*) Now the bones at Ortona (from India via Edessa and Chios No. 1 above in IX) cannot be St. Thomas' if the Gandaphar-Mazdai story in the *Acts* of 200-220 is rejected as mere late fable as some in Malabar contend. But Catholic Malabar now wants those bones to be returned to Malabar (ignoring Mylapore).

(*b*) Since the removal of the bones from "India"—somewhere in India proper—is admitted to be a historical fact, the *entire* white skeleton found in 1522 (No. 2 above), and probably in Goa even now cannot be St. Thomas'. It was for that very reason that another tomb was opened in 1523.

(*c*) As skull bones, &c. some much crumbled or reduced to dust, were found in the outer and inner portions of the tomb of 1523 (No. 3 above) they cannot be St. Thomas' even if the Muslim avarian's claim be brushed aside. St. Ephrem's statements in his Syriac songs do not necessarily indicate that part of the bones had been left in India by the merchant (called Khabin, later perhaps wrongly read as kharbin, and interpreted as angles, cherubim from Hebrew-Syriac plural *k'rubim*). Assemani (*Bibl. Or.* IV, Rome, 1728) assumed that Ephrem meant as above.

But, contrary to Diogo's sworn statement of 1543 about the large number of bones he actually took out from the tomb in 1523 (see V *supra*) Mylapore now has only a minute bone fragment. Where has the rest gone? Taken away by St. Xavier? No. And Cochin in 1601 returned the portion taken there. Vijayanagar too, before 1565.

D'Cruz, a Mylapore parishioner, says: "As a fact the authorities at the Cathedral of San Thomè claim to possess only a very small portion of the relics, consisting of a fragment of a bone and the extreme point of a lance". (Why not of an arrow head?). See his *St. Thomas*, 1929, p. 97.

Fr. H. Hosten too says that in the reliquary at the Cathedral there is only " *Reliquia dos ossos de S. Thomeè,*" i. e. relic of bone of St. Thomas, as the superscription on the San Thome reliquary says. *Vide Vatican Exhibition of* 1925, p. 36.

XI. St. Thomas' Bodies, Hand & Finger

1. The undecayed body in Ulna (=Urha, Edessa) in "India", described to the Vatican court, Rome, in about 1122 by Mar John III., Patriarch of the Indies.[19] He declared on oath that it was "intact and entire, standing erect, as if alive...his face shines like a star: his hair is red, his beard is red and crisp...he extends his right hand...palm outstretched,...and withdraws his hand". *Vide* JRAS, 1923, No. 5, pp. 169, 170, 171. John of Hese took the story from Mar John III., but places his body "on an island in the sea", perhaps on Chios Island where the bones from Edessa were since *ca.* 1144.

2. Bp. Peter de Natalibus, a Venetian (bishop since 1370) in his *Catalogus Sanctorum*, Bk. 6, ch. 43, gives details about a St. Thomas body thus: It was in a tomb or silver casket (*loculus*) hanging from silver chains, and yearly on the eve of St. Thomas' feast the Archbishop of Edessa opened the casket, and placed into the Apostle's hand a dry vine-stock, and the next day" (probably 3rd of Thōmmūs) "it was found green & covered with a fresh bunch of grapes" (quite ripe). See Raulin's *Historia Ecceles. Malabaricae*, Romae, 1745, p. 377.

This body must have been in Edessa, and probably identical with the one at Ulna (=Urha, Edessa), No. 1 above, if indeed there had been no substitution after the crumbling away of the (desiccated and otherwise preserved) body of 1122.

Such dead bodies are shown in Italy, though South India has not learned the art. E. g. the undecayed body of St. Juliana in the church of Our Lady of Dolours, and the undecayed body of St. Antony Bp.

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19. Rev. Fr. H. Hosten says that "Mesopotamia (was) sometimes, included in India by Syrian writers." See J. R. A. S., 1923, No. 5, p. 167 note 1. The author of *Itinerarium Alexandri* in Latin (A. D. 345) says that " India " extended (eastwards) from Egypt and Ethiopia and included India proper. For Ptolemy (*ca.* 150) there was an India *east* of the Ganges upto the borders of China, besides "*India intra Gangem,*" west of the Ganges. Mar John was perhaps Patriarch of Babylon with Mesopotamia and India proper under him. Or, he was exaggerating.

In 550-60, according to Patriarch Isho-yahb, India upto Kalah (from Fars, S. W. Persia) was under the Metropolitan of Fars (= Pares). This Kalah may have been Kala-mine (= Kala-wān in Taxila) mentioned by St. Isidore, d. 636, as the burial place of St. Thomas, " in India at the easternmost part of Media-Parthia." The distance of " 1200 parasangs " (= 3900 miles) between Fars and Kalah is probably the exaggerated length of the voyage along the coast, and up the Indus to Kala-wān, actually about 3,200 miles only.

of Florence, in the Dominican church, both in Florence, and such other bodies; and also blood, hand, brain, &c. elsewhere in Italy and other countries, actually seen by Bp. Alexander of Kottayam, Travancore, in 1911 and 1922, as described in his Malayalam book *Videśa Yātra*, Kottayam, 1926, *passim*.

3. St. Thomas' body "in flesh and bone in a fair tomb, in the City of Calamye in Mabaron", i.e. Mylapore in Maabar described by Sir John de Mandeville (1357–71), without having actually seen it. His right arm and hand "are yet lying in a vessel without the tomb. And by that hand they make all their judgments in the Country, whoso hath Right or Wrong...for both Parties (in a Cause of Dissention) write their Causes on 2 bills and put them in the Hand of St. Thomas. And anon he casteth away the bill of the wrong cause, and holdeth still the Bill with the right Cause."

4. St. Thomas' body "in flesh and bone in a chasse" which the priest Jean Aerts of Mechlin or Malines mentioned (without seeing it) between 1481 and '84 as existing "in Calamina in the Great Indies". He mentions also the use of "the hand and the arm by the judge of the place as an instrument which decides altercations" by the same process as above (No. 3). These two bodies are identical, and perhaps the same as Nos. 1 & 2. Both Sir John and Jean Aerts assumed that Mar John's and Bp. Peter's St. Thomas bodies (No. 1 and 2) were in Mylapore, which, again, they assumed to be identical with St. Isidore's Calamina[20] of *ca.* 630, and Calamina in their Roman Martyrology = Kaláminē in Greek writings of about 700 A.D.

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20. Sir John, the imaginative plagiarist, is the first who identifies Calamina with Mylapore "*in Mabarion*". Does the original Syriac letter of 1652 from Patriarch Ahatalla then imprisoned by the Portuguese somewhere in Maabar, very likely in *galma-ona* (= Little Mount in Syriac) mention the place of imprisonment as "Calamina", or as '*galmona*"? In 1906, Fr. Stephen, D. C. L. (in *The Examiner*, Bombay, 1906 Dec. 29, p. 512) derived Calamina from Syriac *galma*, a rocky hill, and *ona* a diminutive suffix. The whole *Galma-ona* therefore means a little mount.

As suggested in note 19 *ante* kala-mina may be kala-wān in Taxila. Or it may be Kala-mena = the castle of women, i. e. the separate castle in which king Gondophare's harem or a more ancient Persian king's harem resided. In course of time the name of that castle, as usual, became the name of the city in which it was situated.

The word Mena is used in North-West India as in Mena Bazar, one specially intended for Ghosha women. And kala is found in several N. W. Indian place-names, e. g. Mian-kala, kala-bagh, and kalaka-Serai (in Taxila); Kala-Nao, and Kala-t-i-Ghilzai (both in Afghanistan); Kalachi (= Karachi) and Khalat State (Baluchistan), Kala Drosh (N. W. F. Province), Kala Amba (in Bombay- S. E. of Surat) and several other kalas from Surat to the Panjab and Afghanistan, resembling the first part of Kala-mina (*ca.* 630), and Isho Yahb's kalaḥ (650–60).

5. Barbosa who wrote while in India between 1500 and 1516, and perhaps visited the Mylapore tomb, records a tradition (heard from some Armenian in his ship?) that "on burying him" (St. Thomas, in 68 A.D. acc. to San Thome, or 72 A.D. as Malabar contends, since 1720) "they could never put his right arm in the tomb...He remained thus for a long time...and some Chinese" (not unlikely; but did his informant say people from Sinai, or from Qud-*Shanis* in Kurdistan, the Nestorian headquarters since 1400, or Khoras-*Sani*, those of N. E. Persia?) "came and when they were about to strike at it with a sword, he withdrew his arm inside, and it was never seen again...and the Moors and Gentiles light him up (in 1500-1516, but no Christians), each one saying that he is something belonging to them". We already know that Moors (Muslims) claimed the San Thome avarian from at least 1293.

6. An arm or a hand of St. Thomas is in Italy. Here we recall the fanciful interpretation by Fr. Burthey, S. J. (1846-95), of Trichinopoly[21] of the Pahlavi inscription[22] on the Mount Cross, Madras, thus: "When they heard in the West of the great fame of the Holy Martyr, the emperor asked the Emperor of India for the right arm of St. Thomas, which was willingly granted."

XII. Pandit Nehru Quoted

In the Indian Catholic Bishops' address presented on January 4, 1950, to H. E. Cardinal Gilroy of Australia, Papal Legate to the Plenary Council of Indian Catholic Bishops, Pandit Nehru, Prime Minister, is cited as having stated in an unnamed work of his that there have been Christians in India (including Pakistan) since the first century. *True*, if Malabar also grants that Gundaphar of the *Acts* (200-220) is Gondophares of Taxila and Kalawān, and gives up Malabar's identification of him with their imaginary Kaṇḍappa Raja, Khaṇḍaparasu, &c. of Mylapore, and their contention that the *Acts* is "mere fable."

But it has to be pointed out that later, in 1946 or '47, in a speech of his, Pandit Nehru said that Christianity in India is only 1600 years old.

The address says also that the gospel-light was brought to Malabar and Mylapore in 52 A. D., but the *Caritam* of the 1st cent. and the *Song* of 1601 (*ante*) say that the Apostle landed in *Dhanu* 50 A. D., and in

21. Trichinopoly = Tiru-*Jina*-Paḷḷi = the holy Jina-temple. An old Jina inscription was discovered at the Rock-Fort temple there some years ago. The modern derivation (since 1947) is, however, Tiru-*chira*-palli, *chira* being the name of some imaginary man, as some say.

22. The latest (1948) interpretation of that Pahlavi inscription by Dr. W. B. Henning of Cambridge is: "My Lord Christ, have mercy upon Afras, son of Chahar-bukht, son of Giwargis, who set this up." So Burnell, Haug, Harlez, Fr. Burthey and others had all gone wrong.

8 days established Christianity in the Cranganore area. And those two documents yet remain unproved. Besides, no St. Thomas dates are found before 1720 A. D, and there are *seven different dates* suggested since by Malabar itself (as already pointed out in XIV).

XIII. Sir Radhakrishnan Quoted

The above address to the Cardinal says, besides, that Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Ambassador in Russia, has expresssd in an unnamed book or speech his conclusion that St. Thomas brought Christianity to South India from Syria. But does any document or tradition say that St. Thomas came from, or *via* Syria ? I have seen no such thing.

Again that St. Thomas came to South India, or any part of India, or Pakistan has yet to be proved, the earliest documents—*The Clementine Recognitions* (250), Origen (230) and the *Acts* (200–220)—assigning to him Parthia, or Sandaruk and the Gundaphar-Mazdai kingdoms.

And Mylapore tradition is not found recorded, or definitely mentioned earlier than the 13th century ; and Malabar tradition, not before the 16th century.

XIV. Cardinal Cautious

Despite the above statements on the 4th, the Cardinal in his opening address of 6th Jan. said : (1) 19 centuries intervene between this day and the day on which St. Thomas preached in the Southern parts of the Himalayas. (2) The St. Thomas Xtians of S. W. India (= Malabar) are very ancient. He does not postulate that St. Thomas preached in the southern parts of the Vindhyas, or of India, nor does he specify any date like the first cent., or Malabar's 50, 51, 52 ; 52-3, 67, 78, or 84 A. D. (seven years) for the Apostle's landing in S. India. All of these dates, and Mylapore's 68 *contra* Malabar's 72 A. D. for his death, and Malabar's first cent. Tamil *Caritam and Song* of 1601 A.D. of " hardly assailable reliability " &c. I had brought to his notice before his arrival. Pope Pius XI's view of 1923 cited in § VIII *supra* tallies with the Cardinal's, or is against it.

— 33 —

WESTERN CHĀLUKYA RELATIONS WITH CENTRAL INDIA

PROF. G. S. DIKSHIT, M.A., Poona

Tailappa II : While Tailappa's wars with Munja the Paramāra ruler of Mālava, are well-known, his war with Gujarāt is not so well-known. Ranna,[1] a kannada poet patronised by him, gives Tailappa the title of ' Gurjara bhayajwara' which implies that he was a terror to the ruler of Gujarāt. The Gujarāt chronicles[2] refer to the fight between Mūlarāja, the founder of the Caulukya dynasty and one Bārapa who must have been a general of Tailappa. Eventually Bārapa was defeated and killed in this fight.

Satyāśraya : The fight between the Western Chālukyas and the Caulukyas continued under Satyāśraya, the successor of Tailappa. Ranna[3] who lived and wrote in this reign also, says, that Satyāśraya defeated the Gūrjara king with his host of elephants. Since Ranna completed his work by 982 A. D., Satyāśraya's defeat of the Gūrjara king must have been over by this time. The Lakkundi inscription[4] of 1007 A. D. states that Dānachintāmani Attiyabbe made a request to king Satyāśraya to give a grant soon after his conquest of the entire Gurjara Country–making it clear that the victorious campaign of Gujarāt was just then over. Thus Satyāśraya appears to have invaded Gujarāt once in 982 A. D. and a second time in 1007 A. D.

His other conquests are referred to in the inscription at Lakkundi. According to it he had two generals, Dhalla and his son Nāgadēva. Dhalla claims to have fought with Konkana, Mālava and Vengi. His son Nāgadēva claims to have fought in Mālava, Lāla and Magadha.

Since the wars with Mālava were continued later on, Satyāśraya or his generals may very well have fought with Malava ; but how far his fight with Magadha was true cannot be stated without further confirmation.

Vikramāditya V : It was now the turn of the Paramāra King Bhoja to take vengeance on the Chālukyas' defeat of Muñja. Bhandarkar surmises that he must have wreaked his vengeance on Vikramāditya the successor of Satyāśraya, about whom so little is known.

1. Sources of Karnatak History, p. 133. 2. E. H.D., p. 111.
3. Gadayudha, Canto I-16. 4. B. K. Inscription No. 52.
5. E. H. D., p. 104.

Jayasimha II : This led to warfare between Bhōja and Jayasimha, the successor of Vikramāditya V. Bhoja seems to have formed a confederacy against the Chālukyas ; and in 1019 A. D. Jayasimha is represented to have put to flight or broken this confederacy and is styled 'the moon of the lotus which was King Bhoja' i. e one who humbled him.[6] A Banavasi record[7] refers to the part played by Chattadeva, a feudatory of Jayasimha in this fight. The Chālukya army marched northwards as far as the Gautama-Gange, i. e. the modern Godāvari, and there it engaged the Mālava King in battle. Chattadeva dispersed the Mālava troops and Jayasimha granted him the title of 'Guardian of the Highland' foı this achievement.

Two other subordinates of Jayasimha also claim victories against northern powers. Mācharinpa, a subordinate of Jayasimha and a patron of poet Chandrarāja is claimed in the latter's work Madanatilaka,[8] to have defeated the Chōla, Magadha and Mālava kings. Jayasimha's viceroy Rāyapāndya in 1041-42 A. D. is described[9] as the conqueror of the kings of Lāla, Gauḷa Vidarbha, Kaḷinga, Vanga, and Nepāl.

Someśvara I : Of the next king Somesvara I, Bilhaṇa gives the following account. He stormed Dhāra, from which king Bhoja had to flee.[10] Soon after this event Bhōja died ; and after his death the Kalacūri King Karṇa along with Bhimdēva of Gujarat attacked Mālava and sacked Dhāra.[11] The Nagpur stone inscription[12] refers not only to this event, but to the participation of Chālukyas in it thus:-'When Bhoja had become Indra's companion and when the realm was overrun by floods in which its sovereign was submerged, his relation Udayāditya became king. ' Uplifting the earth which was troubled by kings and taken possession of by Karṇa, who joined by the Karnāṭas, was like the mighty ocean, he acted like the holy boar.'

An inscription[13] dated 1060 A. D, found in Sagar Taluka, Shimoga district, describes a general of Somesvara I who took part in one of the Mālava campaigns as the royal swan on both of the banks of the Narmada, an evil comet to the Mālava people, capturer of the fort Mandeva, held in honour in the city of Dhārā.... The alliance between the Chālukyas and Kalacūri Karṇa was, however, shortlived. Bilhaṇa says that Someśvara next fell upon Karṇa and destroyed his power.[14] Someśvara is also represented to have fought with the king of Kanauj or

6. I. A., V, p. 17.
7. E. I., XVI, p. 359.
8. S. K. H., p. 142. 9. S. I. I., IX, Part I, (No. 95).
10. Vikramānkdēva-charita, I, 91 to 96. 11. E. H. D., p. 114.
12. E. I., II, 192. 13. M. A. R., 1928, p. 69.
14. Vikramānkadēva-charita, I, 102-103.

Kānyakubja and compelled him to betake himself to the caverns of mountains for safety.[15]

Vikramāditya VI : According to Bilhaṇa Someshvara sent his son the future Vikramāditya VI on military campaigns even when he was a prince. The king of Mālava who had been dethroned by his enemies, sought Vikramāditya's assistance and was reinstated on the Mālava throne by him.[16] Vikramāditya is also said to have invaded the Gauḍa country or Bengal and Kāmarupa or Assam.[17] A copper plate from Rājapur[18] gives a list of Vikramāditya's achievements, and these appear to refer to events that happened before he came to the throne; as it mentions in the end that, as he was on his way home, after accomplishing all these great deeds, he heard of his father's death by suicide, in the Tungabhadra river. One of these triumphs was that he helped the king of Mālava to gain his throne.

A stone inscription[19] from Hunisi Hadagali in the Gulburga district, says that when Vikramāditya was on the banks of the Godāvarī, after his destruction of Dhār and reinstatement of Udayi's son, Jajjugi. Jagadēva, one of his generals named Bhīvaṇayya secured permission from him for a grant. This campaign may refer to another attempt on the part of Jagadēva's enemies to oust him and Vikramāditya's reinstatement of him on the Mālava throne. The date given in the inscription is about 1098 A.D. Another of his inscriptions[20] states that in 1098-99 A. D. he was still in the north and was then on the banks of the Narmada. Evidently he must have gone there for his second Malava campaign. In an inscription[21] dated 1122 A. D. Vikramāditya is said to have conquered first the Gaṇgas then the Chōlas and Lālas and to have levied tribute from the Pānchalas and subjugated the rest.

From the inscriptions of his generals and feudatories, we also get an idea of the extensive nature of Vikramāditya's conquests. Thus in the inscription mentioned previously[21] his feudatory Pāndyadēva ruling at Nolambavādi says that he chased the King of Ratnāpura at his master's command. Ratnāpura is in the Bilaspur District and was one of the capitals of the Haihayas. Then there was one Āca, 'who is represented to have made the kings of Kalinga, Vanga, Māru, Gūrjara, Mālava...... (subject) to his sovereign.'[22] A third general was one Trībhuvanmalla-Pāndya who is said to have been the rod in the hands of Vikramāditya, and such was the emperor's confidence in him, that he was considered sufficient by himself to upset Kalinga,

15. I. A., VIII, p. 19.
16. Vikramānkadēva-charita, III, 55-67. 17. Ibid, III; 74.
18. E. I., IX, p. 108. 19. Sharanasāhitya, VIII, p. 342.
20. D. K. D., p. 49. 21. S. I. I., IX, Part I, No. 205.
22. J. B. B. R. A. S., XI, p. 269.

frighten and attack Anga, Vanga, and Magadha Kings, conquer Mālava and trample on Gūrjara.[23] One of Vikramāditya's inscriptions says that he obtained the tittle 'Chālukyapati' by conquering the whole of India from the Himālayas to the Setu.[24] One result of the military campaigns of the Western Chālukyas in northern India was the establishment of Karnāṭaka dynasties in Nepāl and Bengal.[25] These were the Nānyadēva dynasty in Nepāl and Sena dynasty in Bengal.

We must not forget, however, that these military campaigns were not the only kind of relations between the north and the south. Bilhaṇa, the court poet of Vikramāditya VI was, as is well known, a Kashmiri Brahmin. Some of the Chālukya generals who went to the north for military purposes established charities in those parts. One inscription[26] describes Raviga as an unrivalled commander and as having made the orders of Vikramāditya obeyed by all between the Himālayas and the Setu, and having the title of Chālukyarājya Mūlstambha. He is said to have established his charities on the banks of the Narmada, Ganges and Jumna and to have set up rest-houses throughout the land.

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23. E. C., XI, Dg. 3 & 90.
24. Kundanagar Inscriptions of Northern Karnatak, No. 7.
25. I. H. Q., XII, p. 474-5. 26. S. I. I., IX, Part I, No. 158.

— 34 —

FURTHER ARCHAEOLOGICAL TRACES OF BUDDHISM IN GUJARAT

DR. H. D. SANKALIA, Poona

The prevalence of Buddhism in Gujarat and Saurashtra immediately before and after Christ had been reconstructed so far by the writer[1] with the help of a few epigraphical references, and the help of allusions in early Ceylonese works and the Chinese travellers Hiuen-Tsiang and I-Tsing. The only true archaeological evidence to corroborate this evidence was supplied by the caves from the S. E. coast of Saurashtra, and Junagadh, and a few doubtful images of the Buddha from Vala, the site of ancient Valabhī.

No evidence had been produced from Gujarat proper. This had been recently obtained from two sites. The first is Tārangā hill, almost at the northern end of Gujarat. The second is Nagara, a village few miles to the north of Cambay, in Central Gujarat.

Tārangā was already known as a Buddhist site from the existence of a beautiful large image of Tārā, installed now in a semi-cave temple on the way to Tārangā. In fact, the hill seems to have been so called, because of this Buddhist goddess.

However, the Jainas have now appropriated both the goddess and the hill. When this happened cannot be said for certain at present. It was probably during the Jaina supremacy over Gujarat, particularly about the time of Kumārapāla.

But prior to this period, about the 5th-6th century A.D. Buddhist influence seems to have been at work in this region. To this we owe the image of Tārā, as well as loose sculptures of the Buddha that the writer found on the hill.

Almost in an inaccessible rock shelter formed by a series of large granite boulders, we were led in January 1949, into what was supposed to be a Jaina shrine. We found there placed on a pile of stones, besides

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1. SANKLIA, *Archæology of Gujarat*, (Bombay, 1941), pp. 229–43. See also DIKSHIT, M. G., " History of Buddhism in Gujarat " *J.G.R.S.*, 1946 pp. 95–113 ; GADRE, " Buddhist Influence in Gujrat and Kathiawad " *Bhagwanlal Indraji Comm. Volume*, *J.G.R.S.*, I, pp. 66–67. Recently a Buddhist monastery is said to have been excavated at Intwa hill near Junagadh.



Fig Terraco ses

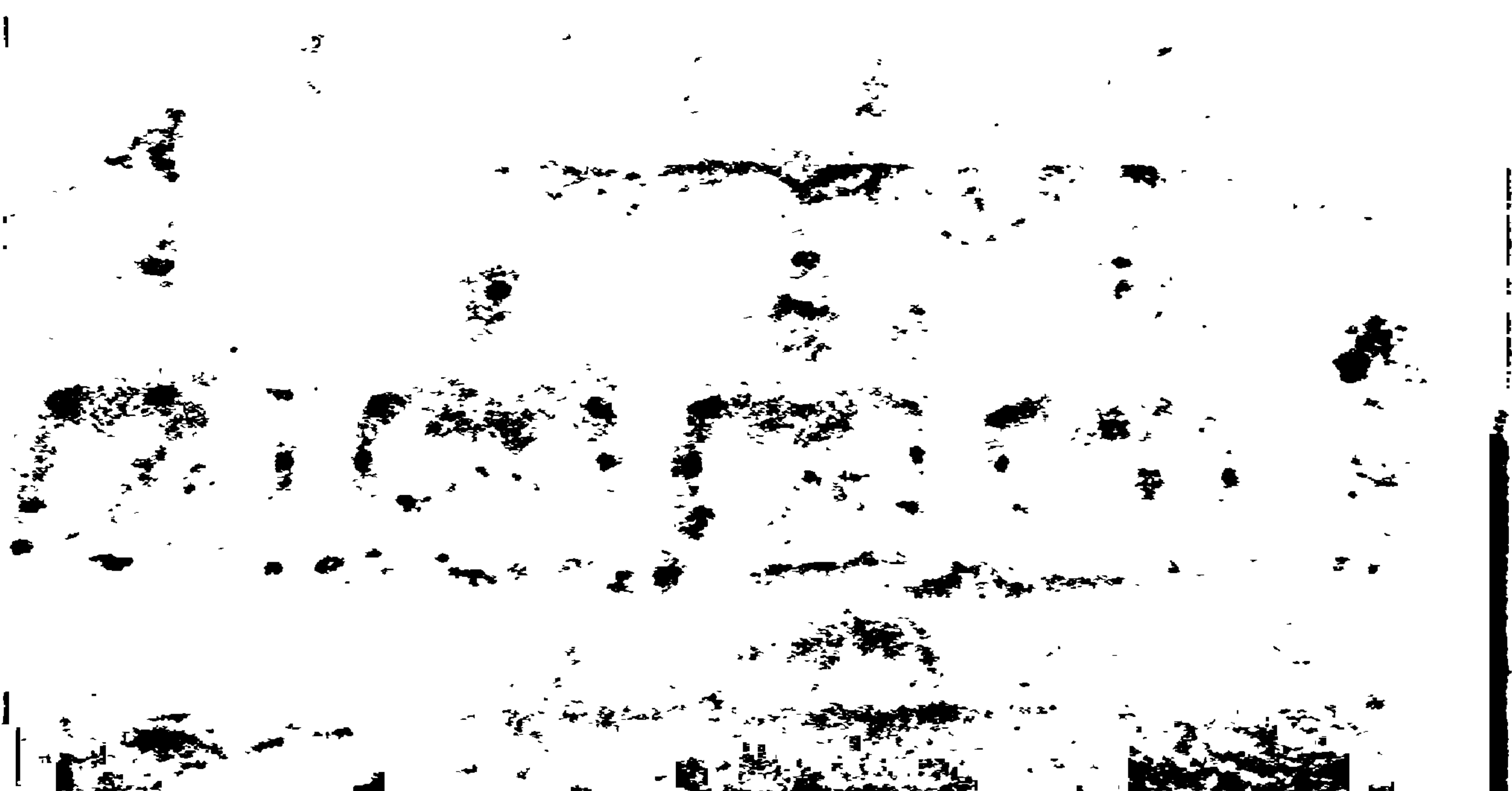


Fig. *Bhumisparsha Mudra*

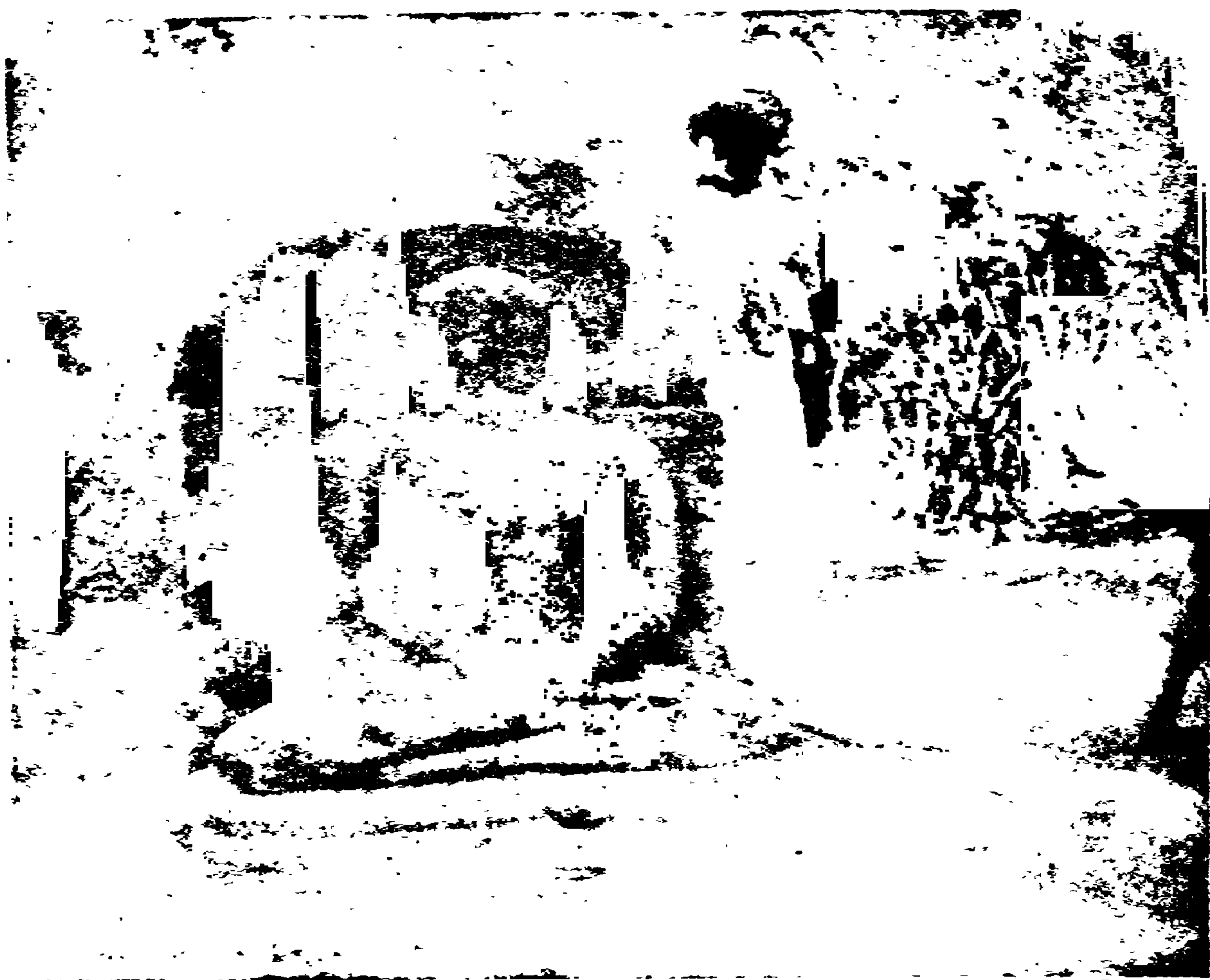


Fig. III—Image of Buddha

P 28

a rock boulder a few terracotta horses (see fig. 1), a small rectangular stone panel over which were carved a series of seated figures. A casual visitor and a layman would think these to be Jaina Tīrthankaras, to which they resemble. But their *mudrā*, the position of the hand, shows that these are Buddhas. All are seated in *padmāsana* over a double lotus seat, under two-fold arch made by a tree (date palm or banana?) with its branch hanging down on either side of the head. Nos. 1 and 3 (beginning from left) are (Fig. 2.) in *bhumisparśa mudrā*, while Nos. 2 and 4 are in *dharmachakra mudrā*. None of the Jaina Tīrthankaras is ever shown, either seated or standing in these *mudrās*. So there is no doubt that this stone panel now lying in this inaccessible place represents Buddhas. Originally it must have formed, perhaps together with the Tārā image, a part of a Buddhist shrine. This was somehow destroyed. Later, the Jainas who came in possession of the region, removed the loose sculptures and started worshiping them, believing them to be Jaina. A further careful search in these hills, is bound to bring forth more of this Buddhist influence in this area.

The second Buddhist site seems to have been at Nagarā, now a small village about 3 miles north of Cambay. Here a huge stone image of Buddha lies on a small artificial mound. Locally it is called differently but it too is undoubtedly an image of Buddha. (See Fig. 3.)[2] From the position of the hands, it is evident that it must be in the *dharmachakra mudrā*. This is one of the largest Buddha images found in Gujarat. Most probably it is of the 7th century, when Buddhism had not completely disappeared from Western India. In fact, with Valabhī, the famous centre of early Mahāyāna Buddhism, only a few miles across the Bay of Cambay, one may expect this part of Gujarat under its influence. Though the Nagarā image is the only evidence so far of this influence further research is likely to bring to light additional data.

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2. The site was brought to our notice by Dr. M. R. MAJUMDAR of Baroda, who had accompanied us to Cambay. The photograph was taken by Dr. M. G. DIKSHIT.

— 35 —

INSCRIPTIONAL, ARCHITECTURAL AND SCULPTURAL VALUE OF THE PĀNDAVA-LENE CAVES AT NĀSIK

Y. R. GUPTE, B.A., M.R.A.S., Poona

The importance of the caves at Nāsik, five miles from the city, on the Bombay-Agra road, mainly centres round the inscriptions, which are 27 in all. They throw a flood of light on the history of the ruling families, religion, social customs, architecture, previous models, habits of the indigenous ruiing families as also foreigners who settled in Mahārāṣtra and Gujrāt and their dresses. Space does not allow me to go into details. Only the salient features can be pointed out.

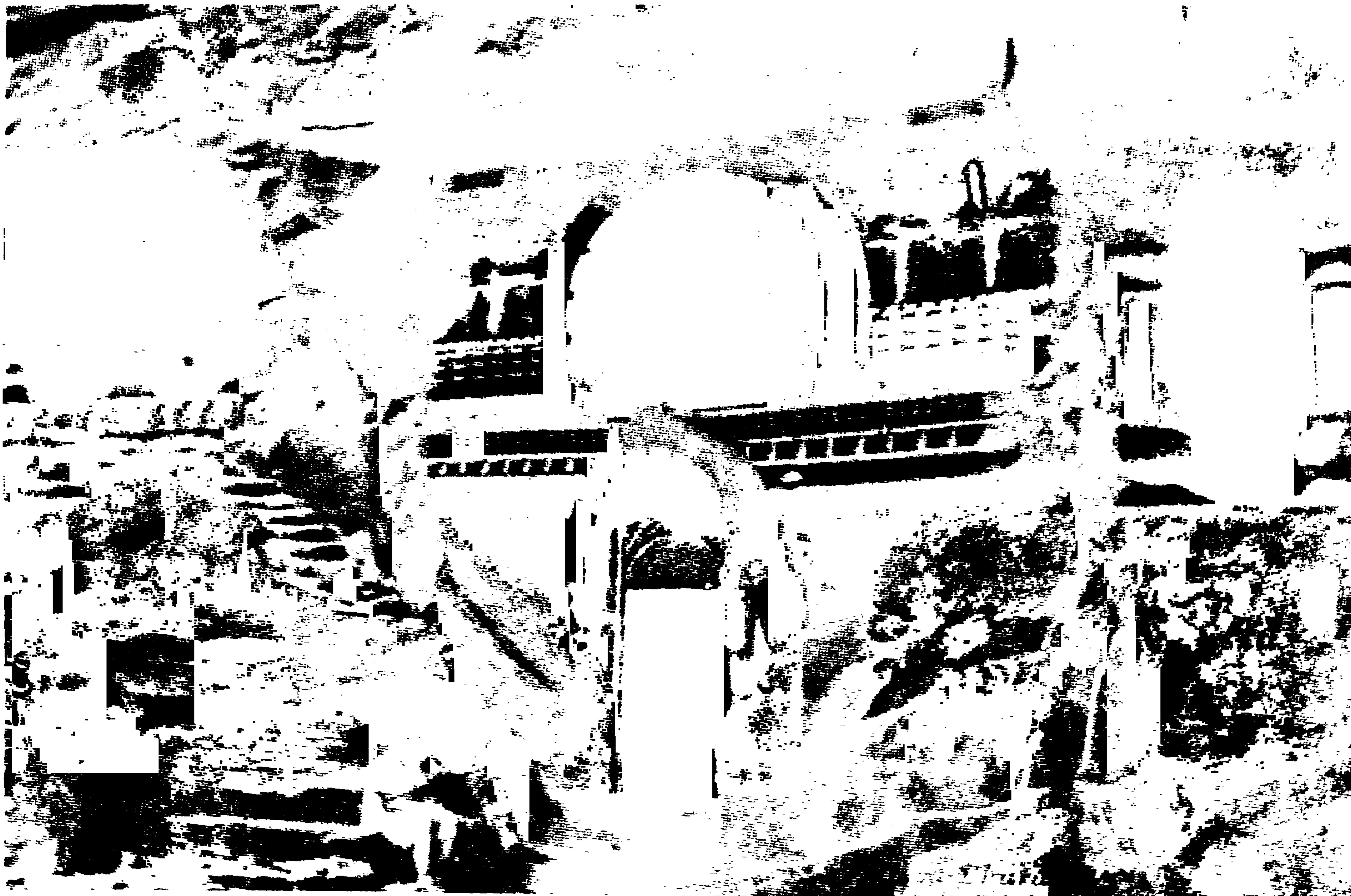
The cave hill is named Tiraṇhu (Triraśmi) Triple Sun-beam in 7 inscriptions 2, 3, 5, 10, 15, 18 and 19. Suggestions as regards the name for instance, its pyramid shape etc. are not convincing. On Paleographical grounds the inscriptions are of 5 groups or classes: I 20 and 22; II 18, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 26, 27, 6; III 19, 25, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 21, 24, 17, 8, 9, 7; IV 15; V 23. They are based on style and fixed or supposed dates. Since the Gazetteer Vol. XVI was published,[1] the most important find to establish the fact that Gautamiputra destroyed the family of Nahapāna [that is the Khakharāta (Kṣaharāta) dynasty], was the Jogaltembhi hoard in the Sinnar taluka of the Nāsik district. Nahapāna's coins are counterstruck by Gautamiputra. This proves that Gautamiputra's boast or rather his mother's boast (see inscription 2, line 6) was not a myth. Several emendations were proposed by M. E. Senart.[2] I tried to identify certain villages mentioned in those inscriptions (See Ind. Ant.[3]). For the identification of Kaṇhahini with Kāvanaī in the Igatpuri taluka, where I served as a Sub-Registrar for a short time, I was congratulated by Dr. Bhandarkar. A good many countries and cities and villages can be identified now if a serious attempt is made. It is the duty of young enthusiasts rather than of old men, who can travel with difficulty.

In the earliest inscription, No. 22, it is noted that when Kanha (Kṛṣṇa) of the Sādavāhana (Sātavāhana) family was ruling, the cave was made by the great Śramaṇa minister, an inhabitant of Nāsik. The probable date is 110 B. C. In inscription No. 20 again the name of Nāsik occurs. It is of about the same period.

1. In 1883. The caves at Nāsik and the inscriptions there are numbered according to the Gazetteer Vol. XVI.

2. Epi. Ind., Vol. VIII pp. 69-96. 3. July 1912, pp. 165-6.

PANDAV-LENE CAVES, NASIK



Courtesy : 'Chitra Shālā', Poona

– Page 28

In Inscription No. 18 found in Cave No. XVII (which cave is interesting from the sculptural point of view also) the name of a Yavana, Indrāgnidata (Indrāgnidatta), son of Dhammadeva (Dharmadeva), an inhabitant of Datamiti (Dāttāmitri) a northerner is recorded. These Yavanas assumed Hindu or Buddhist names and patronized their religion. Indrāgnidatta caused to be excavated his dwelling cave for the worship of all Buddhas and dedicated it to the mendicant assembly of the four quarters with his son Dhammarakhita (Dharmarakṣita).

Uṣavadāta (Ṛṣabhadatta) son-in-law of Nahapāna, a Kṣatrapa and his son Dīnīka, divided his charities between the Buddhists and Brāhmaṇas alike. At Nāsik he got incised three inscriptions viz. Nos. 10, 12, and 14. He calls himself a Śaka in inscription 10. His wife was Dakhamitra (Dakṣamitrā), the daughter of Nahapāna and made two gifts. (See inscriptions 11 and 13).

Nahapāna was apparently the governor of a part of Gujarāt and northern Konkan. The gifts made elsewhere do not prove his possession. Chaṣṭana and the Kathiawad Kṣatraps come of different stalks. Their overlord was apparently Venones to judge from the corrupted legends on their coins. This Venones seems to be a Pārthian king.

Uṣavadāta in the month of Vaiśākha of the year 42 gave a dwelling cave to the assemblage of the four quarters and deposited 3,000 Kārṣāpaṇas as a capital for them for the price of clothes and kuśaṇas for the dwellers in his cave. The capital was entrusted to the guilds of Govardhaṇa, 2000 with the guild of weavers, the interest on which was 100 paḍikas with another guild of weavers 1000 the interest on which was 75 paḍikas. 8000 cocoanut trees in the village of Chikhalapadra were given. All this had been declared before the council of merchants and got engraved on the front of the doorway (See inscription 12).

In inscription 10 Uṣavadāta calls Nahapāna his Bhaṭāraka, lord, and to be obeying his orders. Feeding of Brāhmaṇas and giving cows to them was not a speciality of the Peshwas and Ahilyābāī Hoḷkar. These charities are being made from times immemorial even by the Śakas. Uṣavadāta was the donor of three hundred thousand cows and fed hundreds of thousands of Brāhmaṇas, every year. He gave 8 wives to them at Prabhās. He made the rivers Ibā, Pārādā, Damaṇa, Tāpī, Karabeṇā and Dāhanukā fordable by boats for which nothing was charged (Inscription 10). He built steps at the river Bārṇāsā. In the historical portion, he boasts that he was ordered by Bhaṭārka (Nahapāna) to release Utamabhadra (Uttamabhadra) who was besieged by the Malavas. They fled simply hearing the noise (of his troops) and were made subordinate to Utamabhadra.

Uṣavadāta's wife Dakhamitā (Dakṣamitrā) daughter of Nahapāna

made gifts of cells. (See, inscriptions 11 and 13.) She being his wife was apparently a Śaka.

There are two more inscriptions of the Śakas. One viz. No. 26 is of Vudhika (Vṛidhika, an inhabitant of Daśapura). It was in Malwa, Dasora being its modern equivalent. Vudhika calls himself 'Damachikasa' that is 'of Damachi'. It is not known what exactly it means. Vudhika is supposed to have come from Damascas. This is merely a suggestion. He was a writer. It appears that some of the Śakas followed the profession of writers. In inscription 27, Vudhika, a writer, apparently the same man of Damachi is said to be a Śaka, Sa and Śa being interchangeable. Another name of a writer, viz. Sivamita (Śivamitra) occurs in inscription 16, his son Rāmṇaka having made the gift of a cave. It is not known whether he was a Śaka.

Agriculturists were also in a position to make a gift. Inscription No. 25 records such a gift of Dhaṇama. The record is dated the 6th day of the fourth fortnight of the winter of the 2nd year of king Puḷumayi, son of Vāsiṭhī (Vāsiṣṭhī). A merchant named Viragahapati (Vīragṛhapati) made a gift of a dwelling cave (Inscription No. 6). The chapel was got excavated by the royal minister Arahalaya and Satāriyā, the foster mother of the great king Hakusiri (Hakuśri). Inscription No. 1 was engraved in the 5th fortnight of the summer of the 6th year of the illustrious king Puḷumāyī, son of Vāsiṭhi (Vāsiṣṭhī).

Then we come to the most important inscription No. 2 of the queen Gautamī Bālaśrī, the mother of the great king and the grand-mother of another great king in Cave No. III dedicated by her to the Buddhist mendicants of the Bhadrāyaṇīya school. She was the mother of the illustrious Śātakarṇi Gautamīputra (son of Gautamī). The inscription is dated the 13th day of the 2nd fortnight of the summer of the 19th year of Siri Puḷumāyi, son of Vāsiṭhi. She boasts that her son is the lord of the regions, Asika, Susaka, Muḷaka, Suraṭha (Surāṣṭra) Kukura, Aparānta (Northern Konkan), Anupa, Vidabha (Vidarbha), Ākaravati, Vijha (Vinjha), Ṛchhavat (Ṛkṣavat), Pārichāta (Pāriyātra), Sahya, Kaṇhagiri, Macha, Siriṭana, Malaya, Mahida, Seṭagiri and Chakora mountains, that he humbled the vanity of the Kṣatriyas, destroyed the Śakas, Yavanas and the Pallavas, rooted out the dynasty of Khakharāta (Kṣaharāta), established the fame of the Śātavāhana family, stopped the fusion of the four castes, is equal in valour to Rāma, Keśava, Arjuna and Bhīma, is the only Brāhmaṇa, meaning who performs the acts prescribed for Brāhmaṇas.

Śakas we have noticed above. The Yavanas were Bactrian Greeks or Ionian Greeks. According to the History of Indian and Eastern Architecture,[4] they point to an age when foreigners possibly of the Panjāb or Arkhosia visited the Deccan. In Śākuntala we find kings

4. Page 186.

were accompanied by Yavanīs perhaps because they were very fair. The Pahlavas were Persians. Rudradāman's viceroy was a Pahlava. The Pahlavas of Kanchi (Conjeeveram) were well-known.

In the above inscriptions Meru and Mandāra are rather mythical names. Vijha is Vindhyādri in Madhya Pradeśa, Pāriyātra is apparently Amarakaṇṭaka. Himavat is equivalent to the Himalayas. Kaṇhagiri is Kṛṣṇāgiri or Kānheri. Macha may be Rāmaśeja 6 miles from Nāsik. Siriṭana (Śrīsthāna) is Srī Śaila on the bank of the Kṛṣṇā, where Sivaji was inclined to practise penance. Malaya is Malabar. Mahendra is Mahendragiri near Ganjam. Seṭagiri is Ṣaḍagiri and Chakora is somewhere in the Deccan.

Cities and towns occur as under :—Bharukacha (insc. 10) is Broach, Binīkaṭa (insc. 3) or Benākaṭaka (insc. 4) is not far from Govardhan, Cheñchiya (insc. 14) is Chinchaṇī-Tārāpur in the Thana district, Chākalepa (insc. 17) is not yet identified, Dāhanukā-nagara is Dahānū, Damachika (insc. 26) perhaps Damascus in Syria, Daśapura (insc. 10 and 26) is Dasor, Dantāmiti (insc. 18) somewhere in Northern India as the donor was a northerner and as Patanjali has "Sauvīrā Dāttāmitri Nagari," Kāpura (insc. 12 and 14) is somewhere* near the sea-shore, Nagara (insc. 4 and 10) may be Nāsik though it is distinctly noted in inscriptions 20 and 22, Piṇḍitakāvaḍa cannot be satisfactorily identified, Pokhara is Puṣkara near Ajmere, Prabhāsa (insc. 10) is Prabhāsa-Paṭṭan-Somnāth-Paṭṭan in Kathiawad, where Śrī Kṛṣṇa dissolved his body, Rāmatīrtha is near Bassein where the Charaka mendicants lived. Sopāraga is Sopārā near Bassein, Suvarṇamukha is not yet identified, Ujeniya is Ujjain once the capital of Mālwā, Vaijayantī (insc. 3) is perhaps Banavāsī, the Kadamba capital.

The following villages are mentioned in the inscriptions. :—Apara-kakhaḍi and Kakhaḍī (insc. 4 and 5) are not yet satisfactorily identified.[5] Chikhalapadra, padra meaning a village, (insc. 12) is apparently Chikhli on the road from Nāsik to Balsar, Kaṇhahinī (insc. 9) is identified with Kāvanaī in the Igatpuri taluka of the Nāsik district, (Ind. Ant.)[6] Nānaṁgola (insc. 10) is perhaps Nargol in the Thana district, Pisajipadaka (insc. 2) is apparently Sañjegaon,[7] Sāmalipada (Śālmalipadra) (insc. 3) in the Govardhan district is apparently Sāmaṇagaon[8] in the Igatpuri taluka, and Sudisana (Sudarṣana) (insc. 3) the identification of which is a matter of doubt.

[*Kāpura has satisfactorily been identified with a village of the same name in the Vyara sub-division of the Baroda state; and is mentioned as the head of a district (Āhāra) in the Pārdi copper-plate grant of Traikuṭaka Darhasen, sec *Ind. Ant.*, XXXIX, p. 97 and *Ep. Ind.*, X, p. 53.—Ed.]

5. But possibly Avaḷakheḍ, Igatpuri Taluka.-Ind. Ant. July 1912, p.166.
6. July 1912, pp. 165-166.
7. Sāñjegaon 14 miles from the cave hill. Ind. Ant. July 1912, p. 165.
8. Sāmaṇagaon 8 miles from the cave hill. Ind. Ant. July 1912, p. 165.

The inscriptions throw light on social aspects. There were guilds of weavers, stone-cutters and oilmen (inscriptions 12 and 15) at Govardhana and other places, which could be relied upon and with whom money was invested for charitable purposes. Charities were made out of the accruing interest. These gifts were made known before the Naigamasabhās or councils of merchants and also engraved. Capital was deposited with congregations also. (See inscription 17).

Another inscription viz. 3 is of the time of Puḷumāvī[9] son of Vāsiṭhī of the 13th day of the 2nd fortnight of summer. He commanded in the presence of Sivakhadila (Śivaskandila), the Govardhana minister. The village Sudisaṇa (Sudarśana) had been granted to mendicants of the Bhadrāyaṇīya sect living in the queen's cave. But it was rejected and given up. In lieu of it, the village Samalipada (Śalmalipadra) was given. The document had been touched by the king in Binikaṭa, his camp, and the plate touched by the hand was given on the 7th day of the fortnight of the summer in the year 22 for the sake of Śātakarṇi by the Commander-in-chief Medhuna. The description of the king has been supplied by Viṣnupāla. This portion of the inscription gives the formalities to be observed at the time of making the gifts. Inscription No. 4 records that the illustrious lord Śātakarṇi, son of Gautamī, commands Viṣnu-pālita that a field is granted to the Tekīrasa ascetics. From inscriptions 5 we learn that at the command of Jīvasutā, the Queen Dowager, the great Queen of Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi a field in the village Kakhaḍi is given to the recluse mendicants living in the cave. Inscription 24 records that on the 1st day of the 3rd fortnight of the winter in the 7th year of the illustrious king Yajña Śātakarṇi, son of Gautamī a dwelling cave was given by Vāsu, wife of the great commander-in-chief Bhava-gopa. It was completed by the monk Bopaki.

Another interesting inscription viz. 15 records the gift of Viṣṇu-datta, a Śakanika, on the 13th day of the 4th fortnight of the summer of the 9th year of the Ābhīra king Īśvarasena, son of the Ābhira Śivadatta and son of Māḍharī. The gift is made for the medicine for the sick among assemblage of mendicants from the four quarters living in the hill. This is the only inscription mentioning the name of an Ābhīra king. The Ābhīras occupied the region from Khāndesh to Nāsik. Ahīrs are apparently their representatives. Inscription No. 23 records the gift of Mammā, a female worshipper. It is the only gift of an householder.

The caves are numbered from west to east. They are well protected from rain-water and bad weather. Early cave architecture can be conveniently studied at Nāsik. The vihāras there are useful for the

9. According to Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, Ph. D., Vāsiṭhīputa Puḷumāvī came to the throne about A. D. 135 and ruled for something like 28 years —Epi. Ind., Vol. XIV, p. 154.

investigation of the history of developments of this system. There are in all 23 excavations out of which 17 are noted in the History of Indian and Eastern Architecture. There is only one regular Chaitya cave. At Ajaṇṭā there are 26 first class caves, of which four are Chaityas. But the inscriptions there are few and mutilated. The Nāsik caves being rich in inscriptions and the names in them being well preserved greatly assist in determining the history. The Chaitya cave at Nāsik was excavated about the middle of the 2nd century B. C. as also the small vihāra which is on a lower level.

The only characteristic is a horse-shoe arch over each cell door with a rail.

We can have a good idea as to how the wooden models were copied. On close observation it will be evident that the walls of the caves, slightly slope, that being a characteristic of Bamboo structures to give them strength. The railings are evidently imitated from wooden structures. In original masonry and stone buildings they have no propriety. Imitations of wooden rafters are found in Cave No. X.

The square hall of cave No XIX which was filled with earth is now cleared. It bears an inscription of the time of Kṛṣṇa as noted above. He ruled about 170 B. C. The letters are deeply cut and the form of Da and in fact the whole of the inscription is of value from epigraphical point of view.

Three great vihāras, bearing the names of Nahapāna, Gautamīputra and Śrī Yajña range from 100–200 A. D. The plans of the Nahapāna and Gautamīputra vihāras are practically the same. The inferiority of the Kānherī and Kārla Chaitya halls is quite clear though whatever reasons can be assigned to the difference.

The pillars of the Gautamīputra cave No III are much inferior to those of the caves of Nahapāna. The Persian capitals have given place to the pudding form so common in later architecture. The shafts have no bases. The sculptured doorway also has lost its charm. The Dāgobā has many umbrellas.

In cave No. XVII over the topmost plate on either side of the beam animals sit back to back with riders and drivers. According to the Gazetteer,[10] the dress of the riders and drivers is curious and is valuable as evidence of the style of dress which was in use before the time of Nahapāna. It is difficult to understand how a sweeping assertion is made regarding the dress in use before the time of Nahapāna. On the outer face of the pilasters is a single elephant with a driver and two riders. On the outer face of the right pillar the driver of the right hand elephant wears a high turban and holds a goad with a handle,

10. Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Vol. XVI, p. 588.

not a hook. The rider is a boy. The driver of the left elephant is a woman with a curious head-dress. The riders are a man and a boy, the man with a curious head-dress. On the outer face of the left pillar two elephants sit back to back. The right elephant is driven by a man and ridden by a woman and a girl. The woman's dress is much like that now worn by Vanjārī women with a central and two side bosses of hair. Such dress is met with in the Nāsik district and in Khāndesh. Foreigners take great interest as the dwelling cave was dedicated by Indrāgnidatta, a northerner, a resident of Dantāmiti, a Yavana (Yonaka) son of Dhammadeva. His Excellency Lord Willingdon, then the Governor of Bombay and later on the Viceroy of India and Dr. Oldenberg, the great Vedic scholar, whom I had to take round the caves as directed by the Bombay and India Govts. made me explain the features of several sculptures noted above, whose dresses and behaviour impressed them and they wondered who possibly they might represent. Are they Bactrian or Ionian Greeks, or Satraps or Romans ? Some 50 years ago all agreed that the dresses and attitudes unmistakably point to the figures being those of Bactrian or Ionian Greeks. But of late Roman finds have led some antiquarians to believe that they might be of the Romans. Is there any indication to settle the point one way or the other? Roman coins have been found in abundance in the regions adjoining the sea-shore especially in the Madras Presidency. These were of course in circulation among the traders who frequented the Indian shores. Roman toys also have been discovered. These were in circulation as curios and toys. But have we instances to prove that Roman statues and large sculptures ever attracted sufficient public interest to carve them out in religious monuments? Ionian and Bactrian Greeks ruled over a large tract in the Panjab. They descended to the Deccan. Satraps like Nahapāna and his relations ruled over the Deccan; members of another branch were masters of Gujarāt. It is reasonable to suppose that these sculptures in Indrāgnidatta cave at Nāsik may represent the Ionian or Bactrian Greeks or even the kinsmen of the satraps. Parthian horsemen were renowned for their valour. In the Panjab the Bactrian Greeks were ruling, doing meritorious deeds and mixed with the population. A good many of them penetrated the Deccan and adopted the religion of the land. Gautamīputra boasts that he humbled the Kṣatriyas and stopped the fusion of the castes. It is not unlikely that these Yavanas were reckoned among the Kṣatriyas. There is one more inscription of a Yavana viz. Chanda in a cave at Junnar. Evidence is to be sought for in the dresses of the sculptures also. Are they like those of the Romans? Certainly not. We have types of the Roman period, and they do not agree with the sculptures. Yet another indication is that of the nose

and features. Do they agree with the Roman types? Here also we are disappointed as they are quite different. The probabilities, therefore, are that these figures represent the Bactrian or Ionian Greeks, Satraps or their kinsmen. Indrāgnidatta would take more interest in carving out sculptures of the Greeks than those of the ruling Satraps or their kinsmen.

In the Hīnayāna school, worship of the Buddha image was forbidden. So the jar containing his relics—ashes, tooth, bones or the like—real or imaginary like those in the caves, was the chief object. Then came the tree and lastly the umbrella. The Lion and the Chakra and the Dāgobā[11] and the Cobra were the only ornamental features. So the scope for architecture was limited.

The scope widened with the preaching of the Mahāyānists. Images of the Buddha became common and the number of umbrellas increased. In the great vihāra, where the name of the Vāsu occurs we find a gigantic figure of the Buddha seated with the standing attendants, door-keepers and Yakṣas of this school, which flourished from the 3rd or the 4th century A. D. onwards.

There is the inscription viz. 23 of about 5th century A. D. of Mammā. Four centuries later cave No. 17 was excavated. It is irregular and contains sculptures of the Mahāyāna or the Great Vehicle school. The images of the Buddha, the Bodhisatvas-Vajrapāṇi and Padmapāṇi-and Tāra prove that they are of the Northern Buddhist type. The figure of the Buddha in the attitude of attaining Nirvāna-Mahāparinirvāṇa—is of a much later date. Dhyāni-Buddhas, and Bodhisatvas are found in the 6th to the 8th century A.D. The pillars confirm this view. The Nāsik caves mainly belong to the older Indian dynasties Śātakarṇis or Śātavāhanas. The pillars and pilasters in cave No. XX remind us of the ornament of the Ajaṇṭā pillars of about the 6th century A. D.

Cave No. XI was excavated later than cave No. X. It is a Jain one. Ṛṣabhadeva's figure in it is of about the 10th to the 12th century A. D. It is in the Padmāsana attitude. Between two tigers below is the Dharmachakra. The form of the alligators confirm the date. Three umbrellas above indicate the sovereignty of the three worlds. The figures of Ambikā and Vīra Maṇibhadra in the right wall can hardly be mistaken.

In cave No. XVII a portion of rock was left unfinished. Later on a Śālunka was cut and a Linga inserted. Thus a part of a Buddhist cave was appropriated by the Brahmanical sect.

In cave No. XX there is a great figure of Buddha, which is wor-

11. These are the three jewels of the Buddhists.

shipped as Dharmarāja. A fair is held in Śrāvaṇa when boys dressed as girls dance.

Thus it will be clear that the Nāsik Caves are mainly and primarily a purely Buddhist group, the appropriations being of very minor importance.

The paintings which adorned the vihāras at Nāsik unlike those at Ajaṇṭā, have apparently all disappeared. At any rate cave No. III was painted as in inscriptions No. 2, 1, 11, the words "leṇasa chitaṇa-nimita" (chitraṇa-nimittaṁ) occur. The suggestion that "vitaṇanimitaṁ" or "vitaraṇanimitaṁ" was intended 'chi' and 'vi' looking similar and 'ra' being omitted is far fetched. The donation was made for painting done or to be done. We definitely have paintings in the Ajaṇṭā and Pitaḷakhora caves as also traces of paintings[12] in those at Elephanta near Bombay.

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12. Guide to Elephanta by Y. R. Gupte (Govt. of India Publication), 1942 pp. 32-33.

— 36 —

METHOD OF ARCHÆOLOGY AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS

S. K. Dikshit, M.A., Poona

I. Definition and Scope

The word "archæology" is to be derived from *α'ρχαῖος*, meaning "ancient" and *λόγος*, meaning "knowledge." It has been, therefore, variously defined as the "study of antiquity," or "the science of ancient things." But this etymological meaning of that word is not exactly what that word really signifies. It is best defined as the "*science of ancient remains*," as has been done in *The Modern Encyclopædia* of Sir J. A. Hamilton; for, indeed, we do not include in "archæology" such "ancient things" as the Vedic lore, the Bible, and similar other early religious texts, that we may study merely from literary point of view. Nor do we include in that term even the works of Herodotus, Thucydides, etc., which we cannot truly call "remains." Such religious or historical documents would come within the purview of archæology only when they be unearthed in some form or the other as material relics of the activities of the ancient man. Nonetheless, as will be made clear later, the study of these documents is quite indispensable for an archæologist, whose function does not stop merely with the collection of the ancient remains, but must include an intelligent appreciation and interpretation of those remains. Thus, by the word "remains" in the definition, we clearly refer to the material relics that man has left behind, and not to such intangible notional relics as are embodied in books printed in recent times, or as are found in modern folklore. By the term "ancient,"—which is, of course, a vague term,—we generally refer to a period, when we cannot have that abundance of written historical material, which the invention of the printing press enabled us to have only a few centuries ago. Perhaps, this is not very satisfactory; but then, the very use of the word "archæology" is, to that extent, unsatisfactory. By the word "science" in the definition we wish to primarily emphasise that it is above all an intellectual discipline, and it must, therefore, be always distinguished from "antiquarianism." The latter can be taken up as a hobby, the former cannot. The latter includes in it a number of things, such as a love for things antique, a zest for collecting them,—without the slightest desire of appraising them scientifically,—and so forth. Antiquarianism is any-

thing but a science; archæology is quite the antithesis of it, in this sense.

But archæology, like history, cannot be looked upon merely as a science. The skill, that an archæologist is required to show, practically at every turn in the pursuit of his craft, in excavations, in the preservation of antiquities or monuments, in the museum-work, or even in weaving out live historical details out of the dead remains of the ancient past, entitles his craft to be termed as an "art." It is a new art, an art of the scientific age,—of the last hundred years : it is a scientific art.

That archæology is both a science and an art is emphasised by a number of high authorities :—" It is, or should be, a scientifically ordered branch of knowledge, professed by men of truly scientific training, on a certain subject, namely the remains of ancient human activity. It is, or should be, also the art that deals scientifically with these remains, that excavates them from the earth where they have been buried, conserves them and restores them (but only so far as to make them intelligible) and publishes them for the interest of ourselves and posterity." [1]

This curious nature of the subject makes it liable to be exposed to two opposite dangers. Archæologists, who take it merely as a science, underrate the part that analysis and synthesis play in the exposition of this subject, and reduce it to the dry-as-dust nature, like that of a statement of accounts. This has naturally reduced archæology in the eyes of people merely to " a business of the specialists," which is supposed to be no concern of the commoners. The human side of this science is totally ignored by such " specialists." On the other hand, there is a much greater danger from the opposite side,—a danger to which every scientist must be alive. " It is a science,"—it is already pointed by the same authorities,—" that has some difficulty in keeping true to its ideal, because the human interest of the subject attracts to its study many persons of untrained minds." [2] In its idealised state, archæology must be deemed as a humanized science ; but it must never be so much humanised as to negativate its scientific aspect.

Both these aspects of archæology are probably brought out nowhere so successfully as in the following popular definition,—or we may say, description,—of this science:—" Archæology : the systematic study of antiquities and the weaving of the earliest history of nations, and peoples from the remains of buildings, burial places, implements, utensils, and ornaments, belonging to periods of which we have few or no written records." [3]

1. E. B. (14th ed.), II. p. 232f.
2. Ibid. 3. Jack's Reference Book (London & Edin.), p. 45.

Equipment of an Archæologist.

The function of an archæologist, therefore, cannot be restricted to any one aspect of archæology,—and this is true in more than one senses. The activities of the ancient man, as reflected in the ancient relics, with which this science deals, were manifold. A science, that takes into cognizance the manifold aspects of life cannot be adequately dealt with by any one, who restricts his own field to only one aspect of it. It is, therefore, well said that the methods of archæology are exemplified both in the study and in the field.[4] A modern archæologist can be neither " the purely stay-at-home arm-chair 'savant' of the old school," nor a mere " field worker," who refuses to avail himself of the ancient literary and inscriptional evidence, and is, therefore, frequently liable to misinterpret his finds, or unable to interpret them at all. Undoubtedly, " the most efficient all-round type is the man, who is at once scholar, historian and the worker in the field."[5]

Whether an archæologist has to determine the exact date of his finds, or to decide the relative chronology of any object, the background for his work is always to be found in the inscriptional records of the country with which he may be dealing,—as for instance, in the hieroglyphic records of Egypt, the cuneiform tablets of Mesopotamia, the inscriptions in the Brahmi and Kharoshthi alphabets in India, and so forth. Epigraphy, the study of these inscriptions, does sometimes become a very specialized work, demanding the energy of one's life-time,—as in Egypt and Mesopotamia. Even elsewhere it constitutes the most important branch of the " arm-chair " savant's study. This branch alone is sufficient to show the importance of the work of the arm-chair savant.

In countries like Egypt, Mesopotamia and China, where the demands made of an epigraphist are quite exacting and exhausting, it is found best for workers, who have specialized in different branches such as excavation and epigraphy, to come together and co-operate with each other. But in India, Greece, and some other countries, where specialization in epigraphy can be adequately achieved with much less labour than in the above cases, it is profitable for such an epigraphist to acquire in addition knowledge relating to the field-work and other branches of archæology. It is, obviously, more possible for an archæologist who is already quite familiar with all sorts of documentary evidence of the ancient past, to find out a new and correct meaning of the finds or antiquities, he exhumes, than it is for one who is not so familiar. In reality, a single archæologist of the former type,—let us call him a " literate " archæologist,—is likely to prove a more capable hand than a couple of archæologists,—cooperating with each other,—one of whom may be only an

4. E. B. (14), II. p. 233. 5. Ibid.

epigraphist, and the other "an illiterate archæologist," (i. e., one who is not an epigraphist). An all-round archæologist, who has to do justice to both the literary and the non-literary remains of the ancient past, must in addition possess other qualities : In order to do justice to epigraphy, he must be a good linguist ; in order to do justice to the other remains that he unearths, he must also be a good historian.

Since archæology concerns itself with the study of all the aspects of the ancient life of man, obviously the more he is able to do justice to it, the better archæologist he is. His study of ancient literature would help him in one way, but his familiarity with different museums would help him in another, and that with ancient sites in a third. But this is not all. It is easy to understand that if he has a sound training in such spheres as photography, engineering, draftsmanship, chemistry, and even pottery-making, that would help him immensely in his own job. And since he is liable to exhume jewellery, stones, beads, etc., he will profitably know at least something about them, so as to be able to record and describe the objects on the spot. He must have some good grounding in geology, which is especially needed in the study of pre-historic archæology.

He must also know the nature of the objects he unearths, which will enable him to handle them not only during the excavation itself, but also afterwards. Otherwise, they are often liable to be broken to pieces, and the scientific value of such relics lost or impaired to that extent. Therefore, he must have a sound training in what is called "archæological chemistry,"—an aspect of archæology, which is, unhappily, very much neglected in the training of an archæologist, by the orthodox school in India. In India, in China and in some other "conservative" countries, an archæologist must also familiarise himself with the common household utensils, furniture, etc., of the district, in which he may be excavating,—this, for the simple reason that in many matters, the present is not altogether divorced from the past in these countries, as is the case in a number of more civilized countries. In India, the utensils in which the villagers cook their food are often of the same types, as the utensils, in which our forefathers cooked theirs. Nay, even the food of many of our castes and tribes may be in many cases related to what our ancestors ate, just as in China it certainly is, to that of their ancestors. Again, as we shall see later on, the cotton fibre to be found in modern Sind may find its ancestor of over 4,000 years ago, through the efforts of the excavator.

An archæologist must, therefore, familiarize himself with common objects of the present day, especially of the country-side. His familiarity with the ornaments of the country women of to-day will for instance profit him greatly. But since the archæologist is more concerned

with the ancient history of those articles, than with those aspects, which delight the man of the world, he should profitably make a comparative study of all the important finds, dug out previously in various localities all around that district, than even with the types of modern utensils, ornaments, etc.; and he should also make an intensive study of all the important museums,—of course, as far as his finances permit! In truth, his first and foremost qualification would be a desire for learning all these, an inquisitiveness, a penetrating insight, an "eye" for interesting light that can be brought to bear on any historical problem. And his ideal should be to learn, and to learn more, and to learn still more,—about practically every department of life that concerns the ancient man, his activities, and the preservation of his extant works. There are some other aspects of the subject, concerning the equipment of an archæologist, whereby he is required to take the aid of modern technology in a number of fieldes. But since this article is by no means meant for a higher student of archæology, but only for a beginner in it, we refrain from making more than a passing allusion to those aspects.

Archæology as an Art

Thus, archæology is a science that is aided by a number of other sciences. But the "art" of the archæologist comes in, in rendering a human interest to the "dead" remnants of the ancient man, as is indicated above. It is the sacred duty of the archæologist to conjure up the ancient past from those remains, by means of a scientific study and a systematic imagination. This aspect of 'archæology as an art' is, however, unfortunately most ignored by those, who absorb themselves in the technical aspects of this subject. It can never be too much emphasised that archæology being an intensely human subject, needs be treated with a thorough-going human outlook. Otherwise, the lop-sided interest of the specialist is liable to lead to the creation merely of a morass of details, in which the main picture of the society of the period, to which the relics belong, is liable to be lost.

That archæology is an art becomes clear to anybody, who has had an occasion to wield the knife or the pen-knife in an excavation, or to take ink-estampages of an inscribed stone, after duly cleaning it, or to exhibit the finds in some museum in an orderly and attractive manner. An uninitiated reader is liable to imagine that there is also some knowledge of the mysterious or the occult, involved in,—or at least some "art," associated with,—the finding out of a proper site for excavation. But this is not so. Often the historical relics are exposed to the eye by the hand of Time,—by weathering, etc. Such sites yield, in India, as 'surface-finds', innumerable pot-sherds, brick-bats, fragments of icons, and occasionally even rusted or "patinated" coins of silver,

copper, and other metals. Such indications are sufficient for any intelligent person to betray the existence of an ancient habitation. Quite frequently, such sites are marked out by mounds of various sizes, or undulating lie of the land, suggesting the burial of the *debris* of a building, etc., underneath. The *approximate* period of such a mound can be easily determined by an archæologist, who is already familiar with all sorts of antiquities of different ages and of different periods, by means of analogies provided by the " surface-finds " mentioned above.

Quite a number of ancient sites, known to archæologists all over the world, and especially in India, have been determined first of all by some chance-diggings, that some playful village-boys carried out in their games, or that the railway officials conducted in spreading out the network of railways. It is to the playful village boys that we owe many of our important hoards of ancient coins in India, and these hoards in turn to have enabled the archæologists to locate some ancient sites. Like many other sciences, but probably in a greater measure than any other, archæology was in its infancy laid under obligations by a number of individuals, who had not the slightest inclination to do so !

But it is not always to chance that we owe our knowledge of an ancient site for excavation. Indeed, such sites are comparatively few in number, if we take into account others that we owe either to the zeal of the explorer, or to the knowledge derived from literary and inscriptional sources.

2. *Excavation*

Excavation is perhaps one of the most important branches of archæology, of which the general public is allowed to know the least, without the scientists in that field having any intention of doing so. The business of an excavator starts with the preliminary enquiries and investigations of a site, and ends with the publication of the material unearthed ; and each of the processes involved in this business needs scientific evaluation to dispel the popular conception that equates excavation with mere digging. There is another popular conception, fostered by archæologists, perhaps not altogether unintentionally, that in order to be a successful excavator, one must have the " eye " of an archæologist. Prof. Schliemann, to whom we owe the treasures of Mycenæ, Tiryns, and Troy, is often popularly supposed to have been gifted with such an "eye." True, inspiration and intuition do play occasionally a notable part in excavations. But we must also remember that this inspiration and intuition are often an unconscious expression of the intellectual attainments or studious efforts of an archæologist. We have already suggested that in determining the locality of a number of ancient sites in India as well as in a number of other countries,

the archæologists have often called to their aid extensive ancient and mediæval literature, as well as epigraphical and numismatic records. Such knowledge is, indeed, a part and parcel of the "eye" of an archæologist.

The "eye" of an archæologist is, however, required not so much for the finding out of an ancient site, as for the selection of the actual spot of excavation. You must try to utilize your finds to the best of your ability in the most profitable way ; and this you can do by constant application both in the study and in the field. But, even then, you will not always be able to spot out the correct, or the most "profitable" site for excavation, unless you have an "eye" of an archæologist. And no archæologist with an "eye" is likely to know previously,—i. e., previous to his success,—that he has really an "eye" ! Again, if you have it, your "eye" is sometimes likely to deceive you. Thus, there is always an element of luck, attending the business of an excavator. But then, if you are likely to be deceived, you must know how to withdraw. A retreat in time is better than a complete rout at the end, in this field too. It is an art to retreat in good time. But then, if Howard Carter had withdrawn "in time", he would never have unearthed for us the real glory and magnificence of Tut-ankh-Amen's tomb.

Often the archæologist's decision to confine himself to what he considers as the most "profitable" spot of excavation arises, especially in India, from the finances at his disposal. Since, unfortunately in India and in some other countries, there is a craze for antiquarianism rather than for really scientific archæology, the activities of many official and non-official archæologists have often been guided in the past by such "practical considerations" as the collection of antiquities, etc. The lack of funds, coupled with the need of providing the public with attractive finds, resulted in the earlier days of archæological activities in a sort of "enlightened vandalism." Even to this day, there is still a tendency observable in India, to dig out a whole site,—apparently to study the site "thoroughly", to collect all the antiquities that it can yield. That is neither necessary nor scientific. Your object in excavating is not to accumulate innumerable examples of the same thing, but to find out a chronological and historical sequence of the things dug out. The main purpose of an excavation must never be to collect antiquities, but to determine the history of a site. It is not, therefore, necessary for his purpose to excavate the whole of a site, exhausting all its possibilities. On the contrary, he should,—and in a number of countries, he now-a-days usually does,—concentrate on a small portion of the site-to-be excavated, not exceeding 10 or 20 per cent. of it ; and he leaves the remainder for future excavators.[6] An

6. Outline of Anthropology (New York, 1948), p. 81.

excavator must never forget his duties towards the posterity, and must never deprive the future excavator of the means of checking up his own result. He must not also forget that the future archæologist, living in a more prosperous world, and equipped with better scientific means, would be able to do greater scientific justice to the site he wishes to exhaust. Otherwise, with all his scientific accuracy, the future archæologist would judge his activities as "enlightened vandalism," even as we do those of some of the earlier archæologists.

Before beginning the excavations proper, the excavator must make careful notes as to the nature of the site he has to handle, and also mark out the portion, he has to excavate,—i.e., he tentatively expects to excavate within the time and with the money that he has at disposal. Excavation of a pre-historical site must naturally differ from that of a historical one in a number of details, in spite of general similarity of the method followed in both. Pre-historic sites, often burying underneath themselves the relics of habitations of only a few families, are quite small in area, *vis-a-vis* the historical ones, burying underneath a whole village, a town, or even a city. The former must, therefore, be excavated much more carefully and systematically than the latter, so that not even the minutest detail of historical importance be lost sight of.

As has been pointed out by Prof. Stanley Casson, "No two ancient sites are axactly similar in nature."[7] In conducting any excavation, therefore, you can never ignore climatic and other factors, which must have undoubtedly played an important part in the making of the mound. In fact, sites in different countries must vary considerably from each other. Thus excavations in a sandy desert like that of Africa, or those in the loess regions of China, must necessarily differ from those conducted in the regions of Delphi or Athens; and those of the latter regions from those of the mounds that are formed in India and the Near East. The latter are obviously more important from the point of view of an Indian archæologist. The commonest process of the formation of such mounds is best described in the following words:—

"Mounds of the Bronze Age and Stone Age in various parts of Europe and Asia, that stand often to the height of forty or fifty feet, are built up slowly and steadily by the repeated collapse of mud-brick houses and by the retention upon a lived-on area of all the rubbish of living people and house-holds. The process can still be seen in operation to-day in any Balkan village or Asiatic hamlet, where fires, warfare, and occasional abandonment raise the level of each newly constructed village by a foot or so. Many villages in these regions stand on eminences which are simply the relics of earlier dwellings

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7. *Archæology*, p. 39.

levelled and rebuilt on time and time again."[8] If the reader ever witnesses such a site,—one such is to be found at Rohtak, not far from Delhi,—he will have no doubt that there is really not much need of the "eye" of an archaeologist to know an ancient site : but, of course, the main question would remain as to how ancient it is.

Photography

After a site has been selected for an excavation, the photographer comes into play. It is always necessary to have a number of photographs of the site of excavation, taken from different angles,—preferably from the points of the compass,—and from different distances (or with different foci), before an excavation has actually commenced. The principle, underlying this as well as any other operation concerning excavation, is this :—*Nothing, that may prove to be of the least scientific value, must ever be destroyed, unless it is fully recorded.* Photographs must, therefore, be taken of each successive stage of the excavation, as well as of all importont objects, structures, vases, etc., before they are dismantled or removed. It is equally necessary to make minute notations relating to the depths, distances, strata, etc., in which various objects are unearthed. For illustrating such notations, diagrams of all kinds may be found necessary ; but undoubtedly, the most attractive means of visual representation is photography.

As various sciences advance, they lend a helping hand to archaeology in various ways. In the field of photography, a new vista is opened in the form of aerial photography. And though Col. Bealzeley was able to utilize it for the first time in 1917, it came to be definitely recognized as a great aid in surveying and identifying ancient sites, and in marking out various stages in excavation, and so forth, only since 1922.[9] Even baloon-photography has been occasionally used with considerable success, by sending up a "captive baloon" with a camera suspended at its bottom. An excellent photograph would add a lot of charm to the exposition proper of the archæological material. But if the archæologist himself is an excellent photographer, then he will be able to achieve, on a number of occasions, results, which an archæologist, who is not himself a photographer, but who is merely aided by one, will not be able to do. It is correctly pointed out that photography, too, has its own limitations. Photography will not be often able to reproduce the finer shades or variations of colours, or even the correct forms of architectural or sculptural pieces, or pottery—much less the shades or variations of colours, of the different "cultural strata," laid bare by systematic excavation.

8. *Archæology*, p. 39.
9. E. B. (14), II, p. 259 ; The Modern Encyclopædia, p. 73. Read also O. G. S. Crawford, *Air-Photography for Archæologists*.

The camera " will not turn a corner satisfactorily, nor will it reproduce faint indications. Neither will it satisfy as an illustrator of designs." [10] Hence the need of illustrations, by means of the sketches of sections, elevations, plans, etc., or by means of making line-drawings, colour-drawings, etc. Nonetheless, whenever possible and necessary, the camera must be used not only during the excavation for various purposes mentioned above, but also after the completion of it, of illustrating or recording all sorts of objects, ornaments, etc. before and after giving them chemical treatment. In short, as is aptly stated by one authority, " A very complete photographic record is necessary, but it must not be allowed to take the place of plans and sections to scale which should be accurate, clear, and adaptable to reproduction in print." [11] A register of all the photographs taken at site must be maintained, with proper numbering, etc., of each photograph.

Only after photographing the necessary aspects of the mound, from all the important angles, can we begin the excavation proper.

Survey

First of all, however, the location of the excavation site with reference to some permanent land-mark needs be determined. Here surveying plays an important role. It is, indeed, not without reason that an authority states :—"In the present day archaeological work, the knowledge of the historian and the skill of the engineer are combined with the zeal of the antiquarian." [12]

An archæologist must, therefore, be familiar with the usual methods of surveying, viz.,

1. *Chain survey*, effected by means of measuring the off-sets from the lines terminated by (and joining) convenient points, usually within the area to be surveyed ;

2. *Plane-table survey*, done by means of a plane-table, which is "merely a flat board...attached to a tripod." "Plane tables designed for large scale surveying often include a ball and socket joint for levelling, and an instrumental slow motion in azimuth...The principal accessory to the plane-table is the sight vane or alidade, which is merely a ruler with sighting vanes, which can be raised or lowered at will ; [13]

3. *Theodolite-survey*, effected by means of an instrument called theodolite,—fitted with verniers or micrometer microscopes,—which

10. E. B. (14), II. p. 234 ; cf. Clarke, *Archæology and Society*, p. 41.
11. Antiquity, IV (1939), p. 174.
12. The Columbia Encyclopædia, p. 85.
13. E. B. (14), on " Plane-Table."

makes large-scale surveying possible, by running chains of triangles: The country is first reconnoitred, mutually intervisible stations marked out at convenient distances, and the whole area is then covered with a network of triangles, a start being made from some "base-line." [14] "At the apices of these triangles, horizontal and vertical angles would be observed with a theodolite," by means of which, various intersecting points lending themselves for the construction of triangles are noted down. [15]

Secondly, a "datum line" for the whole site has to be fixed, with reference to some permanent land-marks, preferably natural eminences. This is the horizontal base-line for measuring all subsequent altitudinal distances to be reckoned either as "depths," or "heights." It is with reference to this "datum line" that the elevation of all points in the field, before, during or after excavation, or the "depth" of the exact find spot of any object is given.

Thirdly, squares of 10 feet are marked out by means of page, and are then named,—as in map-drawing,—A1, A2, A3, B1, B2, B3, etc. It is with reference to these squares that notations with regard to the exact find-spot of any object on the expanse of the field are made. Perpendicular distance of the exact find-spot of the object dug out is measured from the two nearest sides (or border lines) of the square, in which the object is found. The squares also enable us to draw the plans of the structures unearthed. Like photography, surveying and draftsmanship form essential qualifications in the equipment of a field archæologist.

Method of Excavation

Excavation may at first be commenced with light pick-axes and shovels ; but soon, when one gets down to cultural strata, one may be required to take leave of these implements, and take up knives, pen-knives, small handy "scrapers" (the modern ones, and not the pre-historic ones !), etc. While commencing his operation, the excavator leaves out in the very beginning a strip (usually measuring about a foot in breadth) along each side of the square untouched. When two or more consecutive squares are thus dug out, leaving these strips untouched, :"side-walls" emerge during the course of exvacation itself. These "side-walls" must be continually scraped by means of a knife or a pen-knife, as the excavation goes deeper, in order to obtain an accurate idea as to the "strata" or layers, that go to form that mound. Each of these strata embodies in itself the

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14. Ibid. XX. p. 610.

15. Theodolites are mainly of the following three varieties: the transit theodolite, the Y theodolite, and the Everest theodolite.

history of a period, however brief; and it is on the basis of these alone that one is able to correlate historically or chronologically a number of isolated finds (or unstable objects) with each other. While a large section of these strata are being destroyed during the course of the excavation, those visible in the " side-walls " offer us the only indication as to the formation of them. They serve as an index to the formation of that mound, and are so many cross-sections across it. Every object unearthed in the excavation must be carefully jotted down in the context of the soil,—the colour and texture of which must be carefully noted down. Such record, together with the notations referred to above, enables us to correlate approximately the strata dug out with those visible on the " side-walls," and the objects found with each other.

Sketches of these strata, accompanied by notes, concerning their texture and colour, the antiquities unearthed in each of them, etc., must be drawn to scales. One may also note down one's impressions about the relations of various strata with the structures and important objects met with in excavation. All this is entered in a " pit-register", which is a sort of a diary to be maintained by the excavator of each pit. Correlation of various strata in different squares or " pits " with each other, as well as with the antiquities and the " soils " of the pits themselves,—as far as this latter is feasible,—becomes possible only on the strengh of the accuracy one is able to achieve in determining the strata in the " side-walls " and in maintaining faithful " pit-registers."

It is also desirable that similar sketches of the strata on the " side-walls ", drawn to scales, are made in a fair hand on large separate sheets, each of which is devoted to one single " pit. " Obviously, the " depths " of these strata are measured or marked out with reference to the " datum line."

A full description of the object found,—howsoever small or unimportant looking it may be,—is desirable. This description takes into cognizance remarks about the " square number " of the pit (A1, A2, etc.), the texture and colour of the soil, the stratum on the " side-wall " with which it can be (later) correlated, the exact " depth " of the find spot from the " datum-line, " the perpendicular distance from the nearest sides of the square, the objects associated with the find, etc. For entering all this description, cards of a convenient size (usually 6″ by 4″) are used, one card being devoted to the description of each object. The date and the name of the site are also entered, and if possible, a rough sketeh of the object is immediately made on the spot on one side of the card. The exact measurements of the object and the accurate description of its nature, colour, etc., cannot obviously be given in these " site cards " ; but they must be given on the fair duplicates of the same maintained in the laboratory. It may be found profit-

able to have smaller cards (of the size of 4″ by 3″), for entering the description of smaller antiquities, especially while making the duplicates. If it is not possible to make fair duplicates at the site of the excavation itself (and for a number of reasons, it generally is not), then a register, in which all the " site cards" are properly indexed, and in which important details concerning each object are given, should be maintained.

All these records do not dispense with the need of a diary (to be maintained by the chief excavator himself), which must contain a day-to-day account of the progress of the work accomplished, of the important objects or structures met with, and of the important conclusions arrived at. This diary, or the " site register" as it is sometimes called, will naturally contain a number of tentatively drawn inaccurate conclusions, but it will also contain a number of statements of facts, which may help him ultimately to check such conclusions, and even others, drawn independently from a careful examination of other records. Persons confining themselves to a single pit are not always able to observe what others concerned with the general aspects of a number of pits are able to do.

This may be supposed to complete the general outline of the common method of excavation. Yet the actual operation is not so easy or simple as it would appear on paper. We have taken it for granted here that the actual site of excavation is a very small one, say, of pre-historic times, and, therefore, easily manageable, with only a few expert hands to aid the chief excavator besides, of course, the labour. With sufficient funds and sufficient time, one may do justice to such a site with adequate expert aid ; but in India, a number of social and economic factors, resulting in the lack of adequate personnel and of finances, in the lack of co-ordination of the efforts of even well-trained archæologists, in a few hands trying to attempt too much, and in fact establish a virtual monopoly over research by keeping others out of the field, have made it impossible even to think of such an ideal. With each archæologist from the states or from private institutes, trying to exploit as much of any historical site as he can, and working in a competitive spirit almost of a cut-throat type, whole areas are likely to be shorn of ancient sites within a short time.[16] And even if this sort of "enlightened vandalism" is likely to be checked through the efforts of the "monopolists" at the centre, it is clear that in the present set of circumstances, where things go by jobbery and nepo-

16. The late Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit observed in one of his articles :—" The rapidity with which evidence about pre-historic stone age and iron age man (in South India) is being brought to light and removed by unauthorized (untrained) diggers constitutes a real danger " (to Indian archæology).

tism, many well-trained archæologists must remain idle, whereas others not so well qualified will have all the laurels for themselves. Such a state of affairs cannot but have serious repercussions on archæological research as a whole.

Again, the actual operation is rendered complicated and difficult by a number of other factors. Acquisition of a site of excavation paying the due compensation for it, even for the period of its excavation, preventing any vandalism from the hands of the zealous antiquarians, curio-hunters and grave-diggers after the importance of that site has come to light, protection of all the antiquities, precious or non-precious, buried or exhumed,—these are only some of the most important administrative problems that an archæologist is frequently faced with. Setting up of tents, arranging for food and even water, to fulfil the needs of the whole camp, to convey all the antiquities unearthed to some safer site, such as a local, provincial or central museum for studying them carefully,—such other problems are certainly of no less importance than any others, although the general reader is likely to appreciate them the least.

Excavation as an Art

Obviously, the method of excavation outlined above is very costly, and it needs be faithfully followed in the case of small sites of great importance. All pre-historic sites, being both small and of great importance, need be treated with the above method. But we have seen that sites of different countries often vary considerably from each other; similarly those of different periods considerably do. Thus sites of late historical period differ considerably from those of the pre-historical one. And the method that is best suited for a pre-historic site, may often be not a little unsuitable for a historical one. In the former, even the ashes of a burnt hut, or a mere clod of sun-dried bricks, may constitute the most valuable archæological material. Such may not be the case with historical sites. Again, as hinted at above, an archæologist cannot over-look the geological formation of the soil he has to dig in. Excavations in the sandy or loess regions must differ from those in mountainous or alluvial countries. Even in the sub-continent of India, with her varied geological formations in different provinces, different sites of excavation must present totally different problems. Thus a site like the Garhi (ancient Ujjain), situate along the right bank of the Sipra, is undoubtedly an important site, and may in the beginning appear to be very promising, on account of a number of surface finds, as coins, icons, architectural pieces, with which the whole area is strewn, and which often make their appearance after a few sharp showers. But if we apply here the afore-mentioned method of " faithfully scientific " excavation, the result is likely to be disastrous ; for we are likely to come across nothing except mud in this heavily

inundated site, even if we continue digging for over a score of feet. Such a " scientific " excavation would prove here a sheer waste of one's resources, and would, therefore, be unscientific. In order to get a tolerably accurate picture of the development of even a part of that city, or its society, the excavator may have to cover a somewhat large area. In doing so, if he pursues the "scientific" method, the total expenses may run well over several *lakhs*, and the participation of a number of expert hands may be found necessary. Human and financial resources, that circumscribe the activities of an excavator, would make it altogether impossible for one, wishing to adhere to this "scientific" method, to get any " tolerably accurate picture " (referred to above), for scores of years. The purpose of an excavation, we must repeat, is not mere accumulation of a number of unrelated, " unsynthesised" details, but an evaluation of the historical trend, based on the correlation and synthesis of the materials unearthed. In such an evaluation, we have to care more for more important details, and less for less important ones.

Sites in the vicinity of rivers like the Indus, the Ganges, the Sipra, etc., or those along the coast, would present totally different problems to the excavator than a site like Taxila (situate in a somewhat rocky area), or a locality in the Deccan, would do. In some of the former sites one may be even required to make use of engines to pump out water from the excavation pits. An excavator is, therefore, often called upon to use his own discretion, and not to stick to any one method of "scientific" excavation too rigidly. There are a number of other factors which make this incumbent upon him ; but we shall discuss only a few of them here.

If within a square of 10 feet, a number of structures of different periods crop up, we have got to retain both the side-walls and the structures intact, before we are able to correlate those structures to the various strata of the " side-walls." If, however, one pursues the policy of retaining the " side-walls " unto the very end of the excavation, and digs down, say up to 25 or 30 feet below the surface, with a number of stone walls blocking up the area of that square, one would often find oneself in a very small hole, say a couple of feet square. In such a predicament, as occasionally happened in the recent excavations at Taxila, correlation would become impossible, or at any rate, very difficult of attainment, and one would be hardly able to form an idea whatsoever as to the relation of various structures, not only with the strata, but also with each other. In such cases even whole squares may be totally blocked by structures ; and if this is done by the uppermost or superimposing structures, one can hardly form any idea about the lower ones. The " side-walls " often help such blocking. Again, it must also never be forgotten, as had been often

done in those excavations, that the structures are more important than the " strata" or " layers," so that the latter must in the end be subordinated to the former. Retention of the " side-walls " after their purpose has been served, after the careful noting down and sketching of all the important details concerning stratification, etc., is done, is, indeed, devoid of any meaning.

Therefore, in a city-site like Taxila, the best method of excavation would be not to confine oneself to the square, but rather to do away with them, immediately (and only after) one finds it necessary with some structures cropping up in the middle of the squares and the necessary details are noted and sketches drawn. A correlation of various layers in various squares is very essential for obtaining a clear picture of the culture of any period. Such a correlation would be often best obtained by removing the "side walls." If this is not done, the two-feet wall, contained between the "square pits" would compel the excavator to "guess" things, when there is no need of any guess-work. Again, if the side-walls are not removed, they may permanently bury under them a number of precious antiquities, which is so much loss to the scientific world. That area being supposed to have been completely excavated, may be left out by all future excavators.

For all these reasons, especially in order to find out the relation of one structure with another, it is necessary to do away with the "side walls"—*not on all sides, but only on two opposite sides*, until one comes almost to the end of the excavation. Thus, it is necessary to reduce the squares, say, A1, A2, A3, to a rectangle A1—3, and the squares B1, B2, B3 to B1—3, and so forth. (Such rectangles would be 10′ by 20′ or 30′,—according to the requirements of the excavator.) This is done, it should be carefully noted, only after the sides, to be demolished, have been carefully drawn or sketched, in the manner stated above. The demolition of the " side walls " affords a good deal of elbow room for an excavator, even if some structures crop up.

In a site on the river bank—like that of the Garhi,—which is full of mud and lacking in any "strata" of habitation, it would be even convenient to start digging out rectangles of 10′ by 20′, or of 10′ by 30′, etc., at once, instead of reducing squares to rectangles, as above. In a district, full of sand, sometimes this method of stratification would be found wholly out of place. Nay, this would be the case at times even while dealing with mounds, burying elevated structures, like temples, stūpas, tombs, etc. An excavator is, therefore, often called upon to use his own discretion, and not stick to any one method of "scientific" excavation too rigidly. Factors, such as those arising from dilapidated portions of some elevated mound,

etc., may occasionally make it impossible to follow the method of stratification very faithfully. Again, if signs of habitation are visible near about the base of a mound, say, on the bank of a river, and the upper twenty or twenty-five feet of it appear to contain no vestiges whatsoever of any such habitation, it would be obviously preposterous for an archaeologist to dig out all the portions equally "scientifically", when one's funds are limited, and when the light expected to be thrown by such an excavation would in all likelihood be not very substantial. With all this, the "norm" of the methods of excavation, given above, must never be forgotten and must be adhered to wherever it is possible and useful.

Further, it is not always possible or even necessary to confine yourself to the area, you have originally marked out for an excavation. In some places, you may have to give up the idea of digging any further. In another place, you may come across a structure within the area marked out by you, but this structure may exceed that area, and enter into one of the "side walls", created by you. In such a case, you will have naturally to follow up the structure. But this you must not do in a haphazard manner, but rather by extending the application of the scientific method that you have been following. You will mark out another square or two after having first sketched the strata in the original "side-walls" and noted all the important details, relating to them. You may have to destroy the side-wall adjoining the square, into which the structure enters. All this would clearly show that excavation is at once an art and a science.

Thus an excavator may have to take into account a hundred and one factors, including the nature of soil, the mound, or the structure to be excavated, the season most propitious for operation at any particular site,[17] and even the sentiments of the people working under him, as well as of those surrounding him. In a country like India, where even educated people sincerely feel that excavation is nothing more than "digging of graves", and where unlettered ones are liable to misinterpret the digging of an early historical or pre-historical, pre-Muslim, grave as a heinous crime of desecration of a Muslim grave—this happened at Ujjain, in Mr. Garde's excavations,—you cannot always overlook the sentiments of the people, with any advantage either to yourself or to the science. It is not altogether seldom that with all the best intentions in the world, you may be misunderstood in a hundred ways.

Excavation of the site is only one act of the drama. Sorting out

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17. This was hardly a strong point of Dr. E. Mortimer Wheeler, who could excavate at Taxila in mid winter and at Pondicherry in summer and rainy season.

of antiquities, pottery, etc., labelling, numbering, treating and carefully preserving them, etc., comprise other acts of this drama. Discarding the historically worthless fragments, sherds, etc., and careful removal of the rest to the place, where they could be properly studied, form the epilogue of the drama of a scientific excavation. This drama includes a number of side-rôles and supporting scenes, those of pitching the tents of the excavation party, arranging for their food, etc., to which we have already made a reference, and without which this drama would become an utter failure! There is also an interlude, to which we must refer here in passing, viz., that concerning the throwing of the debris.

Some Practical Hints

This is, of course, a very minor affair like the dress of the actors. Yet any carelessness about it would involve a lot of waste, like that of ill-fitted clothes, and would delay at times the enactment of the play. One must, therefore, be careful in the matter of selection of the spot, which is to be covered by the debris to be thrown, after it is dug out from the excavated area. In the matter of selection of such a spot, one must, of course, be guided by practical considerations that strike one at the site of excavation, or during the course of excavation itself. There are, however, certain general and obvious principles, which will guide the decision of the excavator :—(1) The spot to be so covered must not be removed from the area to be excavated by any considerable distance: The less the distance that the basket-carriers have to cover, the better. (2) As far as possible,—and always, if it is possible,—do not dump the *debris* over the area, which would be required to be exhumed ever in future. "It is important to see that the area over which the debris is to be dumped has first been cleared and recorded. The money spent in Egypt alone in excavating the dumb-heaps of earlier excavations would endow more than one archæological institute."[18]

Some other practical hints may be offered here. A word of warning has already been given to the actors of the main scene, by Prof. Stanley Casson:— " The greatest need of all is always for slow and steady work that proceeds at the same pace, not for sudden bouts of furious and exhausting digging. When anything at all sensational emerges, then it is the task of the archaeologist in charge to slow down the process of clearance to a mere scraping and, if the objects found are delicate, to do the clearance of them himself. Above all, nothing that has begun to emerge from the soil should ever be pulled out. It must be cleared all around in order that the circumstances of its deposit there can be established. It may be in contact with other things, it may be fragile in

18. Antiquity, IV. (1939), p. 174.

itself; it is, in short, like the corpse in the detective story, it must be left undisturbed until every clue that is near it has been examined."[19] And as in the detective story, or rather, much more sc, in the excavations, an accurate recording of all the details, including sketching, taking photographs, etc., is indispensable.

Terracotta pieces and other antiquities are frequently liable to be reduced to fragments, if we try to wash or clean them. Some of them may be totally " lost ", if we dip them in water, or are careless in cleaning them. It is often desirable to test if such a piece is liable to get cracked, when sprinkled with a few drops of water. We must thus make sure if it can stand washing. In trying to clean delicate pieces, one must be careful to see that one does not damage it in any way. In other ways also it is necessary to be on the guard in handling any antiquity. The writer had once the misfortune of inadvertently picking up, from an entire vessel, only the rim of it, since that vessel, being filled with silver coins, was heavy enough to stick to the ground. All such antiquities must be always lifted after placing one's fingers below the bottom (or the lower part) of them.

Lastly, in the matters of interpretation, an archaeologist must always guard himself against what is not strictly warranted by his finds, taken in conjunction with all sorts of relevant data, literary or otherwise. It is, perhaps, easy to offer the precept, rather than to follow it oneself, that a literary archaeologist should be always on the guard that he does not misinterpret literary evidence in the light of archaeological data, or *vice versa*. The best way is not to unlearn, but to learn more, and still more, about the literary evidence, to sift it, sort it, analyse it and utilise it as scientifically as one can, and not to base one's conclusion on insufficient evidence, as far as one can help it. A regrettable mistake, based on insufficient evidence of mythological lore, appears to have been committed by Sir Leonard Woolley, when he states:— "Taking into consideration all the facts, there could be no doubt that the flood of which we had thus found the only possible evidence was the Flood of Sumerian history and legend, the Flood on which is based the story of Noah."[20] The Flood mentioned in the mythological lore of the Sumerians, the Hebrews and the Hindus, was neither Sumerian, nor

19. Casson, *Archæology*, p. 42f.

20. Sir L. Woolley, *Ur of the Chaldees*, p. 23. For the elucidation of the Flood myth, read *The Mother Goddess*. Sir Leonard also feels that the patriarch Abraham is said to have lived for 175 years, because some later writer telescoped an earlier Abraham aad a later Abraham, into a single personality. Here too, it is his faith in the partial veracity of his own religious text rather than his familiarity with the methods or characteristics of such texts that is betrayed. Read his *Abraham : Recent Discoveries, etc.* (1936).

Hebraic nor Indian. It was certainly purely cosmological, and it can be very well explained by a student of comparative mythology, in the light of certain obvious natural phenomena. While his archaeological data and observations are correct, his inferences, which are apparently based on a misunderstanding created by a somewhat insufficient information of comparative mythology, are far from accurate. Another example is that of Dr. H. Frankfort, an able and scientific excavator and a solid scholar, who, however, failed to realise the original magico-religious or amuletic significance of the cylinder seals of Mesopotamia and its neighbourhood: He takes their 'original meaning' as being 'already lost.'[21]

Here we find ourselves obliged to point out also another regrettable mistake, committed by Major Stuart Piggot in an appendix to an article written by Dr. E. Mortimer Wheeler, the retired Director General of Archæology in India, who apparently approved of the former's conclusions. By means of an imaginative 'archaeological reconstruction', Major Piggot has sought to prove that certain figures of "griffins" exhumed at Kumrahar near Patna (ancient Pāṭaliputra), "carved in the round in white sandstone and finished with the well-known 'Mauryan polish'," actually belonged to the Imperial Mauryan throne at Pāṭaliputra[22]. We may point out in this connection that quite a number of animal-figures, including those of lions, bulls, horses, etc., are known to the students of Indian archaeology as crowning the capitals of Aśokan pillars, and that it is with these that the "griffins" are comparable, if merely on stylistic grounds. Further, at the same site, viz., Kumrahar, a famous stone pillar belonging in all probability to the time of Aśoka, is also known to have been unearthed. Under these circumstances, such an imaginative interpretation, put forth so confidently by Major Piggot, is rendered doubtful even as a *prima facie* case. What is worse, here Major Piggot does not seem to have gone through the accounts of the two Chinese pilgrims, Fa Hsien and Hsuan Ch'uang, which are available in English and French translations, and in which we actually find an Aśokan pillar near Pāṭaliputra, described as being crowned by the figure of a lion. To remove any doubt about the case, the measurements given by these two pilgrims in the case of the pillar they visited, correspond almost exactly to the measurements of the Aśokan pillar, unearthed at Kumrahar. But then, Major Piggot's archaeological reconstruction may not surprise anybody, who is conversant with

21. *Cylinder Seals* (1939), p. 246.

22. *Ancient India* (A Bulletin of the Archæological Survey of India), No. 4, p. 101. The arguments, briefly stated here, have been dealt with at length, together with the requisite references, in our 'The Nandas and the Mauryas.'

the contempt about ancient Indian literary and epigraphical material and "literate archaeologists", shown by some "foreign experts", brought in India to aid Indian archaeological studies.

Pottery

In any excavation, pottery easily constitutes the most numerous class of antiquities. The following lengthy extracts, which the present writer owes to his father, the late Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, Director General of Archæology in India, and in which Prof. Sayce correctly brings out the importance of this new branch of science, may be quoted without any apology :—" The modern science of archæology has been derisively called 'the study of pots.' As a matter of fact, the study of ancient pottery occupies a prominent place in it, and we cannot turn over the pages of a standard archæological work without constantly coming across photographs and illustrations of the ceramic or reading descriptions of vases and bowls, of coloured ware and fragmentary sherds. Questions of date and origin are made to turn on the presence or absence of some particular form of pottery on a given site, and fierce controversies have arisen over a single fragment of a vessel of clay. A knowledge of ancient pottery is a primary requisite in the scientific excavator and archæologist of today.

"The reason of this is obvious. Archæology is an inductive science ; its conclusions, therefore, are drawn from the comparison and co-ordination of objects which can be seen and handled, as well as tested by all competent observers. It is built upon what our German friends would call objective facts, and the method it employs is that carefully-disciplined and experimentally-guarded application of the ordinary logic of life which can alone give scientific results.... For pottery is practically indestructible. Like the fossils on which the geologist has built up the past history of life upon the earth, it is an enduring evidence, when rightly interpreted, of the past history of man. Like the fossils, moreover, it exhibits a multitudinous variety of types and forms. But in all types and forms there is an underlying unity. The primitive needs of man are everywhere the same, and the powers of mind called in to supply them are the same also. The dish and the bowl, the vase and its handles, meet us again and again where-ever we go ; and the same materials for making them meet us also." [23]

Prof. Sayce then goes on to observe :—" Observation has shown that not only are different tribes or countries distinguished by a difference in their pottery, but that in each tribe or country similar differences distinguish successive periods of time. When to this is added the practical indestructibility of the potsherd, it will easily be

23. *Archæology of Cuneiform Inscriptions*, p. 36f.; cf., CAH. I. p. 70.

seen what a criterion is afforded by it for fixing the age and character of ancient remains, and their relation to other monuments of the past. It is not surprising that a study of pottery has become the sheet-anchor of archæological chronology, and that the first object of the scientific excavator is to determine the relative succession of the ceramic remains he discovers and their connection with similar remains found elsewhere. Scientific excavation means, before all things, careful observation and record of every piece of pottery, however apparently worthless, which the excavator disinters." [24]

We crave the indulgence of the reader for one more long quotation on the subject of pottery, in the general aspects of which we do not claim expert knowledge, and about which, therefore, we feel ourselves to be at liberty to depend upon the authorities, who have mastered that subject :—"True pottery is made by moulding carefully prepared clay into the required shape and scientifically firing it after it has been mixed with something, sand and other micaceous material, or charcoal made from burnt wood or bones, to render it porous, so that the steam when formed may readily escape. Most clays contain a small quantity of iron-salts, and if firing takes place in the presence of air, these oxidize and produce a red colour. If, however, the air is absent when the clay is fired, the colour is usually black or gray." [25]

The credit of elucidating first the importance of "sequence-dating" in pottery belongs perhaps to nobody else as much as it does to Prof. W. M. Flinders Petrie, who utilised this line of enquiry so successfully in dating the pottery of Egypt and Palestine.

Publication

After exhuming the ancient relics of all sorts, including sculptural and architectural ones, terracotta, pottery, lapidary, and other works, and after having recorded them fully and faithfully in the manner indicated above, the excavator must immediately turn his attention to the preservation of all these antiquities. In matters of preservation, restoration and chemical treatment often play a considerable part. In the case of larger sculptural pieces and monuments, restoration will have to be at times effected not merely out of the available ancient fragments, but with the addition of some modern ones. But this addition must never be done except to make those pieces or monuments intelligible. This work can be done adequately only by trained experts and specialists in this line.

In dealing with the subject of the ' method of archæology and

24. *Archæology of Cuneiform etc.*, p. 38.
25. E. B. (14), II. 244 ; cf. XVIII. p. 338.

archæological excavations,' we have, for convenience's sake, omitted some of the more specialised aspects of this problem, and even many of the important branches of the science of archæology. Our primary aim in writing this essay was to stimulate or create an intelligent interest in the mind of such students of archæology as have little or no practical experience of field work. This made us omit such more advanced subjects as the classification of pottery, archæological chemistry, conservation of these relics in the museums, and so on.

Nevertheless, we do not feel it desirable to pass without notice the question of publication of the results of archæological excavations. Popularization of archæology is, indeed, a great desideratum, in many parts of the modern world, and this is specially so in India. In this connection, the following observations of Prof. C. J. Gadd may bring out in a very apt manner the "tragedy of archæological learning" in many parts of the world :—" Such are the burdens which modern notions of archæological method and publication have cast upon us, and these notions are to-day almost universally held or submitted to,—years of meticulous work and recording in the field, more years of elaborate pubiication, and the results are enshrined in a library, which both by its bulk and expense is excluded from the possession of all except learned institutions."

The best propaganda for the Government of any country is the stimulus it gives to the cultural activities, and the results it produces or helps to produce in this direction. In a country like India, where even the common people are proud of their glorious past, indicated by the historical traditions bequeathed by their ancestors, cultural propaganda must quite naturally assume the character of publication of scientific works in Indian archæology and ancient Indian history. Unfortunately it is in this very respect that our propaganda shows itself at its worst. While millions of rupees are being squandered over the publication of altogether futile propaganda material, scientific publications in at least a number of social sciences, including archæology, history, etc., are held up for years ; and there is the danger of at least some of such works never seeing the light of the day.

In the end, we may draw the attention of the reader, summarily though, to some of the main principles that must be adhered to, in the publication of the archæological findings of an excavated site. While maintaining the durability of such scientific (archæological and other) reports, they should be made as cheap as possible. The best propaganda in the interest of any nation, as stressed above, is likely to be achieved by the publication of such reports,—e.g., reports of excavation work, those of museum work, reports on fresh historical matter come to light, or even

those, containing new and sound interpretations of older material, etc.—which should be made available at a cheap price and in an attractive manner. Clarity of expression, arguments and explanation, ease of reference (by means of a proper treatment of the subject matter and giving an index, illustrations, etc.),—these are some of the most important requisites of a good archæological publication for general consumption. But for these qualities, a number of our scientific publications become altogether unhelpful, not only from the point of view of a layman, but also sometimes from that of a student of archæology.

— 37 —

TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM MAHESHWAR

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The town of Maheshwar standing on the northern banks of the river Narmada is a place of hoary antiquity.[1] Called by the ancient name Mahishmati, this place is well known through our ancient literature and inscriptions. The remote antiquity[2] traditionally ascribed to this town was recently confirmed by the finding of several ceramic remains in and around Maheshwar when the writer of this article and Dr. B. Subba Rao undertook a short tour in the region under the auspices of the Deccan College Research Institute, in May 1950. The ceramic remains showed the existence of a highly glazed black polished pottery technically known as the "Northern Black Polished Ware",[3] found in association with a red ware decorated with distinctive geometric patterns in black paint. Besides these several structural remains in the shape of terra-cotta ring-wells and walls of buildings etc. were also seen enveloped in the debris that accumulates on the outskirts of the modern town. The fuller significance of these would be known when the surface finds collected during this tour would be studied in greater detail and through excavations. The object of this paper is to describe the two post-mediaeval inscriptions which were copied during this tour and which have remained unpublished so far.

A. Inscription in the temple of Jaleshwara Mahadeva

This inscription is preserved in the temple of Jaleshwar Mahādeva which stands at the junction of a small rivulet which meets the river Narmada outside the '*Maṇḍala Kho*' area, about 2 miles to the east of Maheshwar.

1. The antiquity and the historical importance of Maheswar has been studied by Mr. D. B. Diskalkar in his paper on Maheshwar published in the *Proceedings of the Ninth Session of the Indian History Congress*, held at Patna, 1946, pp. 60-72.

2. The credit of bringing Maheswar into the limelight for its early remains goes to Mr. **A. V. Pandya**, then State Archæologist of the Rajpipla State, who in 1940, surveyed the ancient sites in the neighbourhood of Maheswar and published his impressions in the *Proceedings of the 10th session of the Indian History Congress* held at Bombay, 1947, pp. 179-194 and in the *Illustrated Weekly of India*, Bombay, March 23, 1947.

3. For this ware see *Ancient India*, No. 1, pp. 55-58.

It is carved on a small rectangular tablet of stone, measuring about 2 ft. × 1½ ft, in size, kept at the right-hand side wall of the entrance to the Maṇḍapa of the temple.

The inscription consists of 14 lines of writing carved in very bold characters but written in a poor hand and is very badly executed. It is, however, in a good state of preservation.

The language of the inscription is incorrect Sanskrit mixed with several forms of the local dialect. The following orthographical points are noteworthy. *Sa* is used for *Śa* (Lines 2, 3 and 12); *Śa* for *Sa* (lines 7, 9, 12 and 14); Sha for Kha (lines 4 and 6) ; *Shṭa* for *Shṭha* (lines 7 and 9); Ba for Va (line 2) and *Schchha* for *Stha* (line 11).

The inscription refers to the reign of the Mughal Emperor (Pādshāh) Jalāladi Akabara and his petty officer (Sikadār) Khojā Aziz Beg Khojā Sulemāna, the latter of whom is stated to be residing in the town Mahe(hi)shmati situated in the Mālava-deśa in the vicinity of the Māṇḍapāchala mountain.

The object of the inscription is to record the repairs done to the temple (of Jaleshwar) and the consecretation of a *linga* near the sacred *tirthas* called Agni-*tirtha*, *Kāl-āgni-rudra-kshetra* and *Daśa-laksha-tirtha* on the northern banks of the river Revā (i. e. Narmadā) at the confluence by one Deva-dāśa, who is described as a Mandaloi, belonging to the Pauravāḍa Jāngaḍā *Jnyāti*, and whose grand-father and father respectively held the office of the Patel (of that place). The names of his other relations are also given.

The inscription is dated the 1st day in the month of Māgha in Vikrama Saṁvat 1622 corresponding with Śaka 1487. The English equivalent of this date[4] works out to be 22nd January 1566 A. D..

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it enables us to know the name of the local officer ruling in Maheshwara on behalf of the Mughal Emperor which is nowhere recorded in the contemporary chronicles of the period of Akbar like the Ain-e-Akbari or the Akbarnamah. According to *AIN*[5] it was Khān-i-Khānān Aziz Khan Kokā who defeated Bāz Bahādur, the ruler of Malwa in 1561 A. D. The date of the present inscription is thus quite in conformity with the above since it falls five years later than the invasion of Malwa by the Mughal Emperor.

The inscription contains several Persian words like Pādshāh, Sikadār, Kārigar, etc., which are of interest since they are recorded in a Sanskrit inscription. The term Maṇḍaloi (line 6 and abbreviated as मं० in line 9) is a corrupt form of Maṇḍalādhipati, which occurs in

4. Pillai, *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. V, p. 334.
5. Ain-e-Akbari, (Ed. Jarret), Vol II, p. 221.

ancient inscriptions as the title of an officer in charge of a Maṇḍala (division). Similarly the office of the Patel is another corrupt form of the name of the officer Paṭṭakila recorded in several early inscriptions belonging to about the 8-9th centuries A. D. in the Deccan.

As stated in the inscription it was expected that some reference to the Ādi-linga mentioned by it would be traced in the Skanda Purāna. But the present available editions of this work do not allude to such a linga and it is perhaps likely that the statement in this inscription is merely based on the tradition current in the locality. The establishment of a Hindu shrine by a petty officer of the State also bespeaks of the liberal policy of the Mughal Emperor which is also corroborated by several lithic records[6] during the reign of Akbar.

TEXT

(१) सिद्धिः ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः अथ संवत्सरेस्मिन्नृपविक्रमार्क समयातीत कालात् सं-
(२) वतु १६२२ ब(व)र्षे शाके १४८७ प्रवर्तमाने श्रीमत्प्रौढप्रतापचक्रं(क्र)वर्तं(र्ति) पातसा(शा)ह श्री
(३) जलालदी अकबर विजयराज्ये सदृषे पातसा(शा)हके सरकार चालसो हवाले
(४) सिकदार षो(खो)जा श्री अजीज बेगा(ग) षो(खो)जा श्री स(सु)लेमाना(न) श्रीमन्मालवदेश मंडपाचल समीप
(५) नर्मदातट माहे(हि)ष्मती नगरी वास्तव्य। पौरवाड जांगडा ज्ञाति गोत्र चौधरी मंडलाधिष्टि-
(६) त षो(खो)त पटैल श्री काउ तस्य सुत पटै(टे)ल श्री गुणधर तस्य सुत मंडलोइ श्री देवदास सप-
(७) त्नीक ज्येष्ट(ष्ठ) पत्नी वाइ (बाई) मातु [।*] कनिष्ट(ष्ठ) पत्नी वाइ (बाई) वीरू। प्राशा(सा)दोद्धरण कृत जीर्णोद्धारं। माता वर्त-
(८) मान बाई गंगा। भा(भ्रा)तृ महाराज श्री सुजाणराय तस्य भार्या बाई कुंवरामः। दे। बहीणावा(बा)ई
(९) जीवं। ज्येष्ट(ष्ठ) पुत्र मं० लक्ष्मीदाश(स)। मध्यम पुत्र विष्णुदाश(स)। कनिष्ट(ष्ठ) पुत्र त्र्यंबक दाश(स)। माहे(हि)ष्मती सं-
(१०) गम रेवा उत्त[र*] कू(कु)ल अग्नितीर्थं कालाग्नी(ग्नि)रुद्र क्षेत्र दशलक्षतीर्थं संनि-धान माहेश्वरलिंग स्क(स्कं)-
(११) दपुराणोक्त आदिलिंग स्छा(स्था)पनोद्धारणं करोति वेदोक्तफलप्राप्तं(प्त्य)र्थं पुत्र-पौत्राः शुभं भवतु
(१२) विश्वकर्मा कारीगर सि(शि)लावट मेहतर शिवदाश(स) प्राशा(सा)द घटनं करोति। माघ दि० १ पडिवारे
(१३) वै ॥ छित्तमजहितवानः।

6. Cf. Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions in Northern India*, Appendix to *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. XIX-XXIII, Nos. 908, 923, 928, 932, 934, 938, 942, 948.

(१४)[7] प मं० देवदाश(स) शिवदाश(स) । बाइ जीवा बाहिण प्राशा(सा)द कृत [।*] पुण्यार्थं ।

B. Inscription in the Ahilyeshwara Mahadeva Temple

This inscription is carved on two smoothly dressed black stone slabs let into the right-hand side door-frame of the Ahilyeshwara Mahādeva temple. This temple is situated immediately above the magnificient flight of steps and the *ghāts* on the Narmada and still mark one of the most picturesque spots in Maheshwara.

The inscribed slabs measure about 3½ X 1½ ft. and there are 37 lines incised over them in a very beautiful and neat hand. The language of it is incorrect Sanskrit and in giving the text no attempt has been made to correct it. Their paleography does not call for any remarks.

The object of the inscription is to record the building of the ghāṭs of the Ahilyeshwara temple, which was commenced by Yeshvantrao Holkar, in memory of Shri. Ahilyabai Holkar, the well-known figure in Maratha History, noted for her munificent donations to several sacred places throughout the length and breadth of India. It is stated that the Foundation Stone (मूलशिला) was laid on the 7th day in the month of Kārtika, in the Śaka year 1727 corresponding to the year 1856 of the Vikrama Era. Both these years are expressed in numerical figures as well as by chronograms. The work commenced by Yeshwantrao could not be finished in his life-time and was therefore brought to completion by his surviving wife Krishṇā, in the Vikrama year 1880, on the 7th day in the month of Vaiśākha (called Mādhava in the text), according to the wishes of her late husband. It thus took nearly 24 years to complete this edifice which is still one of the proudest possessions of Maheshwar.

The exact details regarding the dates of the inscription are somewhat corrupt; but the English equivalent of the first date works out to be 4th November A.D. 1799 ; while the latter corresponds to A.D. 1824, June 24th. There is some discrepancy in the last mentioned date, when on the aforementioned *tithi*, the week day was Wednesday and not Friday as stated in the inscription.

The inscription starts with an obeisance to the God Ganeśa, Rājarājeshwara, the tutelary deity of the Holkar Family and to the river-goddess Narmadā. In the first eight verses the genealogy of the Holkar family is traced from Mallāri (Malhar Rao), the founder of the Family, his son Khaṇḍerāo, his wife Ahilyā, their son Tukoji and finally Yeshwantrao, the person who initiated the idea of establishing the Ahilyeshwar Shrine in memory of Ahilyābai. The Shrine is des-

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7. This line is written at the top of the stone-tablet.

cribed as a Prāsāda. Verse 13 narrates that the Shrine having the shape of a *Vimāna* was completed by Krishṇā (wife of Yeshwantrao) and a Śiva Linga named Ahilyeshwara was enshrined in it, on the *tithi* given above.

The composition of the inscription was intended to be in good verse with high sounding titles and panegyric and its author seems to have been very fond of play on words, as can be seen from the text running between lines 1-2, 17-18 etc.. But his intention in several cases is foiled by the scribe who has in several instances omitted certain words from the text and copied them wrongly in a few places.

The genealogy furnished by the inscription does not add anything new to our knowledge about the historical persons mentioned by it.

I edit the text of the inscription from the original stone with the permission of the *Vahivātdār* of the shrines at Maheshwara under whose care the monument is preserved.

TEXT

॥ श्री ॥

(१) ॥ श्री गणेशाय नमः श्री राजराजेश्वराय नमः ॥
श्रीनमंदायै नमः
(२) अस्ति क्षमारक्षणदक्षिणानां विपक्षपक्षपक्षक्षपणक्षमाणां ॥ श्री शौ-
(३) र्यगांभीर्यगुणैकधाम्नां वंशः क्षितौ होलकरोपनाम्नां ॥ १ ॥ स-
(४) मजनि जितमल्लो यत्र मल्लारि नाम्ना दशमहरिचरित्रो भोगि
(५) भोगातपत्रः ॥ जवाजितपृपदश्वे राजमानः सदश्वे सदसि हत
(६) वपुष्कान्यस्तुरुष्कांश्चकार ॥ २ ॥ ततस्तदात्मासदनूनविक्र-
(७) मो विष्णुर्विरेजे यदनंतभोगभाक् ॥ स्वदैवताद्वैत यथाच खं-
(८) डेरावाभिधां स्वां प्रथयन् पृथिव्यां ॥ ३ ॥ या तद्वधूमावमुपा
(९) श्रयंती तदीय धर्माननुपालयंती ॥ अत्रेवंशिष्ठस्य कलत्र
(१०) मंत्र संस्मारयंती विमलैश्चरित्रैः ॥ ४ ॥ बलादिलायां कलि
(११) निग्रहाय गृहीत भूपाल कलत्र देहा ॥ साक्षादहल्याभिधया
(१२) च तुल्या जनावनायाचिरभूदवन्यां ॥ ५ ॥ यस्तां महा-
(१३) देवरता पसाद्य महामहादेवरतामवाप्य ॥ श्री शील-
(१४) शौर्यादिगुणैरुदारः श्रीमान् सुभेदार इति प्रसिध्धः ॥
(१५) ॥ ६ ॥ तुकोजि नामां नरराजधामा प्राज्यं स्वराज्यं समलं-
(१६) चकार ॥ ततः सुतस्तस्य चतुःसमुद्वेलावनज्यापि य-
(१७) शोविशालः ॥ ७ ॥ प्रचंड दोर्मंडित चंडखड्गविखंडिता
(१८) विराति गृहीतदंडः ॥ अराजत श्री यशवंतराव नाम्ना महा-
(१९) राजपदाधिरूढः ॥ ८ ॥ माहिष्मती दक्षिणपक्षलक्षि क्षी-
(२०) मां श्रु(शु)कांता तट युग्मकांतां ॥ रेवां समालोक्य तदंकशय्या

(२१) मसावहल्यामनुष्ठितयत्य तस्या ॥ ९ ॥ लोकांतरे वा विदिता-
(२२) स्तु सेवा ममेति देवासुरसेविताया: ॥ अस्यास्तटे घट्ट विधा-
(२३) नपूर्वं प्रासादमाधातुमनामनीवी ॥ १० ॥ श्री विक्रमादि-
(२४) त्यमहींद्रराज्याद्रसाक्षमागक्षिति १८५६ संमितेब्दे ॥ श्री-
(२५) शालिवाहनस्य शक धराश्विशैलेन्दु १७२१ वर्षोर्जसितेर्क[ति*]
(२६) थ्यां ॥ तारेशवारे श्रवणे प्रभाते चक्रे स्वयं मूलशिला-
(२७) निवेशं ॥ ११ ॥ दारास्ततस्तस्य गुणैरुदारा सदा समाचार ध-
(२८) राधरायां ॥ तारा द्वितीयेव कृतावतारावाराशिपारांत
(२९) यशः प्रसारा ॥ १२ ॥ कृष्णाभिधा भर्तुरुपक्रमस्य मनोरथ-
(३०) स्यापि सुपूर्णतायै ॥ प्रासादमासादित वैजयंतश्रियं वि-
(३१) निर्माय विमानरूपं [॥ १३ ॥*] श्रीविक्रमाब्दंबरनंदनागधरा १८८०
(३२) शरन्माधव शुक्लपक्षे ॥ वारे भृगोः सप्तमसत्तिथौ सा मूर्तेः प्र-
(३३) तिष्ठां स शिवामकार्षीत् ॥ १४ ॥ स्ववृक्षस्त संपादित देवभावां-
(३४) माधिनमूर्त्तौष्कृतसंविधानां ॥ अस्मिन्नहल्यां विहित प्रतिष्ठां
(३५) विधाय सामीप्यमपि स्मरारेः ॥ १५ ॥ विभाव्य तस्याः पुरतः
(३६) पुरारिलिंगसमास्थापयदत्र कृत्स्ना ॥ सायुज्यमस्याः प्रथ-
(३७) यन् महेशो विभात्यहल्येश्वर नामधेयः [॥ १६ ॥]*

EARLY HISTORY OF THE BOMBAY DOCKS AND SHIP-BUILDING

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The name of Bombay and its origin is believed to be a corruption of the Portuguese Buon Bahia (Good Bay), although its derivation has been the object of much speculation.[1] Old ' Bombain ' or ' Mumbai ' was owned by ' My Lady of the Manor ' under a lease of £ 10 per annum, from His Gracious Majesty of Portugal and was assiduously explored for drugs by Signor Garcia de Orta, the able scientist of Botanic fame.[2] It is an historical fact that what is now known the Port of Bombay, started its life at Kalyan about 2000 years ago, and by easy stages, arrived at its present situation ; for it is possible that the harbour authorities must have found it easier to move the port rather than excavate the mud.[3] Mango Chau found it worthwhile to send Anno in 1257 to this famous port but everything submitted before the arms of Portugal, by 1550.[4] Alladin attacked Deccan in 1318 and Mubarak I defeated Harpal Dev near Bombay. Bhimraj with the help of the native Kolis and Bhandaris had planted trees and to join them, Parsis came in 1540. Dorabji and after him his son Rustum looked after Bombay on behalf of the Portuguese power and in latter days Rustum helped the English against Siddis.[5] By 1530, on account of some delicate work, Bombay was given to the Portuguese by the Mogul Emperor.[6] The Portuguese had selected the Eastern Modi Bay as a place of safe anchorage, not only for the native craft but for all foreign vessels from Europe and elsewhere. In 1531, the Portuguese Viceroy of Goa, Nino De Cunha, selected it as rendez-vous against the island of Div.[7] Even at this early stage when the Dutch attacked Bombay in 1623, David Devis saw two new ships being built there.[8] By 1626, the English with the Dutch seized the island from the Portuguese but for some unexplained reason immediately abandoned it.[9] Capt. Weddell's

1. Port of Bombay : Jan-March ; 1944 ; pp. 126
2. Wacha : Shells from the Sands of Bombay, pp. 3.
3. Q. A. S. Rolfe : Harbour Drainage and a Short History of the Dredgers ; Port of Bombay Oct.-Nov. 1942.
4. A person unknown : Account of Bombay (1710) ; pp. 1-3.
5. Govind Narayan : *Mumbai Varnana* (1863), pp. 35-36.
6. Govind Narayan : *Mumbai Varnana*, p 382.
7. Wacha ; Shells from the Sanda of Bombay, pp. 203, 204, 205.
8. Parasnis : *Itihas Sangrah and Aitihasik Charitre*, pp. 124-125.
9. James Douglas ; Bombay and Western India (1893) ; I ; pp. 37

small fleet made a descent on Bombay whilst the place was yet under the Portuguese sway ; and later on the century on 17-2-1665, Humphrey Cooke promenaded the ramparts, such as they were, laying hands upon the guns, claiming them in the name of His Majesty Charles II, as part of the dowry of his queen Catherine de Braganza[10] and Bombay war given on lease for Rs. 100 to the East India Company in 1666, the next year.[11] But even then the town wealth was already assessed to Rs. 28340, which indicates the advance of the Port as a commercial centre.[11]

The English had concluded[12] a treaty with the Portuguese, already in 1635 and as a part thereof had attempted ship-building at Bassein. Again to protect the new settlement of Bombay a ship of 180 tons, by name ' Warrick Pett ' was despatched and already new ships were being built, as ' Hamilton ', the traveller observed, by 1668[13]. By 1670, Pelt constructed two brigantines which made the court of Directors complain from London as to the heavy expenses of building and repairing small ships.[14] Bombay was not a safe place ; for a Calicat vessel had on board 100 men wrecked near Verula (Worli) on 15-8-1670.[15]

By 1670 under Sir George Aezenden, Docks were built for ship-building. Before that the English had to go to Bassein and Daman to Portuguese builders. In 1636, the permission had been secured, to build two ships at Daman and two at Bassein, from the Government of the Portuguese Realm. The Court of Directors sent Wardwick Pitt to Bombay from London and he started ship-building.[16] The original place of the tiny dock is said to have been a mud basin, situated on the present site, known as the middle and the lower Bombay docks and though the early administration emphasized the importance of its improvements in 1666, nothing was done.[17] The great increase in commercial population, wealth of which had been assessed already to Rs. 64960, in 1688, demanded rapid improvements.[18] But the situation around afforded no peace. The Marathas proved the first embarrassment as in 1679, Shivaji, incensed by a brutal raid on Pen, seized and fortified the island of Kennery, situated at and commanding the entrance to Bombay. A small expedition was hastily despatched but the small

10. T. W. Venn : Battians and Batteries of old Bombay ; Port of Bombay ; Oct-Nov. 1942.
11. *Mumbai Varnana*, pp. 13-14.
12. Parasnis : *Itihas Sangrah ; Aitihasik Charitre*, pp. 124-126.
13. Parasnis : *Itihas Sangrah ; Aitihasik Charitre*, pp. 124-125.
14. E. L. Everett : Notes on the History of the Port of Bombay III ; Port of Bombay ; Jan. 1934.
15. J. R. B. Jeejeebhoy : Bombay Shipwrecks, p. 1.
16. *Mumbai Varnana* ; pp. 79-81.
17. Wacha : Shells from the Sands of Bombay, pp. 203, 204, 205.
18. *Mumbai Varnana*, pp 13-14,

Bombay vessels were quickly dispersed leaving only 'Revenge' to fight the enemy single-handed. Still it sank five of the enemy's grabs and drove off the others.[19] As the eye witness in 1673 observed (as per Fryer) the then concern of the Company was with the Portuguese, Shivaji and the Mogul,[20] all around. Then, again as observed in the despatch to Court of Directors, of 24-1-1677, Bombay had no material for shipping, as compasses, lanterns, pilot's instruments, log-lines, sails, needles could not be procured in India.[21] To add to the difficulties, Rielot Vyangan, the Dutch Naval High Command attacked Bombay on 20-2-1673 when General Anjiyar, the Governor, defended the island well with 300 Europeans, 400 native converts, 300 Bhandaris, 500 Portuguese with 60 canons.[22] But the commerce, unhampered, still increased and it was recorded in 1675 that the exports from Bombay consisted of a great variety such as that of cloths, battas, dungaries, porcolloes, pepper, drugs and calicoes.[23] And while Bombay was endeavouring to secure some little tranquility by letting the two rivals, Shivaji and the Siddis fight and by judicious relations with both,[24] the garrison revolted under the leadership of Capt. Keigwin on 27-12-1683 ; Governor Ward was arrested,[25] the Council at Surat was powerless[26] and it was only on a direct command from Charles II, with a ship with 70 guns, with the ultimatum for 'Bombay' to be handed over within 20 hours, that Keigwin submitted.[25] The Royal squadron was led by Sir Thomas Grantham.[26] Keigwin was released and Bombay was handed over to him. It was largely this rebellion of 11 months, in addition to the vulnerability of Surat to Maratha raids which decided the Directors to make Bombay their chief centre in Western India. Surat had degraded from Presidency to an agency and Bombay was now super-elevated to a regency, modelled on the successful Dutch colonies in the East Indies, with full powers to negotiate with the Indian Princes and conduct Naval and Military operations. Captain General and Admiral of India was the inspiring title of Sir John Child.[27]

19. E. L. Everett : Notes on History of the Port of Bombay II ; Port of Bombay ; Oct. 1933.
20. Ibid.
21. Bombay Gazetteer, XXVI: Bombay Island and Town ; II ; (1894) ; pp. 203.
22. *Mumbai Varnana*, pp. 92-93. 21. Forrest: Home Series ; I ; pp.123.
23. Port of Bombay : April-June 1944.
24. E. L. Everett : Notes on History of the Port of Bombay : II ; Port of Bombay Oct. 1933.
25. *Mumbai Varnana*, pp. 93, 94.
26. E. L. Everett : Notes on History of Port of Bombay : II ; Port of Bombay, Oct. 1933.
27. Oxford Historical and Literary Series: Vol. VI, Keigwins Revolt; Ray and Oliver Strachey.

From 1662 to 1685, Bombay had three men-of-war : the Revenge mounting 22 guns ; the May Boon, of 220 tons, which has been taken from the Dutch; and the Hunter of 14 guns, besides smaller vessels confusedly styled as Manchus, gallivats, grabs, shybars, balloons, prows, hoys, and ketches ; while Shivaji's fleet, as per the account of factors of Carwar in 1665, consisted of 85 frigates and 3 great ships ;[28] and there was only one company of soldiers under Clipton in Bombay.[29] Bombay's first Dry Dock was projected to this date, as far back as 1686,[30] when Sir John Wyborne, Deputy-Governor, in his letters to his masters in England, recommended to them to build a Dock, explaining to them that " all ships in these seas when they know of a dock, where they can lie securely, will come to clean and repair. Had there been a dock, the ship Falcon had not left her bones here." [31] Again Child and his council moved to Bombay in 1687 and immediately set an ambitious scheme of obtaining command of sea ; with the effect that a rupture broke with Siddi and Bombay was invaded by the Mogul fleet and army of 10000 men, besieging the garrison for 16 months.[32] Yakut Khan Siddi attacked Seweri on 12-12-1689 and left his siege on 8-6-1690 and the company lost Rs. 4160000 due to this Siddi invasion.[33] To add, plague and cholera came together and destroyed " in four months more men than the war had done." By end of 1691, only 80 Englishmen were left alive and in 1696, only 27. Children not one in twenty, reached the age of 12 months. These were the dark days "when two monsoons are the life of a man." Out of 19 men who came on 'Worcester' only 2 were able to stand[34] and by 1699, only 76 out of the English army survived[35] and the Court of Directors promised to send on the 'Thomas' 25 bibles for the use of the garrison at Bombay and by the next shipping, even the further supply thereof.[34]

Inspite of all these horrible conditions of life, we find from 1704 to 1707, the ' wretched arrangements ' hitherto deemed sufficient for repairing ships, seem to have been improved.[35] The value of the export trade which consisted mainly of cotton goods, paper, silk and precious stones, rose from £ 493000 in 1708 to an average of £ 758000 for the 20 years ending in 1728. Population which at 1660 was 10000, had risen eighty

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28. Ibid, 28. P. Anderson : The English in Western India (1854) pp. 78–79.
29. *Mumbai Varnana*, pp. 94-95.
30. Sharpe : Port of Bombay, pp. 15.
31. J. R. B. Jeejeebhoy : Bombay Shipwrecks, pp. 1–2.
32. E. L. Everett : Notes on History of Port of Bombay II : Port of Bombay : Oct. 1933.
33. *Mumbai Varnana*, pp. 97–98.
34. Everett : Port of Bombay, Oct. 1933.
35. Everett : Port of Bombay, Jan 1934.

years later to 70000 and by 1780 was returned as 113000.[36] Angria first attacked Bombay in 1710 and seized Kennery and captured the armed yacht of the Governor of Bombay, together with the 'Anne' from Carwar. Charles Boone arrived in 1715 and attacked Gheria. The expedition of 1717 was a failure, which only drove Boone to make another attack and he decided to capture Kennery. He gathered a fleet consisting of 4 East-India-men-of-war, one frigate, two grabs and about 50 smaller vessels carrying English troops, marine and sepoys. 'Morris' attacked again, the fleet returned and Bombay was blocked by Angria's fleet. 'St.George' with a 60-gun-man-of-war arrived. She became a total wreck and the royal squadron under the command of Commodore Thomas Mathews had to appear on the scene; but Angria died in 1728 leaving five sons and his possessions were in confusion.[37] In Bombay the whole facade of the old Custom House was completed and comprised of three storeys instead of two, by 1714.[38] In 1719 a remarkable floating battery, which was a floating castle or a machine that was almost cannon-proof, by named 'Phranm' was constructed under Boone, the Governor of Bombay.[39] Downing records that it was pretty flat, flowed with little or no bulge and but 6 feet hold. The thickness of her sides was made by the nicest composition as canon-proof. She was to go with one mast and a top-sail which was rigged in a very commodious manner and mounted 12 guns. The Phranm took part in the expedition against Gheria in 1719 but was not a success. Faulty construction of her ports, rendered it difficult to elevate the guns sufficiently to fire at the fort and after bursting of one of her guns, the sailors refused to serve on her.[39] Internal sabotage was also ripe when Ramaji Kamat, famous for his connections in activities of shipping in Bombay was brought for trial and was imprisoned by 24-3-1720.[40] The Committee of Survey was expected, by 1728 already, to report on the bunder Pier and its condition, which normally indicates that it must have been built ten years earlier. It was of poor construction, rough masonry and was simply dumped on the mud with no foundation. The committee recommended its extension to a length of 500 feet and to be faced with bonded masonry. The Court of Directors found it necessary to write to Marine Superintendent, under whom were the Harbour works, about the deduction in the wages of the workers[41]

36. W. R. S. Sharpe : The Port of Bombay pp.:14.
37. E. L. Everett : Notes on History of Port of Bombay : II Port of Bombay : Oct. 1933.
38. Port of Bombay : Oct–Dec. 1941, pp. 211.
39. E. L. Everett: Notes on History of Port of Bombay: III, Jan 1934: Port of Bombay.
40. *Mumbai Varnana* : pp. 84–85.
41. E. L Everett : Notes on History of Port of Bombay : Port of Bombay Jan. 1934.

there. Due to apprehensions on account of Angria, Bombay, at once, had new schemes to reinforce the fleet, and the consulation approved of addition of more boats on 5-12-1735 and the committee had already had bought two large boats belonging to Manekji Navroji for Rs. 3000.[42] Until 1735, Bombay was handicapped by lack of timber and expert craftsmen when Lowji Nasarwanji was sent from Surat to open up a trade in teak with the Bhills and other jungle tribes, most of Bassein.[43] Lowji Nasarwanji was at Surat in 1710 and was already educated as shipwright and had taken employment in the East India Company's dock-yard, built during the early establishment of the company there. By 1735, Dhanjibhai was master-builder at Surat. Dudley, the master-attendant of Bombay was sent to Surat to build a ship, called 'Queen'[44] for the company in 1735, where Lowji was employed as a foreman shipwright. His ability, skill and intelligence attracted attention of Dudley[45] who endeavoured to persuade him to proceed to Bombay, where the Government was desirous of establishing a ship-building Dock. But he refused till his master's consent could be secured which was obtained with much difficulty in 1735 and with a few other shipwrights. Lowji arrived in Bombay. He at once selected a spot where the Dock stands, occupied by dwellings of all principal officers of the Marine, habitations of Lascars and the common jail of Bombay.[46] Lowji built ships as staunch and well finished as any that the ship-building yards of Europe could produce. The largest of the tall ships, that were built for Company's service, was the Ganges, a frigate of 2289 tons. Many famous ships were built, notable among them being the 'Sealeby Castle,' launched in 1798 and the 'Buckinghamshire' of 11369 tons, built in 1816.[47] He retired in 1733 when the Company gave him high pension and showered many favours including those of royalty, and immense ground at Parell, yielding Rs. 6000[49] where still stands the Lowji Castle, was given as Jagir.[48] Wadias undertook ship-building not only on part of East India Company but Admiralty itself. Bombay saw in Wadias a succession of Master-builders such as no other part

42. Bombay Gazetter : XXVI : Bombay City and Island : III pp. 207.

43. Everett: Notes on History of Port of Bombay III: Port of Bombay: Jan : 1934.

42. Forrest : Home Series : II : pp. 53.

44. D. F. Karaka : History of the Parsis : II : pp. 60-61.

45. Ibid.

46. D. F. Karaka : Historv of the Parsis : II : pp. 60-61.
Darukhanwala : Parsi Lustre on Indian Soil. Memorial of Manekji Lowji and Bomanji Lowji to Court of Directors (25-1-1840) pp. 20 etc. See : W. T. Money to Governor of Bombay 28-9-1810.

47. Ibid. Sharpe : Port of Bombay, pp. 14-15.

48. Wacha : Shells from the Sands of Bombay, p. 6.

of India has ever known. The family seemed to have a genius for the art of building ships and that, too, of a most durable type, many of which even survived 100 years.[50] They were the master-builders of the Mercantile Marine and the Indian Navy Warships, which navigated the Arabian and Red Seas and pursued the 'buglas' and 'dhows' of the piratical Arabs of Muscat, Socrata and Zanzibar who bought and sold slaves.[48] Encouraged by the success of his undertaking and the countenance of Government, Lowji brought up two of his sons—Manekji and Bomanji—to his own craft and by his instructions rendered them so proficient in naval architecture that by their united exertions, the reputation of the Bombay Dockyard became universally known in India and their business was so much increased that in the year 1760, it was found necessary to construct another Dock. The ability of Lowji in his profession and his great integrity in the purchase of materials for ship-building had now in more than one instance attracted the particular notice, approbation and reward of the Court of Directors and his skill and exertions in repairing H. M. Squadron about this period called forth their distinguished commendation and they emphatically observed "that such essential service should not be passed over without some particular mark of their favour" which the Government were directed accordingly to confer. In reward of the merits, the Government awarded and the Court of Directors in 1776, approved of an increase to their pay and to the elder, Manekji, the court directed a silver rule and Lords of Admiralty thanked Jamshetji, in the handsomest manner and through J. Johnstone, Commissioner of Navy, presented him with a silver cup, bearing a suitable inscription. "I have built since 'Minden' of 74 guns, 'the Cornwallis' of 74 guns and nearly completed the "Wellesley" of 74 guns," was not a vain glory. Under Jamshetji's supervision 16 men-of-war and 40 large ships were designed and built. He received testimonials from H. M. Navy, Lords of Admiralty and the Court of Directors and from every Admiral and C-in-C in India.[48] They have during a century and a half built 335 new vessels including many men-of-war, besides repairing innumerable ships.[49] Jamshetji Bomanji was the first to be entrusted by the Lords of Admiralty with the building of men-of-war in India. There were numerous offers to the Admiralty for building line-of-battleships, but Admiral Sir Thomas Trowbridge had a poor opinion of people who had to perform the work and of the Pegu teak with which ships were constructed in Bengal. He strongly recommended the Lords to entrust the work to be done at Bombay under Jamshetji, without any European aid or direction. Lords having seen and admired 'Cornwallis', a frigate of 50

49. Karaka : History of Parsis, pp. 70-71.

guns, built at Bombay, determined on the construction of men-of-war in India. They had first suggested to send out a European builder and shipwrights, but Trowbridge pledged his word. The order for two frigates and a 74, was registered. The report tendered after completion observed that the masterly execution of these orders had nobly redeemed the pledge which that distinguished Admiral gave in England. The frigates of 36 guns each had been highly approved of and the 74 rode in that Harbour, a proud monument of Jamshetji's skill in naval architecture and the admiration of all professional men.[49] Jahangir Naoroji and Hirjibhai Merwanji were sent to England to make themselves acquainted with the changes and improvements in the art of shipping.[51]

Bombay by 1739 was firmly established as formidable, independent power in Western India and was larger, richer, and healthier. It was the most flourishing town in the world, and[52] was the grand storehouse of all Arabian and Persian commerce. The Dock Pier had come into existence in 1742. The Bunder Pier and this one had decayed and estimates were prepared for their repairs. The minute observed "with regard to the Dock Pier, the Board are entirely of opinion, some repairs should be immediately given as great part is fallen and the safety of the shipping in the Dock solely depends upon the Pier without which the Dock itself must be useless." In 1745, the other part fell down : the Directors suggested repairs, but still in 1747, the port gave way and had to be repaired.[53] Until 1748, the only dock facility was a mud basin in which ships were cleared at low waters, but in 1748, a start was made and a dry dock was completed in 1750. The charges fixed were Rs. 150 for the first spring and Rs. 100 for each successive one. This Dock still exists and is now known as the upper old Bombay Dock. It proved such a success that four years later, it was extended by the addition by another compartment. The middle old Bombay Dock was completed hurriedly on a representation from the Admiral that it was the only means of preserving the two capital ships of his squadron and yet a third extension, the outer old Bombay Dock was started and completed in 1765.

These three can be seen in the Government Dockyard today and were the boast of Bombay and the wonder of the traveller for the next 40 years. They were so popular that the charges were raised from Rs. 150 and Rs. 100 to Rs. 450 and Rs. 350 for English and Rs. 600 and Rs. 500 for foreign ships.[54] In 1748, first steps to construct a proper

50. Wacha : Shells from the Sands of Bombay, pp. 210-211.
51. Karaka : History of Parsis, pp. 70-71. Parasnis : Aitihasik Charitre, pp 126-130
52. Everett : Notes on History of Port of Bombay III : Jan. 1934, Port of Bombay.
53. Ibid. 54. Ibid.

Dock were taken and the first Dry Dock in India was completed: which, at once, render it an historical event.

The Years rolled on, and histories speak
Of Parsees, come to tread in teak ;
Of men from Madagascar soil
Brought for slavery and toil ;
But now came change, the sea gulls saw
Docks, hallowed from the Eastern shore.[55]

The Dock was constructed 209 feet long, 49 feet wide and had a depth of 15 feet. It proved such a success that within 15 years after its opening in 1750, two more dry docks were laid down and completed. The question of wet docks accommodation does not appear to have been seriously considered till the middle of the next century and it was not till 1875 that the first enclosed wet dock was constructed.[56] The original dry docks astonished Groze and also Niebuhr, who noted that two ships could be repaired in it at one time. Though ship-building had much outgrown dimensions of the dock, it could still accommodate two crafts of considerable burthen at once, and to our lazy notions of hydraulic engineering, seemed a splendid piece of mason work : as good today apparently as it was 150 years ago.[57] Mazgaon has been referred as ship-building centre in 1749, as ships were laid there for repairs for monsoon. Kolis referred as ' Mazgaon Boys ' were trained as craftsmen, sawyers and caulters and in 1757 were ordered to be apprenticed as craftsmen in the small dock there and to be sent to Marine Superintendent ; but they deserted as often as they could and gave much trouble and finally in 1765 had to be replaced by slave boys from Madagascar. As early as 1736, 165 slaves had been imported for shipyard craftsmen but were generally found incompetent.[58] In 1754 Superintendent of Marine proposed construction of a dry dock and acceded by Government and with the assistance of Lowji, completed it with the moderate sum of Rs. 12000.[59] The Court Minute observed that there were hardpressing difficulties of pier-arrangements and strongly recommended to raise the same Pier out to low water mark, by which means goods could be landed and exported at all times of the tide.[60] Finally we find the Court " were pleased to find that the

55. Wacha : Shells from the Sands of Bombay, pp. 203-204-205.

56. W. E. B. : Bird's-eye-view : Port of Bombay, Jan. Mar. 1943.

57. Joanes Duglas : Bombay and Western India : 1893 p. I, p. 144. Sharpe : The Port of Bombay, p. 15.

58. Everett : Notes on the History of Port of Bombay : III : Port of Bombay, Jan. 1934.

59. Karaka : History of Parsis : II, p. 62. Parasnis : *Aitihasik Charitre*, pp. 127-134.

works at the Dock and Pier are of the most public utility," by 1756.[61] By 1754, again, a floating Boon was constructed to close the basin between the Bunder and Pier-Docks, the reason being given as defence, but " it would in great measure present desertion of the Europeans running away with our boats in the night."[62]

Lowji finding his place not sufficient built another dock in 1760.[63] At a consulation of 11-11-1760, was a letter from Hughes referred, remarking that the second Dock had been finished some time then and was of great utility as he had been able to dock the largest ships in the Squadron.[64] But now strict orders from the Court ensued to stop all dock extension works for " our money will be buried in stone walls, chunam and expensive operations while our mercantile concerns languish. " True, as it was, for 50 to 60 years there is one long record of alterations, revisions, demolitions and rebuilding.[65] And true again the references in 17th and 18th centuries records to docks extensions had more connections with fortifications than with trade facilities as for instance in 1746, when " the Dock Pier Head was enlarged so as to mount 9 guns in the face towards the road and two more for flanking the face of the Royal Bastion. " In 1775 the shipping facilities were described as " two marine gates with a commodious whart and cranes built out from each gate, besides a landing place for passengers only." [66] But population was growing to the tune of 65000, as per the despatch of the Court of 22-3-1765 and was returned as 113000 in 1780[67] and the army incorporated 6000 soldiers in 1777.[68] And so the place for dry-dock was estimated in 1767 on Butcher Island, though it never came to anything. A small dry dock was built nevertheless, at Mazgaon, of which there is no exact reference, though it is already mentioned in 1767.[69] The new light-house replaced the old one at Colaba point in 1768, which is believed to have been the first proper light-house in India.[70] The tremendous ship-activities in the Docks are pointed out by 19-11-1772, on account of ' Prudent ', ' Intrepid ', ' Bombay ', ' Admiral ', ' Hart-land ', 'Cumberland', with the rest

60. Everett : Notes on History of Port of Bombay : Port of Bombay Jan. 1944.

61. Ibid : III : Jan. 1934. 62. Ibid.

63. Parasnis : *Itihas Sangrah* : *Aitihasik Charitre*, pp. 127-134.

64. Bombay Gazetteer : XXVI ; Bombay City and Island : III, p. 225.

65. Everett : Notes on History of Port of Bombay : III, Port of Bombay : Jan, 1934.

66. Sharpe : The Port of Bombay, p. 15.

67. J. R. B. Jeejeebhoy : Lord Nelson and Bombay, p. 3.

68. *Mumbai Varnana*, pp. 94-95.

69. Everett : Notes on History of Port of Bombay ; III : Port of Bombay : Jan. 1934.

of the squadron ; 'Devonshire' had arrived ; 'Shrewsberry' being leaky was obliged to unload and go into docks ; 'Speaker' and 'Royal Charter' were busy while 'Hector' left for Bengal : the 'Marquis of Rockingham' was pointed out and while 'Duke of Albany' was lost the 'Prince of Wales' was referred to.[71] Lowji died in 1774 and his sons built 29 ships during their tenure of office, besides repairing many ships of H. M. squadron, visiting Bombay.[72] On 8-3-1775, the Maratha fleet had commenced hostilities and the exportation of timber from Gundavie was stopped and in general, all intercourse with the Maratha ports was stopped and prevented. Request was made to Raghoba, however, to stop this devastating work of Rodraji against the English.[73] But to the credit of the English, ships 'Revenge' and 'Bombay' grab defeated the Maratha fleet on their way to Tellicherry.[74] This resulted in the greater activities in the Docks, as Parsons observed in 1775, there was a convenient place near the dock to grieve several ships at once which was done as well and with as great expedition as in any dock in England. Ships built in Bombay were not only as strong but as handsome and well furnished as ships built in any part of Europe. The timber and plank of which they were built so far exceeded any in Europe for durability, that it was usual for ships to last fifty or sixty years.

As a proof of this, he was informed that the ship called 'Bombay' grab, of 24 guns had been built more than 60 years and was then a good and a strong ship. This timber and plank is peculiar to India only and the best on this side of India grows to the North of Bombay. It is called Tick and will last in a bad climate longer than any wood whatever.[75] The Court's commands of 15-4-1778 intended reinforcements and enlargements of Bombay docks and were brought to Bombay by Capt. Mackeney. Capt. Mathews by mistake, thinking them a duplicate, carried them to Madras.

A report after proper examination was forwarded that Northumberland, Oxford, Buckingham, three 70 gun ships were taken into docks along with the 'Intrepid', a new 64 gun ship as sent in Diary in February 1773 and the Public Diary, Jan-Feb. 1773. Improvements in stores were made, particularly a Bank removed, which had prevented the Northumberland getting in for one side. The docks in their then condition would not admit a 74 gun ship and any attempt to enlarge them would render them useless for a long time but two

70. Prongs : Port of Bombay : Oct. 1936.

71. Secret and Political Department Diary : 14 A, pp. 29-30. W. A. Price to Sec. Conn. of the Court of Directors. (Unpublished.)

72. Karaka : History of Parsis, II, p. 64.

73. Sec. and Pol. Dept. Diary : 16 A, pp. 104-105. Bombay to Surat.

74. Sec. and Pol. Dept. Diary: 16 A, pp. 182-183. Bombay consulation.

new docks could easily be built to admit ships of that size which the committee would shortly take into consideration. A sheer Hulk was then fitted up with all expedition.[76] And on 10-8-1778, the consultation resolved to give orders to the Engineer to complete the Dock Bastion with Bomb-proof of casemates instead of finishing it with a simple rampart.[77] On 4-9-1778, a report was solicited on the condition of Docks ; the depths of water within the different Docks, at the entrance leading thereto, in spring tides and in short on everything particular to produce an expert judgment of what sized ships might be admitted therein.[78] The height of the spring tides for 9 months was generally 13'-10" to 14'. The score in the Selt, then 10" which might be cut away 4" more, making 14" which would then give from 15' to 15'-2." In January, February, March tides rose higher than in any of the other months, being in general from 15' to 15'-6" above the selt of the gate and allowing for the selt, would give from 16'-2" to 16'-8," which would take in any 70 gun ship but would not admit the new 74 gun ships as they could not, with safety be brought to a smaller draught of water than 17'-6" or17' at least. The Bank at the entrance of the Dock must always be removed by a number of people at spring tides before any large ships could be taken in. No material alterations could be made in the Dock besides deepening the scores in the selts of the gate which then was rather too narrow but the Docks could by no means be deepened without rendering them useless for one year at least.[79] So it was recommended on 22-12-1778 that two new docks might be built abreast of the second and third docks capable of receiving any of the 74 gun ship ; by removing the hospital as mentioned by the Court in their commands of 4-4-1767 and fixing the ships for building where the hospital now stands. Such a removal it was thought, would greatly conduce towards making the marine yard more commodious as there was then too little room. The capacious use of the docks was pointed out by the following ships taken in at the draught of water.[80]

Ship	When docked	Dock	Draft of Water taken in.	
1. Yarmouth	Feb. 1760	II	...	...
2. Newcastle	Dec. 1758	I	...	...
3. Cumberland	Jan. 1759	II	...	...
4. Grafton†	July 1761	II	14'-6"	15'-6"

75. Everett : Notes on History of Port of Bombay : III: Port of Bombay : Jan. 1934
76. Sec. & Pol. Dept. Diary : 19 A, pp. 407-409 : Bombay to Court.
77. Sec. & Pol. Dept. Diary : 19 A, pp. 76- 77; Bombay consultation.
78. Sec. & Pol. Dept. Diary : 19 A, pp 144-145: Bombay cousultation.
79. Sec. & Pol. Dept Diary : 20, pp 17-19 : Report on Dock Conditions.

	Ship	When docked	Dock	Draft of Water taken in.	
5.	Tyger	Nov. 1761	II	14'-6"	15'-6"
6.	Medway	July 1762	II	14'-7"	14'-10"
7.	Chatham	Jan. 1763	II	...	...
8.	Weymouth	April 1763	II	14'-3"	14'-3"
9.	Elizabeth†	Sep. 1763	II	14'-0"	14'-6"
10.	Northumberland†	Jan. 1773	II	14'-10"	15'-0"
11.	Buckingham†	,, ,,	III	14'-10"	14'-11"
12.	Intrepid†	Feb. 1773	II	14'-0"	15'-0"
13.	Oxford†	,, ,,	III	14'-6"	15'-6"
14.	Warwick	Mar. 1773	III	15'-0"	15'-6"
15.	Salisbury	Jan. 1776	III	14'-6"	14'-6"
16.	Rippon	,, 1778	III	15'-0"	15'-3"

† These were hove up with a lighter.

The principal engineer tendered his report on constructions in Bombay, for making the casemated bomb proofs in Mody Bay, for raising the curtain in the castle and expected 150 workers there. As for work in the Dock Pier, he required 300 workers. These suggestions were already proposed in Col. Campbell's plan and it was resolved to be undesirable to put them in practice; the reason for its rejection being given that its execution would not prevent the selting of the mud at the entrance and hence new suggestions were solicited.[81] Bombay declared to the Court their inability to come to any determination on the proposal for building additional docks, capable of admitting 74 gun ships, on 27-3-1779.[82] We find in 1780, with these activities, with the increased numbers, improved discipline and a regular uniform, the Bombay marine became a little navy, although it did not assume that name. The English Fleets, with their line-of-battle ships and frigates, floating in the harbour, on various occasions during the next quarter of a centnry (1755-1780), though the commands of Admirals Watson, Cornish, Pockock, Stevens, threw the Bombay Marine into the shade, but at the same time, taught it emulation and efficiency.[83]

By 1780, Oyster Rock and Middle ground had got no further than the plinth stage and old Salts were yet speculating on the effects of the works upon the scour of the anchorage, then off the Custom House in 4½ fathoms of water.[84] As a matter already referred to, the C-in-C in his letter of

80. Sec. & Pol. Dept. Diary: 20, pp 17-19: Report on Dock Conditions.
81. Sec. & Pol. Dept. Diary: 20, pp 455-459 : 30-4-1779.
82. Sec. & Pol. Dept. Diary : 20, pp 338 and 376.
83. Low : History of the Indian Navy, I, pp. 23.

10-3-1783 granted the sanad for ground which would yield 40 morahs of toca batty in the district of Parell with their foras and purteneas of the side grounds to Lowji.[85] Bombay had become the entrepot of commerce and the first shipment of raw cotton went to England by 1783. Also the first definite attempt to establish overland and island communication dates as far back as 1787 when the Court appointed an agent in Egypt to supervise the interchange of despatches between England and India.[87] Bomanji, younger son of Lowji died in 1790 at the age of 70 and the elder son, Manekji died in 1792, when on their deaths, their sons, Framji and Jamshetji were appointed master-builders. Their services were equally appreciated by Government in 1804 when they were each presented by the Court with a silver rule upon which were engraved suitable inscriptions. These inscriptions were engraved on the hinges of Britannia, Sir Edward Hughes, Bombay, Cornwallis, and Mormington.[88] In 1798, the Sion causeway connected Bombay to Salsette and two years later a pressing need of further dry dock accommodation to be used largely as building ships for men-of-war led to the construction in the Government Dock-yard in 1805-1807 of the Upper Duncan Dock and by 1810, of the Lower Duncan Dock. The engineer was thanked for his peculiar and eminent merits in planning and executing the great undertaking.[89] But on 4-11-1799, a storm blew with terrific violence and when the day broke, a spectacle of appalling ruin was revealed. The shore from the Bunder pier to Mazagaon, as far as the eye could reach was piled with wrecks. Under Hornby's battery, round the castle sea face, as far as Fort George, were great heaps so completely dashed to splinters that not a trace could be discovered of any individual ship. The ' Revolution ' ship-of-war went to pieces under the castle walls and more than 100 crafts and 500 lives were lost.[90] But the Dock yard, a venerable edifice, stood unmolested ; and it really stands as an admirable monument of historic evolution, linking three centuries, from its first rudimentary or proto-plasmic existence.[91] The history of the Bombay Dockyard is intimately connected with the civil, military and naval history of England and India from the 17th century downward.[92]

84. T. W. Venn : Bastion and Batteries of Bombay : Port of Bombay Oct.-Dec. 1942.

85. Karaka : History of the Parsis, II, p. 64.

86. Port of Bombay ; April-June 1944. 87. Ibid.

88. Karaka : History of the Parsis : II, p. 65.

89. Everett : Notes on History of Port of Bombay : Port of Bombay May 1934, pp. 89.

90. James Douglas : Glimpses of Old Bombay - ref. Port of Bombay April-June 1941 : pp 163.

91. Wacha ; Shells from the Sands of Bombay, p. 202.

92. Ibid, p. 217.

— 39 —

SUFI'S STAGES, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE HINDI WORKS OF MALIK MUHAMMAD JĀYASI

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The word Sufi is derived.in many ways, but most of the scholars agree that it is derived from सूफ़, meaning wool, and those persons who used to put on the woollen patched cloaks came to be called Sufis. In course of time they formed themselves into an order of thinkers who believed that God, the Beloved, can be propitiated through love more easily than by following the rigid ways of austerities and traditional knowledge. From Arabia this cult came to Persia, and from there the saints, who generally wander from place to place, brought it to India. In the beginning only the Muslims were the followers of this cult, but after a lapse of time Hindu-Muslim unity came into being and Hindus also began to profess this cult, which had most of those principles which the वेदान्त of Hindus had, and which makes no difference in caste and creed. As poetry was mostly the medium through which the Sufis expressed their belief, so great Sufis have left behind them important works in poetry. In Persia, we come across many Sufi poets, viz. Sa'di, Hafiz, Rumi, Iraqi, to name a few.

In India, Malik Muhammad Jāyasi is the greatest Sufi, who wrote in Bhasha. His "*Padmāwat*" is a monumental work, and is published in Deva-nagari as well as Persian script. He had written *Akhrāwat* also but it is not very popular, perhaps because it deals with abstruse subjects.

Āchārya Ramachandra Shukla had written "जायसी ग्रंथावली की भूमिका" whose first edition was published in Samvat 2003. It is a scholarly work and a standard book on Jāyasi. On p. 185 of this book he has written :—

सूफी लोग साधक की क्रमशः चार अवस्थाएँ कहते हैं :—

(१) "शरीअत"—अर्थात् धर्म-ग्रंथोंके विधि-निषेध का सम्यक् पालन। यह है हमारे यहाँका कर्मकांड।

(२) "तरीक़त"—अर्थात् बाहरी क्रिया-कलापसे परे होकर केवल हृदयकी शुद्धता द्वारा भगवान्का ध्यान। इसे उपासना कांड कह सकते हैं।

(३) "हक़ीक़त"—भक्ति और उपासनाके प्रभावसे सत्यका सम्यक् बोध जिससे साधक तत्त्व-दृष्टि सम्पन्न और त्रिकालज्ञ हो जाता है। इसे "ज्ञान कांड" समझिए।

(४) "मारफ़त"—अर्थात् सिद्धावस्था जिसमें कठिन उपवास और मौन आदिकी साधनाद्वारा अंतमें साधककी आत्मा परमात्मामें लीन होजाती है और वह भगवान्‌की सुन्दर प्रेममयी प्रकृति (जमाल) का अनुसरण करता हुआ प्रेममय हो जाता है।

These stages which are termed मन्ज़िलें by the Sufis are in fact (१) शरीअत (२) तरीक़त (३) मआरिफ़त and (४) हक़ीक़त. Prof. Shukla has made a mistake in calling the third stage as हकीकत and the fourth one as मारफ़त.

He bases this nomenclature on the following चौपाई, which he has given on p. 186 :—

जायसीने इन अवस्थाओंका उल्लेख "अखरावट" में इस प्रकार किया है :—

कही 'सरीअत' चिस्ती पीरू।
उधरित असरफ औ जहँगीरू॥
राह 'हकीकत' परै न चूकी।
पैठि 'मारफत' मार बुडूकी॥

It is a pity that he did not look into any standard work or dictionary dealing with Sufi-ism. In the above-mentioned चौपाई the third line राह हकीकत परै न चूकी was deciphered or transcribed wrongly. I could not get any MS. of '*Akhrāwat*' in Poona and so I cannot definitely say what Jāyasi had written. But looking to the context I am sure that this line was written by Jāyasi as :—

"राह 'तरीक़त' परै न चूकी"।

Just as in the line

पैठि 'मारफत' मार बडूकी

Jāyasi has used a figure (अलंकार) in the use of the word मार, in the same way I think he has used a figure (अलंकार) in the use of the word राह, because the word 'तरीक़त' means राह in Arabic, and जायसी knew this meaning of the Arabic word तरीक़त.

This proves that Prof. Shukla made a mistake in giving the sequence of the stages of the Sufis. Because he was a great scholar of Hindi, his followers, most of whom did not know Persian and Arabic, copied his statements and gave this very wrong sequence of Sufi's stages.

This mistake has done great harm to our students who appeared at the "Sāhitya-Ratna" examination and who, while writing about the Sufi-ism connected with the "*Padmāvat*" of Jāyasi, wrote correct sequence of Sufi's stages, but were given no marks, because they pointed out this mistake of Prof. Shukla. The examiners, who are generally not proficient in Persian and Arabic, and have no time to refer to Islamic literature on Sufi-ism, cannot brook the attack on a great Hindi professor,

The *Ghiyathul-lughāt*, a Persian dictionary, the *Kashful Mahjūb*, a work on Sufi-ism, the *Dictionary of Islām* by Hughes, the *Encyclopædia of Islam* have all given the Sufi's stages as (१) शरीअत, (२) तरीक़त (३) मआरिफ़त (४) हक़ीक़त.

Unfortunately Shriyut Chandrabali Pāndeya also in the "तसव्वुफ अथवा सूफीमत" a standard book on Sufi-ism, in Hindi, has not given these stages very clearly, and so the students of Hindi literature could not become definite about the terminology and sequence of these stages. He has written on p. 90

'तरीकत 'की दशामें उसको अपनी चित्तवृत्तियोंका निरोध या जेहाद ["जिहाद" चाहिये] करना पड़ता है। जब वह इस क्षेत्रमें सफल हो जाता है तब उसमें म्वारिफका आविर्भाव होता है, और वह सालिक से आरिफ बन जाता है। म्वारिफके उदयसे उसमें परमात्माके स्वरूपकी चिंता आरम्भ हो जाती है, और वह हकीकतके क्षेत्रमें पहुँच जाता है। हकीकतमें उतरनेसे उसे प्रियतमका संयोग मिल जाता है और वह धीरे धीरे 'वस्ल 'से 'फना 'की दशामें पहुँच जाता है।

In this statement he has not clearly mentioned that between तरीक़त and हक़ीक़त there is a stage called मआरिफ़त. The words म्वारिफ which I have underlined have no meaning in Persian, because there is no such word which has व...(wāw) in it. Hindi-knowing readers could not get any clear idea regarding the nomenclature of Sufi's stages due to this.

On p. 92 he gives the following :—

"तरीकतपर चलनेसे जिस म्वारिफका आविर्भाव होता है, उसमें चिंतनका पूरा पूरा योग है। म्वारिफकी दशामें जो ज्ञान उत्पन्न होता है वह इलहामकी तरह वासनात्मक नहीं होता। उसका मूलाधार प्रज्ञा है। प्रज्ञात्मक ज्ञान होनेके कारण उसको किसी अनिष्टका भय नहीं रह जाता। वह सत्यका अनुभव कर लेता है और मारिफतसे हकीकतकी अवस्थामें पहुँच जाता है।"

In this extract although the word म्वारिफ and मारिफत have occurred which I have italicised, still the learned author does not clearly say that मारिफत is the name of the third stage.

'विचार विमर्ष 'में पृष्ठ २२ पर श्रीयुत सद्‌गुरुशरण अवस्थीजीने लिखा हैं कि सूफी-वादमें शरीअत, तरीकत, हकीकत, मारफत, क्रम है।

If we compare the following extract with the above extracts we shall easily see that the Hindi books are not clear about an important point in regard to the stages of the Sufis :—

"The Sufi doctrine teaches that there are four stages through which man must pass before he can reach the highest or that of divine beatitude, where his corporeal veil will be removed and his emancipated soul will mix again with the glorious Essence from which it had been separated, but not divided.

The *first* of those stages is that of humanity (*shari'at*) which supposes the disciple to live in obedience to the holy law and observance of all rites, customs and precepts of the established religion.

The *second* stage is termed *Tariqat* or path which cannot be attained without great piety, virtue and fortitude. The disciple may now abandon all observance of religious forms and ceremonies, as at this stage he exchanges practical for spiritual worship.

The *third* stage is that of *Ma'rifat* or knowledge, and the disciple (who now becomes an '*Ārif* arriving at it) is deemed to have attained supernatural knowledge or in other words to be inspired, and he is supposed when he reaches this stage to be equal to the angels.

The *fourth* and the last stage is that which denotes his arrival at '*Haqīqat*' or truth, which implies his complete union, (*wasl*), with the Divinity."

Hughes, "*Dictionary of Islām*", p. 602.

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HINDU REACTION TO MUSLIM INVASIONS

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It is a trite observation that a man's real worth is judged by his conduct and behaviour in the face of a great calamity. In most cases it is not till such a contingency arises, and he is confronted with a somewhat extra-ordinary situation, that we can form a true estimate of his character and personality. The same thing is also true to a large extent of nations or other large groups or associations of human beings. To judge aright the true characteristics of a nation and to make a proper estimate of its greatness, we must study its reactions to a great national crisis.

The paucity of reliable data affords us very little opportunity of undertaking such a study of the Hindus in ancient times. Nevertheless there are events and circumstances which tempt us to indulge in speculations of this nature. One of these, which I propose to discuss in this paper, is the Muslim Invasion of India. It was a national crisis of the first magnitude ; the danger was neither sudden nor unexpected ; and for five centuries the Hindus lived in imminent peril, or at least under the spectre, of a Muslim conquest which would have the inevitable consequence of destroying the religious and social institutions which they held so dear. The fate of Persia or old Iran, which lost not only its freedom but almost the whole of its ancient glorious culture was a grave warning to India. It must have been brought home by the bands of straggling fugitives from that hapless country who sought for refuge in India in a final and desperate effort to keep alive, however dimly, the torch of their ancient culture and civilisation which was totally submerged beneath the pools of blood of their heroic but less fortunate countrymen. It was idle to expect that the energetic followers of the new militant faith, who had already overrun nearly the the whole of Western Asia, would set any limit to their greed of conquest or zeal for spreading Islam. If any such fond hope were entertained in any quarter, the disillusionment was not long in coming. Even long before 650 A.D. the Arabs sent both naval and military expeditions against the border land of India and her western coast. By 712 A.D. they had conquered Sindh and Islam obtained a footing in the soil of India.

From this date, at any rate, there could not be any reasonable doubt of the grave danger, which threatened the very existence of India as a free country with a distinct culture. More than five hun-

dred years passed before this impending calamity actually overwhelmed India. It is of paramount importance to know what the Indians had done, or left undone, during this long period, to resist the invaders and prevent or avert their future aggressions. Such a study is not only of profound interest in itself, but is also calculated to demonstrate the inherent strength or weakness of the national character of the Indians. It is also invested with a special importance, for the current notion on the subject is vague and inaccurate, and a great deal of misconception prevails, due to racial pride or prejudice, even in the minds of educated Indians. No apology is therefore needed to revert to this topic of great historical and national importance.

Unfortunately we have no record of the Muslim raids in Hindu literature, and all our information is necessarily based on the version of the Muslim historians. From the very nature of the case we can hardly expect it to be a true and impartial account of the prolonged conflict. As always happens they have magnified the victories of the Muslims against the ' infidels ' and have done scant justice to these opponents. The idea has therefore naturally gained ground that the Muslim conquest of India was almost a case of *Vini Vidi Vici*, and the resistance offered by the Indians hardly deserves any serious consideration. Few writers have disputed this or studied the situation from the Indian point of view, in order to examine the various reactions of Muslim invasions on Indian mind and the national activities evoked thereby. It would be my endeavour to show that even if the one-sided version of the Muslim historians is properly scrutinised, we shall be compelled to give up the complacent view hitherto entertained on the subject of Muslim invasions of India and find enough materials to form a fair estimate of the reaction it produced on the Indian mind.

I have elsewhere[1] discussed in great details the first phase of the Muslim invasion of India. Without repeating these details, which are but little known, I may sum up the general characteristics as follows :

It was inevitable that the Arabs, who had conquered Persia in A. D. 636 and advanced as far as the Oxus by A. D. 650, should cast their covetous eyes upon the rich plains and cities of India. No less than three naval expeditions were sent by the second Caliph, Omar (A. D. 634-643 A. D.), but they failed to produce any tangible result. Then the Arabs advanced by land, in three directions, towards Kabul, Zabul (Kandahar), and Sindh. The Arabs often gained some initial successes in the first two regions, but the resistance of the people always forced them ultimately to fall back. On more than one occasion the Muslim army was completely routed and sometimes it met with serious

1. Arab Invasions of India, Supplement to *JIH*, Vol. X.

reverses. In spite of persistent efforts for more than half a century to subdue Kabul and Zabul, the Arabs failed to achieve their object and gave it up as beyond their power.

The Arab expedition against Sindh also met with little success at the beginning. A naval expendition against the port of Debal, at the mouth of the Sindhu, having failed, the Caliph planned to send an expedition by land. But he gave up the project when his governor of Iraq reported that ' Sindh was a very powerful kingdom and by no means willing to submit to the Muhammadans'. The next Caliph was also induced to give up the projected invasion of Sindh on receiving a similar report from his agent. During the Caliphate of Ali, a well-equipped expedition was sent against Kikan, a hilly region round the Bolan Pass, which formed a part of the kingdom of Sindh. The Muslim army was routed, and the general was killed together with all but a few of his followers (A. D. 663). During the next twenty years no less than six expeditions were sent against Kikan but they failed to achieve any conspicuous success.

It was not till 708 A. D. that the Arabs again planned an invasion of Sindh. The Caliph was unwilling to sanction the risky invasion but at last gave way to the importunities of Hajjāj, the governor of Iraq. But two successive expeditions sent by Hajjāj met with failure, the Muslim general being killed on both the occasions. Hajjāj then made elaborate preparations for the conquest of Sindh and equipped an army on a lavish scale, to which a contingent of 6,000 Syrian soldiers was added by the Caliph. This huge army was placed under the command of Muhammad-ibn-Kasim who advanced in 712 A. D. against the port of Debal.

It is needless to recount the victorious march of the Muslim general, as described in the Muslim Chronicles, from one end of Sindh to another. It is, however, admitted that Dāhar, the king of Sindh, fought bravely and offered a stout resistance till the very end. Describing the last pitched battle which raged for two days, the Chronicler says: "The infidels made a rush on the Arabs from all sides and fought so steadily and bravely that the army of Islam became irresolute and their lines were broken up in great confusion." But the day was lost through one of those accidents which have again and again decided the fate of the Hindus in their fight against the Muslims. Dāhar, who led the vanguard of the army, became an easy target to the enemy, and his death was followed by chaos and confusion in his ranks resulting in a complete rout of his army.

Even after the death of Dāhar, his queen and sons continued the resistance, and some important towns like the capital city of Alor, Brahmanabad and Multan held out bravely against the heavy odds.

This is one side of the picture—a heroic and glorious resistance on the part of a small Indian state against a world-power that had conquered nearly the whole of Western Asia, North Africa and Spain, without receiving any resistance which bears comparison with that of Sindh. But let us now turn to the other side of the shield.

Treachery of the Hindus seems to have played an important part in the success of Muhammad from beginning to end. The Buddhist priests of Sindh, we are told, had been carrying on secret correspondence with Hajjāj and openly helped Muhammad in capturing several strongholds. But it appears on a close scrutiny of the Muslim accounts that some Buddhists, at any rate, were patriotic enough to fight against the Muslim, and many of those—chiefs and common people alike—who betrayed their king and country were not Buddhist. Some of the leading chiefs, including the chief minister, and even 4000 warlike Jats of Sindh, helped Muhammad in subduing their own country.

Let us now resume the history of Sindh. Jaisimha, son of Dāhar, after a brave resistance, submitted and secured virtual independence on condition of accepting Islam. But soon he apostatized and was defeated again. But though the Muslim authority was firmly established, and continued for a long time, their position was always insecure, and the Hindus kept alive the national spirit for more than five hundred years. For in 1300 A. D. the Hindu tribe of Sumra became the rulers of Sindh.[2] The Sumras were succeeded in A. D. 1439 by another Hindu tribe, the Samma, who ruled till Sindh was conquered by Shah Husain Arghun in A. D. 1521.[3]

Another important fact must also be borne in mind. Although the Arabs had obtained a footing in India proper they could not extend their power beyond the valley of the lower Sindhu. They attempted to penetrate into the interior, and once obtained great success under Junaid. But though the Arabs advanced as far as Malwa and Broach, they were defeated by the Pratihāra ruler Nāgabhaṭa in the east, and the Chālukya Avanijanāsraya Pulakeśirāja in the south. Their naval expeditions against the Kathiawar Peninsula also ended in a miserable failure. On the whole their rule was confined to the Sindhu Valley as far as Multan in the north. Even their hold upon Multan was very precarious. It possessed the famous image of the Sun-god which attracted pilgrims from every part of India, and their rich presents constituted the greatest part of the revenue of its Muslim ruler. Al Masu'ūdī, writing in the 10th century A. D., observes : "Multan is one of the strongest frontier places of the Musulmans. When the unbelievers

2. Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, I. 256.
3. *Ibid*. 272.

ever march against Multan, and the faithful do not feel themselves strong enough to oppose them, they threaten to break their idols, and their enemies immediately withdraw."[4] Ibn Haukal, a contemporary writer, repeats the same and adds "otherwise they would destroy Multan.'"[5]

The older historians like Elphinstone were quite at a loss to account for the very slow progress of Muslim arms in India, as compared with their rapid advance in other countries. They offered some explanation based on the social and religious condition of India, but nobody would take it seriously today. There can be hardly any doubt that the powerful rulers of Kashmir, the Pratihāras of Kanauj and the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Deccan, among others, stood in the way of further expansion of Muslim power. The wonder is not that the Muslims advanced no further; but rather that they were not ousted from India. The combined strength of the above three rulers, whose dominions were directly threatened by the Muslims, could easily have driven away the Muslims. The unity of purpose leading to any such concerted plan was, however, totally lacking. The Pratihāras and Rāshtrakūṭas were fighting with each other and never thought of joining hands to drive out the Muslims who constituted such a grave menace to the security of India. Nay, more; one of them was actually looked upon as friendly by the Arabs. The Arab writer Sulaiman says that "among all the kings (of India) there is no one to be found who is so partial to the Arabs as the Balharā (the Rāshṭrakūṭa king); and his subjects follow his example". Regarding the Pratihāra ruler, the same writer observes that "among the princes of India there is no greater foe of the Muhammadan faith than he." [6] It is not unlikely that the political animosity was at the root of this difference of attitude towards the common national enemy.

Indeed the attitude of the Rāshṭrakūṭa kings towards the Muslims deserves particular notice. There were *Jamā Masjids* in a number of important cities [7] in their kingdom, and Muslim magistrates were appointed to rule over the Muslims where they lived in large number. [8] This is in strange contrast to the attitude of the Muslims towards the Hindus. Wherever a city or a fort was taken by the Muslims they usually put the men to the sword and took the women as captives. The select among these were sent to the harems of the chiefs and the rest were sold as slaves. When Muhammad took the fort of Aror, he "put six thousand fighting men, who were in the fort, to the sword and shot some with arrows. The other dependants

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4. *Ibid*. 23. 5. *Ibid*. 36. 6. *Ibid* 4. 7. *Ibid*. 38.
8. "It is a land of infidels, but there are Musulmans in its cities, and none but Musulmans rule over them on the part of the Balhara." *Ibid*. 34.

and servants were taken prisoners with their wives and children ... When the number of the prisoners was calculated, it was found to amount to thirty thousand persons, amongst whom thirty were the daughters of chiefs and one of them was Rai Dāhar's sister's daughter. They were all sent to Hajjāj." [9] It may be added that the queen of Dāhar, who bravely defended the fort till the end, burnt herself along with a large number of women to escape this infamy. It is hardly necessary to state that after every victory the temples were desecrated and demolished and mosques were built in their place. These atrocities were the normal accompaniments of Muslim conquest. But even these fell short of Islamic ideals. For when Muhammad sent a detailed report of the conquest to Hajjāj he mildly rebuked Muhammad for having spared the lives of some. The following passage in his letter reveals that the barbarous practices, referred to above, were regarded to be in full agreement with Islamic theory. "The ways and rules you follow are conformable to the law. Except that you give protection to all ... God says, give no quarter to infidels, but cut their throats. You should not be too ready to grant protection, because it will prolong your work. After this give no quarter to any enemy except to those who are of rank." [10] The Rāshṭrakūṭa king, who showed such great favours to the Muslims, was almost a contemporary and could not possibly have been ignorant of all this. His religious toleration to the Muslims may be praiseworthy, but one can hardly believe that he had any sense or consciousness of a common bond of religious faith or nationality of the Indians.

Nor were the northern rulers fully alive to the danger that threatened them. During the long period of two centuries and a half that elapsed since the Muslim conquest of Sindh, great upheavals took place in the Islamic world, which must have rendered the position of Muslims in India very precarious; and there were many powerful rulers in India like Lalitāditya, Bhoja, and Dharmapāla who even singly could have driven them out of India. But they were either deterred by the superstitious faith, as in the case of Multan, or did not sufficiently realise the gravity and importance of the task. In either case we are bound to hold that they were devoid of national feelings and far-seeing statesmanship as we understand them to-day. If, instead of fighting with other Indian states, they had turned their arms against the Muslims of Sindh, India would have been rid of a grave danger.

The second phase of Muslim conquest, which begins with the invasion of the Ghaznavids, is more or less characterised by the same features. The stubborn and prolonged resistance offered by the Hindu

9. *Ibid.* 172–3. 10. *Ibid.* 173–4.

Shāhī rulers Jaipāl, Ānandapāl and Trilochanpāl, the successful opposition of the Chandella ruler, and the heroic martyrdom of the defenders of Somnath and even of petty chiefs like Biji Rai and Kula-chandar form so many bright spots in that dark episode of Indian history. We must remember that Sultan Mahmud was an exceptionally able general wielding the resources of a vast dominion, and was a terror even to the hardy Turks of Central Asia. His repeated successes in India do not, therefore, necessarily imply that the Indians were deficient in military qualities. This is also proved by the fact that according to the Muslim chroniclers, in several campaigns the chances of victory were on the side of the Indians till an accident or miracle saved the force of Islam. But the best evidence in this respect is furnished by the fact that Mahmud and other Ghaznavid rulers appointed Hindu generals, and recruited soldiers from India who were sent to fight in distant parts of the empire.

Another striking feature is the display of Indian unity in the face of a national danger. On at least two memorable occasions the Hindu rulers, in large numbers from far and near, gathered under the banners of Jaipāl and Ānandpāl to fight the common enemy of their country and religion. The campaigns of Jaipāl deserve notice for more reasons than one. He was the first, but alas! also the last, Indian ruler to realise the gravity of the situation caused by the establishment of a strong Muslim power on the borderland of India. He, therefore, took the offensive and marched towards Ghazni to nip the danger in the bud. But fate was against him, and he failed on account of a sudden snow-storm. He, again for the first time, regarding the Muslim menace as a national danger organised a united front to fight it out. He failed again, but his name should go down to posterity as a great patriot, a national hero and a wise far-seeing statesman. He died as he lived, and put an end to his own life after his repeated attempts to resist the Muslim proved unavailing. The Indian rulers who responded to the call of Jaipāl also deserve special credit. For the enemy was still in far-off Afghanistan, beyond the Sindhu river, and none of them was in immediate danger from the Muslims. The despatch of army from the interior of India to the distant inhospitable region of Ghazni to fight an unknown foe, shows not only courage and statesmanship but also a deep sense of national unity and regard for a common religious faith. The second confederacy under Ānandapāl was equally indicative of strong national sentiments. A patriotic fervour swept the whole of Hindustan. A Muslim chronicler records that "Hindu women sold their jewels and sent the money from distant parts to be used against the Musulmans." The poorer class "worked feverishly at the spinning wheel or as hired labourers to be

able to send something to the men of the army."[11] Such wide-spread national enthusiasm to save the common religion and motherland is almost unique in the annals of Indian History.

But the defeat of this confederacy—again due to the accidental disappearance of the leader and consequent lack of discipline—seems to have altogether destroyed the moral of the Indians. Instead of improving the machinery of a common organised resistance, so laboriously built up, the very idea and spirit of a united national opposition seem to have vanished altogether. This is all the more surprising, because it was after the defeat of the second confederacy that the invasions of Sultan Mahmud spread far and wide, threatening even remote parts of India with all the horrors of a fanatic war. The chief features of these invasions were massacre of men, molestation of women, desecration of temples and images, and wholesale plunder. All these were carried on, on an unprecedented scale—to the delight of the Islamic world and the glory of Islam (!)—and described in great glee by contemporary Muslim chroniclers with revolting details of what would be judged today by any standard as barbarous and inhuman conduct. It is difficult to conceive of anything more calculated to excite the individual feeling or national sentiment of a Hindu, and yet the record of the events that followed—unfortunately originating from the enemies alone—does not show that the Hindus as a body were deeply moved or spurred to any heroic action. Men were not wanting who could take a long view of things. Thus the king of Thaneshwar, threatened by an invasion of Sultan Mahmud, wrote to the other Indian kings with a view to organising a confederacy: "If we do not raise a dam to keep off this deluge, it will soon spread over the whole plain and submerge all kingdoms, great and small."[12] But Thaneshwar was submerged before any confederacy could be brought into being, and similar efforts, if any, in future came to nothing.

An explanation of this may be found in the character and ideals of the Indian leaders. We may take, for example, the case of Ānandapāl, son of Jaipāl, both of whom fought strenuously against the rulers of Ghazni and organised confederacies of Indian kings against them. Yet when the confederacy failed, Ānandapāl concluded a separate treaty with Sultan Mahmud, on condition of not only paying an annual tribute, but also helping him with 2000 soldiers. When, within two years, Mahmud marched against Thaneshwar, he refused Ānandapāl's suggestion to save that city on payment of an annual tribute, saying "my royal wish is to remove the practice of idolatry totally from all the lands of Hindustan." In spite of this open declaration of the Sultan's motive, Ānandapāl not only sent to his aid the promised

11. M. Habib, *Sultan Mahmud*, p. 27. 12. *Ibid.* 32.

contingent of 2000 men, but also ordered his merchants and shopkeepers to look after the needs of the commissariat of the Muslim army.[13]

Still more revealing is another episode about Ānandapāl, when viewed in its proper perspective. Reference has already been made to the prolonged struggle between Jaipāl and the rulers of Ghazni. Towards the end of 1001 A. D. Jaipāl was defeated by Mahmud and captured with fifteen royal princes. The treatment meted out to them is thus described by the Secretary of Sultan Mahmud: "The enemy of God, Jaipāl, and his children and grand-children, and nephews and the chief men of his tribe, and his relatives, were taken prisoners, and being strongly bound with ropes, were carried before the Sultan... Some had their arms forcibly tied behind their backs, some were seized by the cheek, some were driven by blows on the neck...."

The result of this defeat was also very ominous for India. The gateway of India was now thrown open and the Sultan never made any secret of his plan to purge India of idolatry. As a matter of fact he twice crossed the Sindhu and harried the Panjāb during the next three or four years. Taking advantage of his absence in India the Turkish chief Ilak Khan, ruler of vast dominions from the banks of the Oxus to the border of China, invaded the territory of Sultan Mahmud. The Sultan left for Balkh and had to fight with his back to the wall against the Turks. It was a golden opportunity for Ānandapāl to recover his lost territories in the Peshawar region and secure the gate of India against future encroachments of Ghazni. Even apart from patriotism and statesmanship, the life and death of his father, and the cruel indignities inflicted upon him by Sultan Mahmud, as described above, would have loudly called for such a course. But instead of pursuing a policy dictated alike by prudence and filial piety, Ānandapāl, according to a contemporary Muslim chronicler, sent the following message to Sultan Mahmud: "I have learned that the Turks have rebelled against you and are spreading in Khorasan. If you wish, I shall come to you with 5,000 horsemen, 10,000 foot-soldiers, and 1,000 elephants, or if you wish, I shall send you my son with double the number. In acting thus I do not speculate on the impression this will make on you. I have been conquered by you and therefore I do not wish that another man should conquer you."[14]

History does not record if there was any written reply to this noble message. But two or three years later Sultan Mahmud marched against Ānandapāl, defeated the confederacy organised by him, "slew the vanquished wherever they were found in jungles, passes, plains, and hills",[15] plundered Nagarkot and carried away immense, almost fabulous, treasure from that sacred temple.

13. *Ibid.* 32. 14. *Ibid.* 26. 15. Elliot, II. 34.

Ānandapāl's bombastic bravado—it hardly deserves any other name—ill befits the role he played later when he humbly sued for peace on ignominious terms and actually joined Mahmud's expeditionary force against Thaneshwar. It must be said to the credit of the son and grandsons of Ānandapāl that they gave up his pusillanimous policy and continued the brave resistance to Sultan Mahmud.

The conduct of Ānandapāl, call it chivalrous if you like, emphasises some of the grave defects in our national character. It proves that even the great leaders were more concerned with personal prestige and selfish interests (i. e. the safety of their own kingdoms and families) than with larger national issues at stake. They were unable to take long views, and incapable of sustained efforts in pursuing a broad national policy. It seems that the conception of a Hindu nationality, though certainly not altogether absent, sat very lightly upon the Indians. Though it might occasionally lead them to heroic efforts and a frenzy of enthusiasm, it never formed the basis of a settled policy of action overriding all petty individual and narrow interests. This is further illustrated by the fact that Indian generals and soldiers accepted service under Sultan Mahmud and fought his battles. One of them, Tilak by name, is said to have brought many Hindus under the Muslim rule. Even the most barbarous outrage upon women, and the avowed policy of destroying all Hindu temples, so relentlessly pursued by Sultan Mahmud, could not awaken the stiff and sustained opposition of the Hindus on a wide national front. And men were not wanting, even among the foremost ranks, who proffered the hand of friendship to one who had trampled under foot the most highly cherished sentiments of the Indian people.

Another remarkable fact is that even when Sultan Mahmud was harrying the country with fire and sword, the Indian chiefs had not ceased their internecine wars, and devoted, to the shedding of Indian blood, energy and resources which should have been reserved for a holy war against Islam, the common enemy of the land.

We have passed in rapid review the various, not unoften opposite, reactions that the ruthless invasions of Sultan Mahmud produced in India. Scenes of brave resistance and heroic self-sacrifice alternate with abject surrender; patriotic fervour and wild enthusiasm for national cause give place to narrow selfish interests; anxious thoughts for the safety of the motherland and enlightened view of national interests yield to personal vanity; keen sense of honour and respect for family contrasts with supreme callousness which nothing could move-not even dishonour of women and indignities heaped upon father and dearest relations; heroic souls who preferred death to dishonour move side by side with abject renegades who lick the very feet that trod them down;

wonderful spirit of co-operation, involving extreme self-sacrifice, for the safety of the motherland is followed by petty internal squabbles that sap the vitality and integrity of the nation at the very moment when its freedom is at stake; heroic, almost suicidal, sacrifice of thousands for saving the purity of a single temple sadly contrasts with the supreme indifference to the defilement of hundreds of sanctuaries; and even the most cherished sentiments for the honour of women and sanctity of religion are most violently outraged without provoking a national outcry.

All these factors, or at least most of them, seem to be true also of the age that intervened between Sultan Mahmud and Muhammad Ghori, as well as the third phase of Muslim conquest which began with the invasion of the latter. All this will form the subject of a separate discourse, and the general conclusions on the whole subject should also be fittingly discussed in that connection. To prevent any misunderstanding, it is only necessary to say that the object of the whole discourse is to make a detached study of men and facts, incidentally making observations on their nature and effect, and not to apportion praise or blame, either to the Muslim conquerors or to the Hindu conquered. Further, as this study concerns only Muslim invasion, reference has to be made to Islam as a religious creed and policy of state. But that does not mean any special animadversion against Islam as such or as distinguished from other religions. For the matter of that, Alexander's invasion is comparable in many respects to that of Sultan Mahmud, and in both we meet with many common features on the side of the conqueror as well as the conquered. Even Ānandapāl of the later age has a prototype in Porus, who bravely opposed Alexander but later submitted and helped him in subduing other Indian rulers. If this discourse leads to a critical study of India's reaction against foreign invasion in general with a view to finding out some essential national characteristics running through all ages, its object will have been achieved. A proper understanding of these national characteristics possesses more than a passing interest or mere academic importance. For knowledge of the past defects may open our eyes to their present nature and significance for the future, and be of great help in removing or minimising them.

— 41 —

SHRI SHIVA RĀJ RĀJYĀBHIṢHEKA KALPATARU

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The Coronation of the great Maratha King SHIVAJI which took place in the year 1674 A. D. and at which the celebrated Vedic Pandit, Gāgā Bhatta of Benares officiated as high priest, is well known; but it was not till very recently that the story of the second Coronation of Shivaji performed according to the Tantrik rites shortly after his first coronation, became known.

A detailed account of this second coronation of Shivaji according to Tantrik rites is given in a recently discovered Sanskrit manuscript entitled SHIVA RĀJ RĀJYĀBHIṢHEKA KALPATARU compiled by one Govinda Narayanbhatta Barve. The original MS is in the Library of the Bengal Asiatic Society at Calcutta (No. G 10185) and an authentic copy thereof was examined by the writer of this personally. It was published in the Quarterly Organ of the Bhārat Itihās Saṇshodhak Maṇdal, Poona, (Vol X, No. 1 March-June 1929). An account of this second coronation of Shivaji based on this Sanskrit composition is given for the first time by Sir Jadunath Sarkar in the fourth edition (1948) of his well known work '*Shivaji and His Times.*' (Ch. 9 Sec. 9). It is rather surprising that except for Sir Jadunath and MM. Dr. P. V. Kane (*History of Dharmashastras*, Vol. III, P. 81), this discovery made over two decades ago has attracted little attention of historians.

One would get the erroneous impression on reading the title of this work that it deals with the coronation of Shivaji performed by Gāgā Bhatta. Actually it contains an account purported to have been given by one Nischal Puri—a Tantrik high priest of Shivaji's time—to another Brahmin named Govinda, of the coronation of Shivaji performed according to Tantric rites by the former shortly after the coronation according to Vedic rites had taken place. Nischal Puri dwells upon the defects and shortcomings in the ceremony performed by Gāgā and describes how he remedied the same, being inspired with a beneficient spirit towards Shivaji by means of Tantrik rites. There were at that time two rival sects of the priestly class—one comprised of the followers of the Vedic school and the other of the followers of the Tantrik school (Shaktas). The assignment of the function of the officiating priest at the first coronation to Gāgā Bhatta greatly incurred the wrath of Nischal Puri who was the champion of the Tantrik school, particularly because the Tantrik mendicants sent by him (Nischal) to attend the

ceremony were dishonoured and not allowed to participate with the Vedic Brahmins in the alms and gifts distributed on the occasion. Nischal attributes the many mishaps following in the wake of the coronation to the failure of the king to propitiate various customary deities and spirits, benevolent as well as evil, according to Tantrik rites. Shivaji, frightened by the evil portents and mischances, and anxious to break the evil spell, readily consented to have a second coronation according to Tantrik rites performed. Nischal Puri thus gaining his point performed the Tantrik Coronation on the 5th day of the bright half of Ashvin (Lalitā Panchami) in the year 1596 of the Shālivāhan Shaka Era (24th September, 1674 according to European calendar). The book thus unfolds, as Sarkar has remarked in his '*Shivaji*' (4th Ed., P. 209) "a sordid tale of monkish greed and sectarian bitterness among the Brahmins."

The date of the second coronation referred to above is confirmed by '*Nidhan Shakāvali*'. The day mentioned is Wednesday, while a reference to the Hindu calendar of that year would show that the particular Lalitā Panchami fell on Thursday. This apparent discrepancy as regards the day is easily explained if it is borne in mind that to the followers of the Tantrik cult the day begins from the sunset. Most of the references to various events such as the restoration of Saptakōteeshwar, death of the queen consort Kashi Bai etc. are historically accurate. There is, however, one glaring chronological discrepancy in this work viz. the reference to the occurrence of fire at fort Pratapgarh. Nischal mentions the fire to have occurred immediately after the first coronation while according to historical records (*Shivāpuri Yādi*) this took place on the 25th of September 1675 i.e. one full year after the second coronation.

The reference to the marriage of Shivaji with his own wives at the time of the coronation has a very significant importance inasmuch as it gives a lie to the charge made against Shivaji by many historians about his having contracted marriages at a late age, a circumstance which if true would undoubtedly have sullied the otherwise noble character of Shivaji. It is a well known fact that Shivaji in order to be entitled to get himself crowned according to the sacred rites had to prove that he was a Kshatriya. This was accomplished by him through the help of Gāgā Bhatta. He had naturally to undergo all the Saṇskaras incumbent upon a Kshatriya, which included his having to get his previous marriages celebrated in the traditional manner only confirmed in accordance with proper vedic rites. It is, therefore, wrong to suppose that Shivaji contracted any new marriages on his coronation.

The language of this composition is for the most part easy and simple. There are, however, a number of grammatical irregularities

and also a few gaps in the body of the composition. The following is an attempt at a faithful interpretation of this work rather than a strict translation thereof and should be looked upon in this light.

Salutation to revered Ganesh :

The Coronation ceremony of the illustrious king Shiva is being described after salutations being made to the son of Uma-kant, the lover of Uma (and) Uma, the daughter of the Mountain.

The learned Nischala, desirous of visiting holy places, knowing full well the meaning and essence of all doctrines, a sage discerning the true nature of real and unreal, one who had studied Yajurveda, who enjoyed the great fortune of asceticism even in the first stage of life, who had no issue and whose four objects (of life) were fulfilled on account of the bliss of the knowledge of Unity, arrived at the city of Dambholi[1] which is situated on the shores of the saline ocean, from the Mountain Rairi.[2] Thereafter having visited the Panchanada (village) he came to the holy place of Bhārgava[3] where saluting the son of Renuka he became overjoyed. Afterwards he proceeded further to obtain the joy of the sight of Sangamesha[4] (the Lord of Confluence), which is a very sacred place comparable to Kashi. This place having 360 beautiful shrines is known from old times.

Thereafter he visited the village Nirvairaka[5] among other places, where the Lord of Ganas, the destroyer of obstacles, the bestower of success, the Supreme, resides on the shore of the ocean.

The wise one, having seen the Lord of Ganas, went to Dhoot-Papeshwara,[6] the holy place which is never forsaken by the daughter of Jahnu (i. e. the river Ganges). Sometimes that river becomes manifest and sometimes she remains concealed. The person going for a bath to that river acquires at every step merit which is more than that of a hundred horse-sacrifices, on account of its association with this world of actions.

After having seen all the holy places he proceeded to *Saptakoteeshwara*,[7] where King Śiva has constructed an excellent temple which is seen by people even from a distance and which appears like Mount Kailasa. 'Merit acquired by the reconstruction of old (temples) is million times greater than that of (building) a new one. Knowing this, the great King caused to be constructed a very beautiful shrine dedicated to *Saptakōteeshwaras*. There, in the midst of the course of Panchagangā, a great miracle is always observed. On the 8th day of the dark half of Shravana the heap of Bilva leaves rises up. When (it)

1. Dabhōl (Dist. Ratnagiri). 2. Raigad.
3. Parasharām (Chiplun). 4. At Sangameshwar.
5. Possibly Ganapati Pule near Ratnagiri. 6. Near Rajapur.
7. Near Goa.

sinks down a great (and) wonderful sound similar to that of the opening of a door is produced from the tenth door.

The sage Nischala, having bathed in the water of Ganga and then having bowed down to Saptakōteeshwara with proper rites, made up his mind to go to *Rairi*. In the meanwhile, a learned Brahmin, Govinda by name, who was also desirous of visiting the holy places in Konkan, accompanied by his wife, saw him (Nischala) who had come to the temple of *Kudāleshwara* at a place called *Kudāla*[8] and whom he (Govinda) had seen before at Kashi. To him he said with agreeable words, " Oh revered one, whither do you go ?"

This is the first branch (chapter of the book) of the desire yielding tree in the form of the Coronation of the illustrious and great King Shiva which springs from the uncontrolled goddess of speech residing in the lotus-like mouth of Govinda the illustrious son of the learned Nārāyaṇbhatta Barve.

Thus asked the great sage Nischala spake, "Govinda, (as) you deserve my favour, I tell you."

Nischala said, " Highly noble, magnanimous, successful and illustrious lord of men, the son of Shāhā (ji) resides on the Rairi mountain. Oh Brahmin, my residence is in the vicinity of the King. I am bound for that place for the sake of the Coronation of King Shiva."

Govinda said, " Thou hast abandoned home regulated by Varna and Asrama (systems of life). What then is the motive of this outward show of the residence with the King when you have willingly taken to the path transcending the Three Qualities ?"

Hearing these words of Govinda (Nischala) Puri said :—

" This King is not a human being, but God Shiva incarnate. Though freed from all the three qualities, and engrossed in the bliss of renunciation of all contacts, I am still subdued by the bond of devotion to the Chhatrapati."

Govinda said, " If this King, as you said, is born as the full incarnation of Shiva, then the story of that crest-jewel among the meritorious persons must be a holy one. Oh sage, you know that story by means of your Yogic vision. Then tell me, I request you, how he became a King."

Thus asked, the great Yogi began to narrate, the eloquent speech of Nischala Puri being desirous of describing (the ceremony of) 'Holding of Umbrella.'

Nischala said " This is God Shiva himself come down assuming the form of King Shiva in order to destroy those men of wicked minds

8. Near Sawantwadi.

who made this earth void of its essence, who broke the images of all the gods, under whose rule the Agnihotra, gifts and sacrifices of all persons were destroyed and religious actions such as bath and others were interfered with. Shiva who was self-controlled brought under his control kings residing on this earth and brought to nullity the fame of those kings and spread the umbrella of his fame. While Shiva was ruling the kingdom, at the door of supplicants there was a row of elephants from whose temples ichor was flowing and also a number of palanquins, there was peace in the kingdom, the enemy was killed and the soldiers were delighted.

" At that time Gāgā Bhatta arrived at Nasika. He himself was famous and had achieved great celebrity on account of the fame of his ancestors. Knowing him to be so Shiva invited him and on his arrival became ready for the Coronation ceremony. The king of kings, Shiva incarnate, gladly showed him great respect.

" Some days after his arrival, Kashi (bai), the beloved (queen) of the King, abandoning her mortal form merged permanently in her real nature (i. e. died). Afterwards Pratapraj,[9] the famous tormenter of the enemies, was killed by Yavanas. (It was as if) one, who crossed the ocean, was drowned in the foot-print of a cow.

" On that occasion having spent much gold at the Bhārgava Kshetra to please the soldiers, the King returned to Rairi. Gāgā Bhatta then caused to be performed the expiation with abundant dakshina and gifts of cows for the pacification of the former sin of the King.

" At the time of (receiving) instruction on the next day, a meteor signifying the death of enemies and dreadful to all people fell down from the sky. When such an ill omen began to take place, I instantly averted it, through Shiva's favour, by means of the incantation of *Hanu-mat*.

" Gāgā recited Gāyatri (mantra) through the mouth of the preceptor of the King. Shiva received Gāyatri (mantra) with full devotion even at that inauspicious hour."

This is the second branch (chapter of the book) of the desire-yielding tree in the form of the Coronation of the illustrious and great King Shiva which springs from the uncontrolled goddess of speech residing in the lotus-like mouth of Govinda, the illustrious son of the learned Nārāyaṇbhatta Barve.

"Thus the King who was observing a vow, was married (again) with those very wives (whom he had wedded before) in the presence of men who were observing the great festival. Many supplicants for wealth and innumerable thousands of Brahmins, well-versed in the

9. Prataprao Gujar.

Vedic lore had assembled at the festival. The Lord (Prabhu) gave them wealth and corn with garments to their satisfaction. He freed those Brahmins from their debts. In the houses of those ladies who murmured for the sake of coloured garments, there was no counting fine garments (i. e. the garments received were so abundant that nobody cared to count them.) When the cloud in the form of King Shiva poured down the water in the form of gold, the river in the form of desire of the supplicants was filled, and poverty came to an end.

"Even King Bhoja was known as a donor; he gave to the supplicant whatever he begged for. (But) King Shiva is a still more liberal donor; (since) Shiva alone and none else gives to the supplicant more than what he desires for. Shibi and Karna too were givers of desired things (only).

"Thereafter began the ceremony of Weighing (of the King) which was agreeable to the Brahmins. The Brahmins saying 'We shall acquire abundant wealth and go to our destinations,' assembled there and took wealth during the great festivity named 'Tula-Purusha' of the King Shiva."

Govinda said: "Oh sage, it behoves you to tell me the source of the abundant wealth given by the King from his treasure to those prominent Brahmins."

Nischala said: "King Shiva thought in his mind for a long time thus, 'I have collected in my place the treasure of jewels which lay in the bosom of the earth right from the (bottom of) ocean by my valour. Now the jewel in the form of merit, which is greater than this (treasure) lies with the Brahmins, who maintain the sacred fire, mutter prayers, are intelligent and expound the Vedas. How am I to take off (that jewel)? It cannot be wrested away either by force or by valour, like the wealth of subjects. The jewels of merit are to be obtained by giving wealth and not otherwise'. Thus the King seized the treasure of merit by giving gold in the hands of Brahmins. The Brahmins were delighted on account of the acquisition of wealth. The avaricious Brahmins are unaware of the loss of their merit. They are like children, who throwing away the blue gem run after a (piece of) glass.

"Thereafter, the reciters of the Vedas were invited for the purpose of the Coronation. From among them Gāgā called out appointed his own men for the chanting of prayers discarding the Brahmins sent by me. He said to King Shiva, Puri should not be bowed to."

"When the King had gone home after performing the Tula-Purusha Ceremony all of a sudden a great accident occurred at that place. Oh best among Brahmins, a piece of timber struck on the nose

of Gāgā Bhatta and that highly inauspicious thing fell on the aperture of the crown of the head (ब्रह्मरंध्र) of the preceptor Bālambhaṭṭa. A lotus carved out of wood fell down from a pillar on the head of a Brahmin, since the Brahmins had accepted gold as the price of their merit. All these mishaps were indicative of the loss of the Brahmins' merit. The main pillar gave way, but did not fall down on account of the merit of the King. Then four supporting pillars were erected at that place."

"Then the King was crowned (sprinkled with water) with those (water) jars by Brahmins."

This is the third branch (chapter of the book) of the desire-yielding tree in the form of the Coronation of the illustrious and great King Shiva which springs from the uncontrolled goddess of speech residing in the lotus-like mouth of Govinda the illustrious son of the learned Nārāyaṇbhatta Barve.

"Thereafter the King ascended the throne at the bidding of Gāgā.

"An offering of the Bali was not made to the chief among the mountains on which the King ascended the throne. Oh Brahmin, the Goddess *Shirakā* of that region was not worshipped. *Bhārgava* the Lord of the country, the destroyer of Kshatriyas, was not adored. Oh Brahmin, *Vetāla*, the Lord of spirits was not propitiated so also Hanumān (was not worshipped by the King). There was no arrangement made of giving Māntrik support to the throne which he ascended.

"The great Lore (महाविद्या) residing in the throne was not imparted (to the King). Offerings were not made. The worship of deities protecting the gates was not accomplished. Delicious food was not given to worthy Brahmins, nor were offerings made to ghosts, evil spirits and goblins.

"Thus at that inauspicious conjunction of planets, at that odd time, under the influence of evil stars and evil constellation, great impediments were caused in the court-yard of the great King Shiva because of the impudence of Gāgā Bhatta. King Shiva is God Shiva incarnate and none else; otherwise how a multitude of impediments could be averted?

"In the south-east corner, somebody sneezed at the time of ascending (the throne). From the head of *Sambhāji* two pearls fell down. A small dagger that was placed near the King Shiva lay open. The consequence of sneezing is ordinary; but the dagger foretells defeat of the enemy.

"In the meanwhile a chariot bedecked with gold, possessed of a strong axel, drawn by good horses and equipped with a good pole was brought. Gāgā said to the King, 'Step into the chariot.' But again

another thought peeped into his mind (and said) 'Oh King, I should give this chariot to you after first ascending it myself.' The King said to Gāgā Bhatta, 'As you say.'

"The King said: 'I intend to conquer this earth by (ascending) this chariot obtained by your favour. Ascend, therefore. Do not delay."

"Gāgā Bhatta having first ascended the chariot, gave it to King Shiva who ascended it while all were looking on.

"All the (four) Protectors of the world reside in King Shiva alone. On account of their weight the chariot bent down. The King mounted a lordly elephant. It was a pleasing sight. Just as the great *Indra* seated on *Airāvata* was praised by his bards, so also was Shiva praised as if he was another *Kubera*.

"Then just as the King, placing a beautiful arrow on the bow (string), fixed his mind on the target, the ring from his hand (fingers) fell down. The chief messenger, named Dattaji[10] tumbled on the ground. Nobody there understood the significance of the falling of the ring."

Govinda asked, "Oh great sage, what was the significance of the fall of the ring? I wish to hear it thoroughly from the lotus-like mouth of yours."

Nischala said, "The ring thought itself 'while the king pierces the target by means of an arrow sharpened on a stone, I shall bring from all sides the heads of the enemies by being for them a noose.' As if on account of this the ring went away, but came back to his hand again. Others do not know this, which is a very great divine secret.

"Thus when the Coronation of the noble one was accomplished in the worldly manner (and, oh Brahmin, when the effects of the ill omens were averted) I, Nischala Puri as my name is made up my mind to go away."

This is the fourth branch (chapter of the book) of the desire yielding tree in the form of Coronation of the illustrious and great King Shiva which springs from the uncontrolled goddess of speech residing in the lotus-like mouth of Govind, illustrious son of the learned Nārāyaṇbhatta Barve.

The Coronation being thus over, the King went to his palace. I, the sage Nischala, having called a disciple, said to him, 'Go and tell the great King that I go away willingly. I have witnessed the Coronation and am pleased at heart.' He going to the royal palace, told this to the King: 'Oh King, Nischala Puri, the crest jewel among the

10. ?

Jāpakas (i. e. mutterers of prayers) is now eager to go in order to wander on the earth.' Hearing those unpleasant words, the King immediately getting up from his seat, placed a fruit before him (i. e. Nischala Puri) and fell prostrate at his feet on the ground. Oh Brahmin, looking at him through great affection I became kind towards him. Then encouraging him with blessings I told him all that was to happen.

" On the thirteenth day, and on the twenty-second day, on the fifty-fifth day and also on the sixty-fifth day, oh king, portentous events boding calamities will occur. Without (the knowledge of) the great Lore you are not entitled to sit upon the throne. That is why I am anxious in my mind. Having seen *Gāyatri*, the mother of the Vedas on the heads of the lions, I am anxious in my mind how she will remain there. For this reason I will go away with the object of going on pilgrimages. I wish to reside in *Kashi*. I do not find any interest here.

"The King hearing that somewhat astonishing speech of mine placed his head on my feet and began to request :

" The King said : ' Oh preceptor, if you are kind to me, perform without delay my Coronation according to Tantrik rites. (In fact) after performing the Vedic rite, the Tantrik one should be performed; (in my case) the Vedic rite having been accomplished, I have now desire for the Tāntrik one. Since I am attached to you with the bonds of devotion how do you intend to go away ? '

" After King Shiva had spoken thus I addressed the following words (to him) : ' Oh King, on seeing the portents as foretold, come to me speedily; then everything will be set right.

"Thus addressed, the King went to his beautiful palace. Thereafter the virtuous Queen mother died on the thirteenth day. Then the stable at the *Pratapgiri* (fort), where the costly and pet horses of the King were tied, caught fire. The elephant who could stand in the group of many lions was burnt along with weapons and garments. Those skilled in demolishing (and) born to conquer the earth, took their bodies.....................Many other portents also occurred at the palace.

"King Shiva of great prowess and intelligence seeing all these portents and treasuring in mind my words, 'let some months pass ; then everything will be right,' came to me after some days and spoke to me as follows : 'Those words, the abode of nectar, spoken by the revered master previously should now be fulfilled as you are undoubtedly the benefactor of your own people.'

" Thus urged by the King, I chose the Brahmins for muttering prayers on the throne according to Tāntrik rites. To them were given red seats, red garments and golden coins for the acquisition of great fortune by the Great King Shiva.

" The beginning of the muttering of prayer was made under an auspicious conjunction of planets and powerful stars at an auspicious hour on an auspicious day under an auspicious zodiacal sign that arose on the horizon at that time.

" Having studied the doctrine of the work called *Chatuṣṣhaṣṭi Tantra*[11] and having placed in a holy way the best of the mantras which was fixed upon a well prepared spot in a Chakra (mystical figures of a wheel) of *Siddhari* (which brings under control one's enemies) I made up my mind to give that perfected Mantra to the King without requiring him to repeat it (often and often). Having declared the fruit of the Mantra that was being given to the King (by me) and which was placed in a properly perfected place I sent it to the King on the fifteenth day before this day.

" Your enemies will fall into your hands; I foretell you this sign: At that time it came true. *Tukorām*[12] fell into his hands. Thus the great Mantra became indicative of the imperial sovereignty.

" At the time of receiving instruction on the next day the King, anxious to receive instruction, called his priests and said:

" King Shiva said : ' I intend to receive the Great Lore from Nischala; how do you approve of it in your minds ? '

" Then they all said after mutual consultation, ' Let him perform the Coronation, but never impart instruction. By (mere) hearing of Gāyatri (mantra) great mental agitation had arisen. We do not know what again would befall on account of the Tāntrik Charms. O you, greatest among kings, we do not, therefore, consent to your receiving Tāntrik instruction from the great sage named Nischal.

" Thereupon the King hearing their speech (which was) against his determination and desiring his own good (to come about) set it aside."

This is the fifth branch (chapter of the book) of the desire-yielding tree in the form of Coronation of the illustrious and great King Shiva which springs from the uncontrolled goddess of speech residing in the lotus-like mouth of Govinda, the illustrious son of the learned Nārāyaṇ-bhatta Barve.

Nischala said :

" Getting up early in the morning I performed the placing of jars etc. and then performed the worship according to Tāntrik rites.

" Lifting up the MERUYANTRA,[13] beautified with many colours,

11. 64 Tantra Books (according to Vāmakeshwar). See शाक्तसंप्रदाय by Narmadā Shankar Mehtā pp. 28 onwards.

12. Is it *Turushkān* = Turks or Mughals ?

13. A figure shaped like a spindle.

I performed the coronation ceremony on the auspicious fifth day in the bright half of Ashvina. The great pavilion was decorated with canopies and beautiful pillars, just as it was in the mansion of INDRA constructed by VISHVAKARMĀ.

" The king desirous of his welfare, first worshipped the jars in the pavilion and then purifying the ground at the throne filled with five jewels with proper rites took a mirror in his hand, looked into it and wanted to explain his action (thus) : ' Oh Brahmins, listen all of you to this speech of mine which will cause surprise. Who made this mirror ?' They replied ' the blacksmith.' The king asked them, ' Who showed the reflection ?' They said, ' The reflection is caused by the artisan.' The king with a faint smile on his face said to them once more, 'You know how to prepare a mirror, but not how to show an image therein. The skill of showing an image, I think, is due to the action of the artisan.' Having thus explained what he saw, he set aside their advice.

" Having placed thereon (on the throne) another seat, he, by means of his Mantras, put life into the limbs of the lions engraved on that auspicious throne. Then I, being a Yogi, sent an invitation to the King. He then performing all the morning duties as laid down by rules, went to the Royal Court with sword in hand.

" He made offerings to the deities stationed at the gates. These protectors of the world, being satisfied, made way for the king with delight. Thousands of Brahmins and learned men having been fed, the seat erected by Gāgā Bhatta was destroyed. The protecting deities at the gateposts, on account of the offerings made to them removed all the obstacles.

" Then coming to me in the court with great haste and bowing down, the intelligent one began to make a request. King Shiva said : ' Sir, what thing should I now do under your supervision ?' I said to him : ' Oh king, offer oblations to the lions. Then your mind being at rest you will achieve happiness.' Hearing this speech of mine the king was delighted. Oh chief among Brahmins, he made offerings as directed."

Govinda said : " Oh best among sages, who were these lions mentioned (by you), what are their names (and) where do they stay ? Tell me all this and the life story of the king Shiva."

Nischala said : " I will tell the names of the lions that were installed below the (lion) seat in the order of the oblations (made to them).

" First of all he offered Bali to the lion standing in the eastern direction. That lion then feeding upon it, protects the eastern region diligently.

" HARYAKSHA stands in the south-east direction. To him the king offered a beast. He (Haryaksha) being satisfied then set his mind on protecting that corner.

" PANCHÂSYA, frightening (even) Yama, is stationed in the south. He being very much pleased by the offering of Bali protects the south.

" In the South-west direction the lion 'KESARI' by name is stationed. He is appointed for the task of protection after an offer of abundant Bali.

" MRIGENDRA the eater of Bali is stationed in the Western direction. He protects his eighth part in the auspicious royal seat.

" The lion SHÂRDULA by name, is stationed and worshipped in the North-west direction. After offering him a beast he is appointed for protection.

" He appointed GAJENDRA in the Northern direction and offered him a beast. He (Gajendra) being exceedingly pleased roars at KUBERA, in that direction.

" HARI, the eater of Bali, is appointed in the North-east direction. He being pleased protects that direction without sleep or weariness.

" The (Royal) Seat was placed on the back of the eight lions. It is, therefore, called 'the Lion-Seat', acquisition of which is difficult in this world. People have heard of the 'Lion Seat' of VIKRAMA, but nobody has seen it. That very Lion Seat is brought to light by king Shiva.

" I placed the *Yantra* (mystical article) on the throne and established the deity (in it). An offering of Bali was also made to the throne.

" In whatever direction the king, uprooter of all enemies, seated on that very seat, turned his gaze, good or bad, the people of that place, some of them being the king's kinsmen and some also sitting in the vicinity of the king, speedily turned their heads downwards and their weapons slipped from their arms.

" Those watchmen, who fell asleep at night were troubled by the multitude of ghosts who had not received proper offerings. They were saved by me after I sent to them the holy ashes. Then something happened .... Oh Brahmin, there appeared on the chests of enemies (the marks of) nails just as on the chest of HIRANYA KASHAPA the claws of NRISINHA shine. Formerly the offering of Bali was not made to the throne. On account of that sinful fault the whole kingdom was troubled. Even after ascending the seat the king could get sleep with great difficulty. There was no devotion for him in

the minds of his people. Not only this but they also had an inauspicious and therefore a crooked attitude towards him. Many other portents also occurred at the royal palace. Oh Brahmin, all those portents vanished in a moment. Their power worked on the enemies' houses (instead).

" Thus the Lion-seat (throne) which was honoured by all kings praised by bards, and was blessed, became ready. The exalted throne of King Shiva was similar to that of Indra, Soma, Varuna or Prajāpati. One who shines on the seat placed on the backs of lions conquers the entire earth encircled by ocean, in a moment."

This is the sixth branch (chapter of the book) of the desire-yielding tree in the form of the Coronation of the illustrious and great King Shiva which springs from the uncontrolled goddess of speech residing in the lotus-like mouth of Govinda, the illustrious son of the learned Nārāyaṇbhatta Barve.

Nischala said :

"Then on a raised seat studded with jewels I placed the costly seat of silver and made the King sit upon it for coronation.

"The Moon sprinkles the whole earth with the nectar which exists in her rays ; these very rays that are nectar-like were showered upon all the eight kalashas (jars), which were endowed with five stalks and were muffled round with red silken garments.

"The royal pavilion was decorated with canopies, rich with pictures drawn in gold, had incense and lamps burning therein and shone with varieties of flowers.

"At the time of the coronation of King Shiva the Shakties assuming the form of goddess speech and being auspicious held in their hands the jars above described. Just as all great rivers and oceans had come to PṚTHURAJ [14] in (person) their own forms for coronation, so also here the King Shiva was crowned by holy powers such as VASHINI [15] and others."

"Then with holy waters placed in the middle jar, in which the Lore RĀJESHWARI [16] so also BRAHMĀSTRA the great Lore with yellow garment was firmly established by me. I sprinkled Shiva the ruler of the earth, the protector of men, possessor of (royal) umbrella with water charged with ten kinds of lores. The beautiful goddess, the mother of the world, who was near him before became manifest

14. आदिराज : The first king (See MM. P. V. Kane: History of Dharmashastras, Vol. III, pp. 33 & 183).

15, 16. Names of different Shaktis. cf. अं १६ वशिनी वाग्देवता १ मं सर्वज्ञा रं सर्वैश्वर्यप्रदा ।

now that he began to possess the Lore RĀJ-RĀJESHWARI. Thus the great festival of the sprinkling with sacred waters of Shiva, the son of Shāhā (ji) was accomplished."

Govinda said: "Oh great Yogi, what are those deities, the goddess of speech and others? Oh ocean of mercy, tell me their names; I wish to hear the same."

Nischala said; "I will tell their names, oh best among Brahmins, along with their heroes. Listen attentively with great faith.

"At that moment, I made the king with blooming face, sit on a seat auspicious in every respect and variegated with many colours. After making the King sit down, I said to him, 'Send away your people'. All those standing near were dismissed by the King. When, oh Brahmin, all those including the ministers were sent away, all the limbs of the body (of the King) were covered with ornaments. When, with auspicious and powerful incantations, the ornaments were put on, when the musical instruments such as drums were played upon in the assembly, when the *samas* were being recited to the tune by Brahmin experts in Vedas, the King's servants approached with wiping garments at the bidding of the King. With one garment the King wiped out completely the water sticking to his body, while with another delicate garment he wrapped the upper part of his body (i. e. head). Having put on excellent garments he shone like Kubera. I then said to the King:

"Oh King, look at the heap of cooked food with full wide eyes. Offer it to the mountain. Let all the deities of this place be satisfied with this heap of food. That food was offered (mentally) to the mountain with the recital of Bali charms. The mountain RAIRI was pleased with it.

"I then imparted to the King, who had put on all the ornaments, who had decorated his fingers with jewelled rings, who possessed a pearl necklace round his neck and armlets on his arms, the Lore, who had put red arsenic powder on the parting line of hair who rolled her lotus-like eyes, whose expansive cheeks were throbbing, whose ear ornaments were set in motion, who shone brightly on account of the jewel set in between two pearls, whose nose was exceedingly beautiful on account of the prominent nose-ornament, whose lower lip surpassed the Bimba fruit (in point of beauty), whose face gleemed with smile, whose neck was like a conch, who possessed plump breasts, who shone with pearl necklaces, whose breasts glittered with the skirts of the garment as white as the powder of camphor, who had put on ornaments such as bangles, armlets and rings, who had a creeper-like line of hair on the trunk-like middle of her body

over which the heavy breasts were moving, who looked beautiful with the pair of thighs competing with the trunk of a lordly elephant, who had anklets on her feet which made sound when Shiva rose up, the bestower of the desired objects, serene and giver of light to the devotees, the foremost among lores in the science of charms, conquerer of the three worlds, known to the world as..........., consisting of three......who brought within her control the three worlds, who was called APOORVARUPĀ on account of her beauty and who had the form of nine angles.

"By the mere hearing of the Mantras the King was rejoiced. Greatly delighted, I said to the foremost among Kings, 'Come here speedily after taking meals.' Hearing these words of mine the King went home."

Govinda said : "What are those initial three (letters)? How are they to be used ? Oh best among sages, tell all that to me who am eager and humble."

Nischala said :

दामोदरं...युक्त आद्यवाग्बीजमीरितं। विधिवांसव शांतींदुयुक्तः कामभिधं परं॥

संकर्षणो विसर्गाथो...र्त्तीं यमीरितं। त्रिबीजा गदिता बाला जगत्त्रितयमोहिनी ॥

दक्षिणामूर्ति पक्ती च मुनिश्छंदः क्रमा स्मृतं। देवता त्रिपुरा बाला मध्यांते शक्तिबीजके ॥

'Seeing the way crowded with people, the King, extremely delighted, entered into the inner apartment. There having eaten the food giving great delight according to his taste, and being pleased at heart, the King came to the royal court. At that time people experienced great joy at the sight of King Shiva. The bards eulogized (hailed him) with words proclaiming victory. The dancers with their minds filled with joy danced. They were congratulated by the Vaidikas and Tāntrikas with words of blessings.'

Nischala said :

"The King Shiva ascended the great throne through me. At that time the ten great Lores and the Mantras (brought about) the protection of the people.

"The King's appearance while sitting on the throne was in the form of a Mantra personified. At that time a great refulgence appeared which was never experienced by the people before and which was due to the might of the great Vidya. The King, who wore an auspicious band (Kautuk Mangal) on his wrist bound thereon by the Shakties that had taken lamps in their hands when sitting on the throne, shone like BRAHMA. The royal umbrella shining with splendour more than that of the Sun and Moon, rich with ornaments looked very beautiful."

This is the seventh branch (chapter of the book) on the desire-yielding tree in the form of the Coronation of the illustrious and great King Shiva which springs from the uncontrolled goddess of speech residing in the lotus-like mouth of Govinda, the illustrious son of the learned Nārāyaṇbhatta Barve.

Govinda listening to these words of Nischala was delighted. He again asked (Nischala) how the lustre of the Moon and the Sun could stay in one and the same place.

Nischala said : "His Umbrella was great, shining and indicative of sovereignty. To his friends it appeared like the Moon because it gave pleasure to them, but because it caused great anxiety through heat it was like the Sun to his enemies.

" Then all the warriors who looked grand on account of their weapons and who bore in their hands swords, bowed down. The assembly hall shone with golden pillars studded with gems, with pearl strings and large pieces of cloth. Was it the assembly hall of the Pandavas which was created by MAYA sent by Brahma for King Shiva ?

" In the meanwhile, oh Brahmin, those rulers who dwelt on the earth became as if struck by Vajra, when they heard of this Coronation. Then the prowess of the King Shiva, tormenting to the enemies, scorched the kings in all directions as far as Mount Meru. The kingdom became free from danger and the soldiers were delighted. On account of the prowess of the King the enemies' forces were put to flight. Thus on account of the protection of righteousness he became the wielder of the Royal Umbrella.

" His powerful son known as Ramraj[17] will become a sovereign king uprooting all Yavanas. He alone on the surface of earth will protect righteousness. He by his power will protect earth for the Brahmins.

" The goddess of Royalty will be permanent in Shiva's family for three hundred years. Till then all Yavanas possessed of red faces and who hate Brahmins will undoubtedly be annihilated by the valour of Shiva. "

Thus the Coronation (ceremony) of the King Shiva is described by Aniruddha Saraswati (?)...following the conversation between the great sage and Govinda.

This is the eighth branch (chapter of the book) of the desire yielding tree in the form of the Coronation of the illustrious great King Shiva which springs from the uncontrolled goddess of speech residing in the lotus-like mouth of Govinda, the illustrious son of the learned Nārāyaṇbhatta Barve.

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17. Rajaram.

Adieu. This concludes the eighth branch (chapter) in the description of the Coronation ceremony of the King Shiva, on the Kumbha Lagna, on the Ayūshman Yoga, on the Anuradha Constellation, on Wednesday, the fifth day of the bright half of the month of Ashwin, in the Ananda Samvatsara, in the fifteen hundred and ninety-sixth year of the era of the celebrated King SHĀLIVĀHAN. Let Bliss prevail.

The great Coronation festival of the great King took place in the year Anand of the Shālivāhan Era, on Wednesday the fifth day of the bright half of Ashvina on the Anuradha Constellation, Ayushman Yoga and Kumbha Lagna.

CORRECTIONS

PAGE	LINE	INCORRECT	CORRECT
1	23	Mussalmans	Musalmans
2	26	jaghir	jāgīr
2	27	Ragunath	Raghunāth
3	8	jaghir	jāgīr
3	17	Kambaksh	Kām Bakhsh
5	12	goshpesh	goshpēch
7	8	Gazafar	Ghazanfar
7	12	Sherishtadar	Serishtedār
8	9 & 12	Gasafar	Ghazanfar
8	13	vaknavis	Vaqā'e'
8	15	jupya	jawāb
8	17	mendi	mandi
8	27	Sheristadar	Serishtedār
12	14 seq	Chawang	Chwang
12	32	Darga	Dargāh
21	32	Guzarati	Gujarāti
22	15	mahajar	mahzar
26	32	terraccatta	terracotta
34	37	varient	variant
45	6	sar-i-khel	sar-i-khayl
45	26	Nyāyādīśa	Nyāyādhīśa
49	10	dōlak	dhōlak
51	19	inspite	in spite
51	31	Taun	Tā'ūn
52	20	Lahem	Laḥm
54	9	Khuska	Khushk
54	29	morsal	morsel
54	31	foriegner	foreigner
58	10	Shnkaran	Shankaran
66	15	Tashkant-Feghana	Tashqand-Ferghana
68	12	extention	extension
70	15	Bakshi	Bakhshi
70 et seq	26	Ghias	Ghiyās
71	18	Taghlaq	Tughlaq
72	32	Malbar	Malabar
73	last	given him	given

PAGE	LINE	INCORRECT	CORRECT
74	7	Yaha	Yahyā
74	34	Nasaro	Nasar
75	4	henious	heinous
75	16	Fakh-rud	Fakhr-u'd
75	18	Shahab	Shihāb
78	20	Chhatar	Chhatra
79	6	Shahab	Shihāb
79	7	Umbar	'Ambar
80	23	Admnistrative	Administrative
80	25	Siopihr	Sipihr
81	5	Nulh	Nuh
81	5	Ishoqiya	'Ishqiya
81	9	Fatuh	Futūh
81	22	Bakshi	Bakhshi
82	26	Chitra	Chīra
85	19	Rhāy	Ray (= Rāzī)
90	37	1920	1720
91	37	Saaduddin	Sa'duddin
92	last	lustruous	lustrous
94	23	predominence	predominance
95	29	Bain-us-	Bain-ush-
95	10	bargir	Bārgīr
99	12	Ruquat	Ruqa'āt
100	last	Aliveady	'Ali verdy
101	28	Tour	Your
101	31	Mamalaik	Mamālik
101	37	Arafeen	'Ārifeen
101	37	Shariff	'Sharīf
102	6	Arafeen	'Ārifeen
102	10	inspite	in spite
102	20	Ramzan	Ramazān
102	24	Assult	Assault
103	1 & 4	Ramzan	Ramazān
103	8	Arfeen	'Ārifeen
103	10	Bux	Bakhsh
115	16	Ruffut	Raf-'at
115	35	Qutub	Qutb
124	9	Gaznavi	Ghaznavi
125	19	Dalpram	Dalpat Rām
184	20	Waq'eq	Waqā'e'

PAGE	LINE	INCORRECT	CORRECT
189 et seq	22	Sh'abān	Sha'bān
193	32	gashan	gashn
194	3	paghdi	pagdī
194	8	Hajrat	Hazrat
194	22	Ramdān	Ramaḍān
194	37	jashan	jashn
195	19 & 37	muhar	muhr
195	27	Ephīmeris	Ephemeris
196	7	Waq'eā	Waqā'e'
196	9	Khairiat	Khairiyat
200	3 & last	Tuzk	Tuzuk
203	30	Sikhsim	Sikhism
204	32	Ma'ṣir	Ma'āthir
206	20	Nāṣirī	Nāṣir-i-
206	22	Ḥaḍrat	Ḥaḍrat-i-
206	33	obverse	reverse
206	36	Tuhfatu'l	Tazkirat-u'l
206	40	Chaghta'i	Chaghta'ī's paper
206	40	Bahmaiyah	Bahmaniyah
206 f. 9 & 11 et seq		Patan	Pathān
208	15	'Aḥd-i	'Aḥd
208	17	Shāha's	Shāh a's
208	25	'usthamān	'uthmān
208	27	Sinati	Sanat-i-
208	32	Archælogical	Archæological
208	41	Aa	As
208	43	Kaliyāṇī	Kallyāṇī
210	19	'Ahad-iwa'z	'Ahd wa'z
211	24	Al-Mu'ayyaid	Al-Mu'ayyid
211	32	Ṭabāṭṭabā	Ṭabāṭabā
212	5	'Ahd-i	'Ahd
214	20	wa'n	wa'd
214	27	qa'dah	qa'dah
215	2	Burhanu'l-maathir	Burhān-i- Ma'āthir
215	f. 29	Riāḍu'l	Riyāḍ-u'l
215	f. 29	Aḥamad	Aḥmad
216	10	throws	throw
216	22	suite	suit
216	25	Aḥhmad	Aḥmad
216	33	Rafī 'Ali	Rafī'

PAGE	LINE	INCORRECT	CORRECT
217	18	Kalīmu'-lāh	Karīm-u'l-lāh
221	12	Amzera	Amjherā
221	21	Silladars	Siledārs
223	33	Bahamani	Bahmani
223	40	Hamdani	Hamadānī
224	18	Subhedari	Sūbehdārī
225	39	पिसु	पिस्सू
232	17	Ruqqas	Ruq'as
232	21	Shah also	Shāh
236	15	Mahazars	Maḥzars
236	16	Rayat	Raiyat
345	31	Jamā	Jāme'
348	6	moral	morale

INDEX

PROF. N. A. GORE, M. A.

(The names of the contributors to this volume are printed in black type. The Roman figures refer to the pages of this volume.)

महामहोपाध्याय प्रा. द. वा. पोतदार

षष्ट्यब्द सन्मान-ग्रंथ

मराठी विभाग

— १ —

पवना येथलि प्राचीन अवशेष

महामहोपाध्याय वासुदेव विष्णु मिराशी, नागपूर

वर्धा जिल्ह्यांतील पवनार येथें श्रीविनोबाजी यांच्या आश्रमाजवळ कांहीं मूर्ति कित्येक वर्षांपूर्वी सांपडल्याची बातमी वर्तमानपत्रांत प्रसिद्ध झाली होती. तसेंच कै. जमनालालजी बजाज यांच्या वर्धा येथील संग्रहालयांत पवनार येथें सांपडलेली व सुंदर कोरीव काम केलेली मूर्ति ठेवली आहे, असेंही अनेकांकडून ऐकलें होतें. या मूर्ति स्वतः पाहाव्या अशी फार दिवसांची इच्छा होती. पण इतर कामाच्या गर्दींत त्याकरितां फुरसत मिळेना. गेल्या ऑक्टोबर महिन्यांत कांहीं मित्रांसहित पवनार येथें जाऊन या मूर्ति पाहण्याचा योग आला. या मूर्तींच्या योगानें विदर्भाच्या प्राचीन इतिहासांतील एका प्रश्नावर प्रकाश पडत असल्यानें त्यांविषयीं थोडक्यांत माहिती येथें देत आहें.

पवनार हें सध्या लहानसें खेडेगांव झालें असून तें धाम नदीच्या उजव्या तीरावर वसलें आहे. या खेड्यांत सध्या उल्लेखनीय असे प्राचीन अवशेष नाहींत. येथें मधून मधून कांहीं नाणीं सांपडतात असें समजलें, पण तीं प्रयत्न करूनही पाहावयास मिळालीं नाहींत. नदीच्या डाव्या तीरावर श्रीविनोबाजींचा आश्रम आहे. त्याच्या मागील बाजूस कांहीं शिल्पें व मूर्तींचे भग्न अवशेष जमीन खणतांना त्यांस सांपडले. त्यांतील शाबूत असलेलीं दोन शिल्पें त्यांनीं आश्रमाजवळ सुरक्षित ठेविलीं आहेत. तीं विदर्भाच्या प्राचीन शिल्पेतिहासाच्या दृष्टीनें अत्यंत महत्त्वाचीं आहेत.

यांपैकीं एका शिल्पाकरितां श्रीविनोबाजींनीं लहानशी झोपडी बांधून तींत तें ठेवलें आहे. या शिल्पाला ' भरत भेट ' असें नांव दिलें आहे. या शिल्पांत चार मूर्ति स्पष्ट दिसतात. त्या डावीकडून सीता, राम, भरत व लक्ष्मण यांच्या होत. पुढें दाखविल्याप्रमाणें या शिल्पाच्या निर्मितीला सुमारें दीड हजार वर्षें झाल्यामुळें त्या मूर्ति आतां बऱ्याच अस्पष्ट झाल्या आहेत. तथापि अजूनही त्यांच्या मुखांवरील भाव स्पष्ट दिसतात. सीतेनें आपल्या उजव्या हातानें रामाचा उजवा हात धरला आहे. राम भरताशीं बोलत असून त्यानें आपला डावा हात भरताच्या उजव्या हातावर ठेवला आहे. रामाच्या मुद्रेवर गांभीर्याची छटा आहे. भरतानें आपली मान किंचित् वांकविली असून त्याच्या मुखावर रामाच्या भेटीचा आनंद व्यक्त झाला आहे. लक्ष्मणानें मात्र तोंड फिरविलें असून त्याची मुद्रा उदासीनतेची आहे. सीतेच्या बाजूस आणखी एक व्यक्ति होती, पण ती अर्धच्छिन्न झाली आहे. सर्व मूर्तींचे वेश अगदीं साधे आहेत. त्या सर्वांनीं फक्त अधोवस्त्र नेसलें आहे तें अजंठ्याच्या लेण्यांतल्यासारखें आहे. राम व लक्ष्मण यांच्या डोक्यांवर जटा आहेत. भरताचे केस मात्र लांब सडक असून ते त्याच्या खांद्यावर पडले आहेत. सर्व मूर्तींचें शरीर बांधेसूद आहे. लक्ष्मणाचें शरीर पीळदार दाखविलें आहे. या शिल्पामध्यें कोठेंही

कृत्रिमता दिसत नाहीं. स्वाभाविकता, संयम, भावाविष्कार इत्यादि गुणांमुळे या मूर्ति गुप्तकालांतील दिसतात.

श्री विनोबांनीं या शिल्पाला ' भरतभेट ' असें नांव देऊन त्याचा फलकहि दरवाज्यावर लावला आहे. हें नांव सार्थ आहे यांत शंका नाहीं. पण ' भरतभेट ' या नांवानें श्रीरामचंद्र रावणवधानंतर सीता, लक्ष्मण, सुग्रीव, बिभीषण, हनुमान इत्यादिकांसह नंदिग्रामास आले त्या वेळीं त्यांची भरताशीं झाली ती भेट असें सामान्यतः समजण्यांत येतें. ती भेट या शिल्पाचा विषय नाहीं. या शिल्पांत चित्रित केलेली भरतभेट चित्रकूट पर्वतावरची होय. मातुलनगराहून अयोध्येला आल्यावर भरताला रामादिकांचें वनवासगमन व दशरथाचें निधन यांची वार्ता समजली. लागलीच, आपले मंत्री, सैन्य, अयोध्येचे प्रजाजन इत्यादिकांसह तो रामाला परत आणण्याकरितां निघाला. राम तेव्हां चित्रकूट पर्वतावर होता. दुरून धुळीचा लोट दिसतांच त्यानें लक्ष्मणाला वृक्षावर चढून कोण येत आहे तें पाहण्यास सांगितलें. लक्ष्मणानें हत्ती, घोडेस्वार, रथ, पायदळ इत्यादिकांनीं युक्त अशी कोविदारध्वजांकित सेना पाहून भरतच येत असावा असें अनुमान केलें व तो म्हणालाः—

संपन्नं राज्यमिच्छंस्तु व्यक्तं प्राप्याभिषेचनम् ।
आवां हन्तुं समभ्येति कैकेय्या भरतः सुतः ॥

... ...

संप्राप्तोऽयमरिर्वीर भरतो वध्य एव हि ।
भरतस्य वधे दोषं नाहं पश्यामि राघव ॥
पूर्वापकारिणं हत्वा न ह्यधर्मेण युज्यते ।
पूर्वापकारी भरतस्त्यागे धर्मश्च राघव ॥[१]

' स्वतःला राज्याभिषेक झाला असतांहि त्यानें संतुष्ट न होतां समृद्ध राज्याची इच्छा करणारा हा भरत आपणां दोघांना ठार मारण्याकरितां येत आहे. हा आपला शत्रु आहे. याला ठार मारण्यांत कांहीं दोष मला दिसत नाहीं. त्यानेंच प्रथम अपराध केला असल्यामुळें त्याला मारण्यांत पाप लागणार नाहीं, उलट पुण्यच लागेल.'

यावर रामानें भरताच्या आगमनाचें कारण हें नसून तो आपणांस अयोध्येस परत नेण्याकरितां आला असावा, आपणाला इजा करण्याचें कधीं त्याच्या मनांत आलें नसेल इत्यादि सांगून लक्ष्मणाचा गैरसमज दूर केला. तथापि त्याच्या मनांतील अढी गेली नाहीं. ही लक्ष्मणाची मनोवृत्ति प्रस्तुत शिल्पांत दाखविली आहे. राम व भरत प्रेमानें परस्परांशीं बोलत असतां[२] लक्ष्मण त्यांच्याकडे न पाहतां विरुद्ध दिशेस पाहत आहे. तेव्हां ही ' भरतभेट '

१. रामायण (निर्णयसागर प्रत) सर्ग ९६, श्लो. १७, २३-२४.

२. प्रस्तुत शिल्पांत रामानें आपला हात भरताच्या हातावर ठेवून त्याचें स्वागत केलेलें दिसतें. त्याविषयीं रामायणांतील वर्णन पुढीलप्रमाणें आहे—कथंचिदभिविज्ञाय विवर्णवदनं कृशम् । भ्रातरं भरतं रामः परिजग्राह पाणिना ॥ अयोध्याकांड सर्ग १००, श्लो. २.

Figure I



THE KILLING OF VĀLI

Figure II



THE MEETING OF RĀMA AND BHARATA

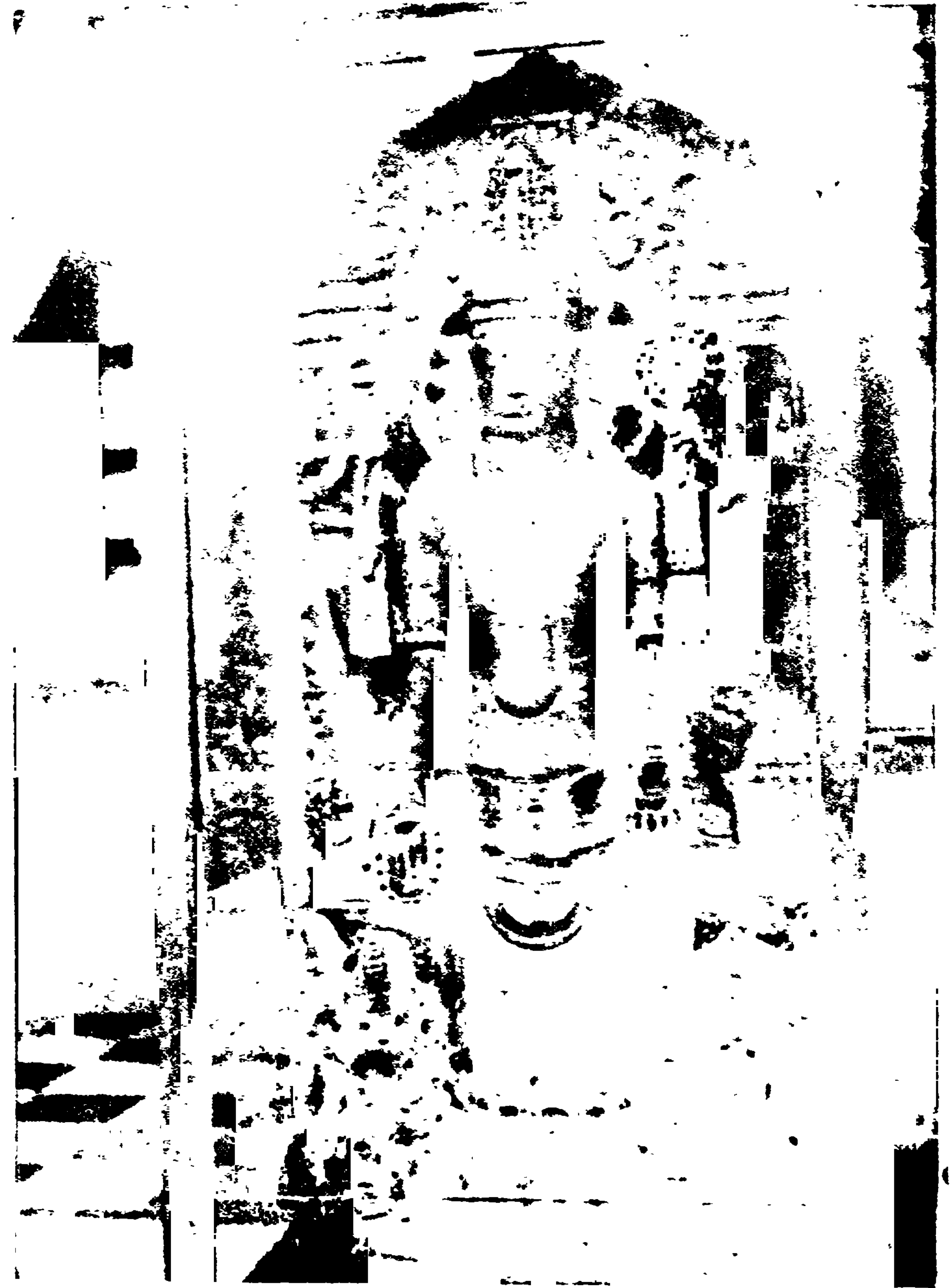
पो. गै. प्रं. पृ. २



SHEṢASHĀYI

पो. गौ. ग्रं. पु. ३

Fig. IV



VIṢṆU

नन्दिग्रामीं झालेली नसून वनवासाच्या आरंभीं चित्रकूट पर्वतावर झालेली होय यांत संशय नाहीं.

आश्रमाच्या मार्गे सांपडलेलें दुसरें शिल्प श्री विनोबाजींनीं एक लहानशी कुटी करून तींत ठेवलें आहे. या शिल्पाचा विषय काय आहे याविषयीं मीं अनेक तज्ज्ञांशीं चर्चा केली. कोणीं त्याला ' अहिल्योद्धार ' तर कोणीं त्याला ' अहिरावणवध ' असें नांव दिलें. पण त्याचें बारकाईनें निरीक्षण केल्यावर तें वालिवधाचें शिल्प आहे, याविषयीं माझी खात्री झाली. यासंबंधीं रामायणांत खालील वर्णन आहे.

सीतेच्या शोधार्थ राम व लक्ष्मण हिंडत हिंडत किष्किंधेस आले. तेथें हनुमानाची व त्यांची गांठ पडून त्याच्या मध्यस्थीनें त्यांचें सुग्रीवाशीं सख्य झालें. सुग्रीवाची पत्नी रुमा हिला त्याचा भाऊ वाली यानें पळविली असल्यानें तोही दुःखी होता. त्यानें सीतेचा शोध करण्यांत मदत करण्याचें वचन देऊन वालीचें पारिपत्य करण्यांत रामाची मदत मागितली. रामानें ती देण्याचें कबूल केल्यावर सुग्रीवानें वालीला युद्धाचें आव्हान दिलें. त्यांच्या युद्धांत सुग्रीवाचा पाडाव होत आहे असें पाहतांच रामानें वृक्षाआडून बाण मारून वालीला घायाळ केलें. वाली जमिनीवर पडला तेव्हां त्याला पाहण्यास राम व लक्ष्मण आले. त्यांना पाहून वालीनें रामाची पुष्कळ निर्भर्त्सना केली. तो म्हणाला—

हत्वा बाणेन काकुत्स्थ मामिहानपराधिनम् ।
किं वक्ष्यसि सतां मध्ये कर्म कृत्वा जुगुप्सितम् ॥
शठो नैकृतिकः क्षुद्रो मिथ्याप्रश्रितमानसः ।
कथं दशरथेन त्वं जातः पापो महात्मना ॥[१]

' निरपराधी अशा मला बाणानें ठार मारून निन्द्य कर्म केल्यावर सज्जनांच्या सभेत तूं याचा काय जबाब देशील ? महात्मा दशरथाला तूं असा लबाड, हिंसक, क्षुद्र, ढोंगी व पापी मुलगा कसा झालास ? ' त्यावर रामानें खालील उत्तर दिलें—

इक्ष्वाकूणामियं भूमिः सशैलवनकानना ।
मृगपक्षिमनुष्याणां निग्रहानुग्रहेष्वपि ॥
तां पालयति धर्मात्मा भरतः सत्यवानृजुः ।
धर्मकामार्थतत्त्वज्ञो निग्रहानुग्रहे रतः ॥

... ...

तस्य धर्मकृतादेशा वयमन्ये च पार्थिवाः ।
चरामो वसुधां कृत्स्नां धर्मसन्तानमिच्छवः ॥

... ...

तदेतत्कारणं पश्य यदर्थं त्वं मया हतः ।
भ्रातुर्वर्तसि भार्यायां त्यक्त्वा धर्मं सनातनम् ॥

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१. रामायण, किष्किन्धा कांड, सर्ग १७, श्लो. ३५, ४३.

न हि लोकविरुद्धस्य लोकवृत्तादपेयुषः।
दण्डादन्यत्र पश्यामि निग्रहं हरियूथप ॥[४]

'ही सर्व भूमि इक्ष्वाकूंची आहे. मृग, पक्षि, मनुष्य यांचा निग्रह किंवा अनुग्रह करण्याचा अधिकार त्यांचा आहे. या भूमीवर धर्मात्मा, ऋजुस्वभावी व सत्यशील असा भरत राज्य करीत आहे. तो निग्रहानुग्रह करीत असतो. त्याच्या आज्ञेनें मी व इतर राजे धर्मपालनार्थ हिंडत असतों. तुला मारण्याचें कारण हें कीं तूं आपल्या भावाच्या पत्नीशीं व्यभिचार करीत असतोस. असें लोकविरुद्ध आचरण करणाऱ्यास दण्डाशिवाय इतर शासन मला माहीत नाहीं.'

वालीवधाचा हा प्रसंग प्रस्तुत शिल्पांत दाखविला आहे. वाली जमिनीवर पडला आहे. रामाच्या बाणानें घायाळ झाल्यामुळें रक्तस्रावानें तो व्याकुळ झाला होता. तथापि डाव्या हातावर भार टाकून तो अर्धवट उठून बसला आहे व उजव्या हातानें मान सावरून रामाकडे पाहत आहे. राम 'प्रत्यालीढ' स्थानांत उभा आहे. त्याचा डावा पाय पुढें असून वांकला आहे. उजवा पाय मागें ताठ आहे. डावा हात मांडीवर ठेवला आहे. उजव्या हातांत कांहीं वस्तु आहे. रामाच्या मुद्रेवर तिरस्कारयुक्त अभिमान आहे. त्याचें शरीर सौष्ठवयुक्त आहे. त्याच्या उभें राहण्याच्या ढबीमुळें उजव्या छातीजवळचा भाग फुगीर झाल्याचें दाखविलें आहे. यांत शिल्पकाराची निरीक्षणशक्ति, शरीरशास्त्रज्ञान व शिल्पकौशल्य स्पष्टपणें दिसून येतात. रामाच्या गळ्यांत एक साधा हार व कमरेला कटिबंध दाखविला आहे. त्याच्या मागील बाजूस लक्ष्मण व सुग्रीव उभे आहेत. जवळच मोठ्या आकाराचीं फुलें कोरून त्यायोगें ज्या वृक्षांमागून रामानें बाण मारला तेही दाखविले आहेत. वृक्ष दाखविण्याची ही प्राचीन पद्धत गुप्तकालीन शिल्पांत आढळते. झांशी जिल्ह्यांत देवगड येथें गुप्तकालीन 'दशावतार' देवळाला लावलेलें अहिल्योद्धाराचें शिल्प आहे. त्यांत अरण्यांतील वृक्ष असेच दाखविले आहेत. साधेपणा, स्वाभाविकता, संयम, धार्मिकता हे गुप्तकालीन शिल्पांचे विशेष मानण्यांत येतात. ते सर्व या दोन्ही शिल्पांत आढळतात. म्हणून तीं निःसंशय गुप्तकालीन होत.

या दोन सुंदर शिल्पांवरून पवनार येथें श्री विनोबाजींचा आश्रम आहे त्याजवळच धाम नदीच्या कांठीं इ. स. च्या चौथ्या-पांचव्या शतकांत श्रीरामचंद्राचें सुंदर देवालय होतें हें स्पष्ट दिसतें. हीं शिल्पें त्या देवालयाच्या भिंतींना भूषित करण्याकरितां लाविलीं असावीं. वर उल्लेखिलेल्या देवगड येथील गुप्तकालीन देवालयाला अशीं शिल्पें लावलेलीं अद्यापि विद्यमान आहेत.

हें देवालय कोणीं बांधलें असावें याचा विचार करतां एक कल्पना सहजच सुचते. इ.स. च्या चौथ्या पांचव्या शतकांत—ज्या काळांतील हीं शिल्पें आहेत त्या काळांत—वाकाटकांचें विदर्भावर सुसमृद्ध असें राज्य होतें. त्यांच्या आरंभींच्या राजधान्या पुरिका व चनका या पुराणांत उल्लेखिल्या आहेत.[५] तथापि वाकाटकांचे आरंभींचे कोरीव लेख प्राप्त न झाल्यामुळें

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४. रामायण, किष्किन्धा कांड, सर्ग १८, श्लो. ६, ७, ९, १८, २१.

५. पार्जिटरकृत कलियुगांतील राजवंश, पृ. ५०. येथील मूळचा पाठ 'पुरिकां चनकां च वै' हें डॉ. जयस्वालचें मत येथें स्वीकारलें आहे.

त्यांचा उल्लेख इतरत्र कोठें आढळत नाहीं. वाकाटकसम्राट् पहिला प्रवरसेन याच्या निधनानंतर त्याच्या चार मुलांत साम्राज्याची वांटणी झाली. त्यांपैकीं थोरल्या पातीनें नागपूर जवळचें नन्दिवर्धन (सध्याचें रामटेकजवळचें नन्दरधन किंवा नगरधन) येथें आपली राजधानी स्थापिली. वाकाटकांचे सर्वांत प्राचीन असे चार ताम्रपट नन्दिवर्धनाहूनच दिलेले आहेत. त्यांतील पहिला ताम्रपट वाकाटकराज्ञी प्रभावतीगुप्ता हिचा होय.[६] हा तिनें आपला अल्पवयस्क मुलगा दिवाकरसेन याच्या नांवानें राज्य करीत असतां दिला होता. त्यानंतरचे तीन ताम्रपट तिचा दुसरा मुलगा द्वितीय प्रवरसेन याच्या काळचे आहेत.[७] ते त्याच्या कारकीर्दीच्या आरंभींचे म्हणजे राज्यारंभापासून दुसऱ्या व तेराव्या वर्षी दिलेले आहेत. त्यानंतरचे ताम्रपट मात्र द्वितीय प्रवरसेनानें प्रवरपुराहून दिले आहेत.[८] या नगराचें नांव त्याच्याच ताम्रपटांत प्रथम येत असल्यानें त्यानें तें नगर आपल्या नांवानें स्थापून तेथें आपली राजधानी नेली असावी असें दिसतें.

या प्रवरपुराचा शोध अद्यापि लागला नाहीं. पवनारच्या गुप्तकालीन अवशेषांवरून तेंच प्राचीन प्रवरपुर असावें असें वाटतें. भाषाशास्त्राच्या नियमाप्रमाणें 'प्रवरनगर' चें कालान्तरानें 'पवनार' असें रूप होणें अगदीं शक्य आहे.[९] पवनार येथें या शिल्पांखेरीज अनेक भग्न मूर्तींचे अवशेष सांपडले आहेत. शिवाय तेथें धाम नदीच्या दोन्ही तीरांवर दूरपर्यंत मोठ्या आकाराच्या प्राचीन विटा सांपडतात असें श्री विनोबांनीं आम्हांस सांगितलें, त्यावरून या नगराच्या विस्ताराची कल्पना करतां येते.

मागें सांगितल्याप्रमाणें पवनार येथें गुप्तकाळीं श्रीरामचंद्राचें सुंदर देवालय होतें. पवनार हें प्राचीन प्रवरपुर (किंवा प्रवरनगर) मानल्यास हें देवालय गुप्तवाकाटककाळीं येथें कां असावें याचीही उपपत्ति लावतां येते. वाकाटक राजे सामान्यतः शिवोपासक होते. ते आपणांस 'परममाहेश्वर' (श्री शंकराचे परमोपासक) म्हणवीत. याला फक्त दोनच अपवाद माहीत आहेत. ते म्हणजे प्रभावतीगुप्तेचा पति द्वितीय रुद्रसेन व त्याचा पणतू द्वितीय पृथिवीषेण हे होत. हे दोन वाकाटक नृपति विष्णूपासक होते. द्वितीय पृथिवीषेणाच्या काळाविषयीं आपणांस फारशी माहिती नाहीं, पण द्वितीय रुद्रसेन विष्णूपासक कसा झाला हें सांगणें कठीण नाहीं. या राजाची पत्नी प्रभावतीगुप्ता ही सुप्रसिद्ध गुप्तसम्राट् द्वितीय चंद्रगुप्त—विक्रमादित्य याची कन्या होती.[१०] गुप्तसम्राट् विष्णूपासक असत. द्वितीय चन्द्रगुप्त हा आपणांस 'परमभागवत' म्हणवी. प्रभावतीगुप्ता ही आपल्या पित्याप्रमाणें विष्णूपासक होती. हिच्याच वर्चस्वामुळें द्वितीय रुद्रसेन हा विष्णूपासक बनला असें मानण्यास हरकत नाहीं.

विवाहानंतर लौकरच प्रभावतीगुप्तेवर वैधव्याचा प्रसंग आला, तरी धैर्य खचूं न देतां तिनें

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६. एपिग्राफिया इंडिका, पु. १५, पृ. ३९ इ.

७. ए. इं. पु. २६, पृ. १५५; पु. २४, पृ. २६०.

८. गुप्तकालीन कोरीव लेख (सं. फ्लीट), पृ. २३५ व २४३.

९. प्रवरनगर—पवअनअर—पवनार अशी व्युत्पत्ति लावतां येते. कालान्तरानें प्रवरसेनाची विस्मृति झाल्यावर पवनारच्या लोककथांमध्यें पवनराजाशीं संबंध जोडण्यांत आला.

१०. भा. इ. सं. मं. त्रैमासिक, वर्ष ३, पृ. ८९; ए. इं. पु. १५, पृ. ४१.

आपल्या अल्पवयस्क मुलांच्या नांवें अनेक वर्षे राज्य केलें. ती अत्यंत धर्मशील होती. तिचे दोन ताम्रपट सांपडले आहेत ते दोन्ही कार्तिक शुक्ल द्वादशीस ब्राह्मणांस दिले असून त्यांत तिच्या ग्रामदानाचा निर्देश आहे. कार्तिकी एकादशीस प्रबोधिनी एकादशी म्हणतात. कारण या दिवशीं भगवान विष्णु चातुर्मासानंतर आपल्या भुजगशय्येवरून उठतात असें मानण्यांत येतें. या पवित्र दिवशीं उपवास करून द्वादशीस पारण्याच्या प्रसंगीं हे ताम्रपट दिलेले दिसतात. द्वितीय प्रवरसेनानें इतरही कांहीं ताम्रपट याच तिथीस दिले आहेत. तो स्वतः परममाहेश्वर होता. तेव्हां या इतर ताम्रपटांत प्रभावतीगुप्तेचा साक्षात् उल्लेख नसला तरी ते त्यानें आपल्या मातेच्या इच्छेवरूनच दिले होते असें अनुमान करण्यास हरकत नाहीं.

प्रभावतीगुप्ता केवळ विष्णूपासक नसून रामभक्त होती. ऋद्धपूरला सांपडलेला तिचा ताम्रपट रामगिरिस्वामीच्या म्हणजे रामगिरीवरील श्रीरामचंद्राच्या पादुकांजवळ दिला होता असा त्यांत स्पष्ट निर्देश आहे.[११] रामगिरीवर श्रीरामचंद्राच्या पादुकांची पूजा होत असे हें कालिदासाच्या मेघदूतावरून दिसतें.[१२] हा रामगिरि म्हणजे नागपूरजवळचें रामटेक होय हें आम्हीं इतरत्र सिद्ध केलें आहे.[१३] रामटेकजवळचें नगरधन (किंवा नन्दरधन) हें वाकाटकांची राजधानी नन्दिवर्धन होय हेंही आतां निश्चित झालें आहे.

प्रभावतीगुप्तेचा मुलगा द्वितीय प्रवरसेन हा स्वतः शिवोपासक होता, तरी त्यानें सेतुबन्ध हें उत्कृष्ट प्राकृत काव्य रामचरितावर रचलें, तेंहि प्रभावतीगुप्तेच्या इच्छेवरूनच असावें. या काव्याची प्रशंसा बाण, दण्डी, आनंदवर्धन इत्यादि अनेक संस्कृत ग्रंथकारांनीं केली आहे.

वाकाटकांची राजधानी नन्दिवर्धनास होती तोंपर्यंत जवळच असलेल्या रामगिरीस जाऊन प्रभावतीगुप्तेला आपल्या इष्टदेवतेचें दर्शन घेतां येत असे. पण द्वितीय प्रवरसेनानें प्रवरपुर स्थापून तेथें राजधानी नेल्यावर प्रभावतीगुप्तेला श्रीरामप्रभूच्या दर्शनाकरितां तेथें देवालयाची जरुरी भासली असावी व तिच्याच आज्ञेवरून प्रवरपुरांत (सध्यांच्या पवनारांत) श्रीरामचंद्राचें उत्तुंग देवालय बांधलें गेलें असावें. या देवालयाच्या भिंतींना भूषित करण्याकरितां हीं दोन शिल्पें लावलीं असावीं. या देवालयांतील मुख्य मूर्ति अद्यापि सांपडली नाहीं. त्या जागीं उत्खनन केल्यास ती कदाचित् सांपडेलही. या शिल्पांवरून तिच्या सौन्दर्याची कल्पना करतां येईल.

गुप्त-वाकाटक काळाला प्राचीन भारतीय इतिहासाचें सुवर्णयुग मानण्यांत येतें. या काळांत संस्कृत व प्राकृत वाङ्मय व विविध कला यांची अत्यंत भरभराट झाली. याच काळांत अजंठ्याचीं सोळा, सतरा व एकोणीस नंबरचीं लेणीं कोरविलीं गेलीं. तीं शिल्पकला व चित्रकला या दोन्ही दृष्टींनीं अप्रतिम आहेत. दुर्दैवानें फारच थोडीं वाकाटक-गुप्तकालीन शिल्पें अद्यापि अस्तित्वांत आहेत. त्या काळीं विदर्भांत अनेक ठिकाणीं देवालयें बांधलीं गेलीं असावीं. कांहींचा निर्देश तत्कालीन ताम्रपटांत आढळतो.[१४] तथापि विदर्भांत अद्यापि

११. 'रामगिरिस्वामिनः पादमूलात्।' भा. इ. सं. मं. त्रै. वर्ष ३ पृ. ९३.

१२. वन्द्यैः पुंसां रघुपतिपदैरङ्कितं मेखलासु। मेघदूत, श्लो.

१३. सह्याद्रि, पु. १९, पृ. २२१.

१४. प्रस्तुत लेखकानें अलीकडे संपादलेल्या द्वितीय प्रवरसेनाच्या पट्टन येथील ताम्रपटांत विष्णूच्या पादुकांच्या देवळाचा उल्लेख आहे. ए. ई. पु. २३, पृ. ८६ पहा.

कोठेंहि उत्खनन झालें नसल्यामुळें गुप्तवाकाटककालीन शिल्पें अत्यंत दुर्लभ आहेत. प्रस्तुत शिल्पांखेरीज असें एकच शिल्प आम्हांस माहीत आहे, तें रामटेकवरील त्रिविक्रमाचें होय. यामुळें पवनार येथें यदृच्छेनें सांपडलेल्या या दोन शिल्पांचें महत्त्व अधिकच वाटतें.

वाकाटककालानंतर प्रवरपुर ही विदर्भाची राजधानी राहिली नाहीं. तथापि त्याचें महत्त्व नाहींसें झालें नव्हतें असें दिसतें. कारण त्यानंतरचीं मध्ययुगीन दोन शिल्पें पवनार येथें सांपडलीं आहेत. त्यांपैकीं एक धाम नदीच्या तीरावर एका देवळांत ठेवलें आहे. हें शिल्प मोठ्या आकाराचें आहे. यांत शेषशायी विष्णूची भव्य मूर्ति आहे. भगवान् विष्णु शेषावर निजले असून त्यांच्या नाभींतून निघालेल्या कमळावर बसलेला ब्रह्मदेव दाखविला आहे. ब्रह्मदेवाचीं चार तोंडें चिमटीनें मातीच्या गोळ्याला आकार देऊन बनवावीं त्या प्रकारचीं दिसतात. त्याच्या दोन्ही बाजूंस इतर देव दिसतात. विष्णूच्या पायांजवळ लक्ष्मी बसली असून ती ते चुरीत असल्याचें दाखविलें आहे. एकंदरींत या मूर्तीचें काम अगदीं सामान्य प्रतीचें असून ती भारतीय शिल्पकलेच्या निकृष्टावस्थेच्या काळांत बनविलेली दिसते.

याच्या उलट, उत्कृष्ट काम केलेली दुसरी एक मूर्ति पवनारासच सांपडली होती. ती सध्यां श्री. जमनालाल बजाज यांनीं स्थापिलेल्या संग्रहालयांत ठेविली आहे. ही मूर्ती विष्णूची असून ती काळ्या पाषाणाची बनविली आहे. विष्णूच्या चार हातांत शंख, चक्र, गदा व अक्षमाला आहेत. त्याच्या डाव्या बाजूस लक्ष्मी व उजव्या बाजूस गरुड आहे. विष्णूच्या मस्तकावरचा किरीट, गळ्यांतले हार, श्रीवत्स व अधोवस्त्र हीं उत्कृष्ट रीतीनें कोरलीं आहेत. मूर्तीमागची प्रभावळ हीही सुंदर कोरली असून तीवर बुद्धासहित दशावतार दाखविले आहेत. त्यांमध्यें रामानंतर परशुराम व कृष्णाबद्दल बलराम घातले आहेत.[१५] मूर्तीचें बारीक काम, दागिन्यांची रेलचेल, व या दशावतारांच्या मूर्ति यांवरून ही मूर्ति बरीच नंतरची म्हणजे मध्ययुगीन कालांतील (इ. स. १०–११ व्या शतकांतील) दिसते.

पवनारचें महत्त्व मुसलमानी अंमलापर्यंत टिकून होतें. या ठिकाणीं दिल्लीच्या मुसलमान बादशहाचा फौजदार राहत असून देवगड व चांदा येथील गोंड राजांकडून बादशहाची खंडणी वसूल करीत असे. मराठ्यांच्या अमदानींत पवनार हें परगण्याचें मुख्य ठिकाण झालें. येथें एक कमाविसदार राहत असे. येथें एक जुना किल्ला असून त्यावर एक देवनागरी लिपींत लिहिलेला लेख आहे असें समजतें.

मागें सांगितल्याप्रमाणें पवनारला प्राचीन अवशेष विपुल आहेत. या लेखांत वर्णिलेल्या शिल्पांवरून वाकाटक कालांत हें नगर महत्त्वाचें होतें व येथें श्री रामचंद्राचें सुंदर देवालय होतें असें स्पष्ट दिसतें. पवनार हें नांव प्रवरनगराचें अपभ्रष्ट रूप आहे यांत संशय नाहीं. या सर्व उपोद्बलक प्रमाणांवरून सध्याचें पवनार हें एका काळीं वाकाटकांची सुसमृद्ध राजधानी असलेलें प्रवरनगर किंवा प्रवरपुर असावें असा तर्क होतो. याविषयीं निश्चित पुरावा या जागेची सूक्ष्म पहाणी करून उत्खनन केल्यास मिळण्याचा संभव आहे. तेव्हां या स्थलाकडे भारत सरकारच्या पुराणवस्तुसंशोधन खात्याचें लक्ष वेधून हा लांबलेला लेख पुरा करतों.

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१५. या तऱ्हेच्या दशावतारांच्या मूर्ति विष्णूच्या प्रभावळीवर इतरत्रहि आढळतात. इंडियन म्यूझियममधील एका शिल्पांत हे दशावतार उजवीकडून डावीकडे याच क्रमानें दाखविले आहेत. राखालदास बॅनर्जीचें ईस्टर्न अँड इंडियन स्कूल ऑफ मेडिव्हल स्कल्प्चर, पृ. १०३.

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श्रीशाहूराज कीर्ति-प्रभा-मंजरी

गो. स. सरदेसाई, रियासतकार, कामशेत

उपोद्घात

गोविन्द कवीन्द्रकृत ' श्रीशाहूराज-कीर्ति-प्रभा मंजरी ' नांवाचें एक लहान मराठी काव्य येथें प्रसिद्ध करण्यांत येत आहे. हा गोविन्द कवि शिवभारतकार परमानंद कवीन्द्राचा नातू. बडोद्याच्या प्राचीन लेखसंग्रहांत एक संस्कृत ऐतिहासिक काव्य उपलब्ध झालें, त्याच्या प्रसिद्धीचें काम चालू आहे. पण ज्या संस्कृत पोथीच्या अंतर्गत हें शंभर श्लोकांचें मराठी काव्य आढळलें, त्या संस्कृत ग्रंथाशीं त्याचा संबंध नाहीं, यास्तव तें स्वतंत्रच प्रसिद्ध करणें अगत्याचें वाटलें. दरम्यान पोतदार-गौरव ग्रंथासाठीं कांहीं तरी ऐतिहासिक संशोधनात्मक लेख पाठविण्याविषयीं मला संपादकांची सूचना आली, त्यावरून मनांत आलें कीं दुसरा नवीन लेख बनविण्यापेक्षां हेंच लहानसें काव्य या प्रसंगानें प्रसिद्ध करणें उचित होईल. ही सूचना संपादकांनीं मान्य केली याबद्दल मी त्यांचा आभारी आहें.

काव्याच्या किंवा इतिहासाच्या दृष्टीनें पुढील कृतीची योग्यता मला मोठीशी वाटत नाहीं. तिचा कर्ता, शाहू व त्याची राणी सकवारबाई यांचा आश्रित होता; आणि आश्रितांच्या सामान्य परंपरेस अनुसरून त्यानें आपल्या आश्रयदात्यांची प्रशंसा भरपूर केली आहे. तथापि कवीनें आपल्या यजमानांचें जीवन प्रत्यक्ष पाहिलेलें असल्यामुळें त्यांत थोडाबहुत ऐतिहासिक अंश निःसंशय उतरला असून त्या काळच्या इतर अनेक ऐतिहासिक साधनांत या काव्याची गणना अवश्य होऊं शकेल; आणि कवीची प्रतिभा जरी बेताची असली तरी या काव्यांतून तत्कालीन जीवन, आचार व समज लक्षांत येण्याइतकी त्याची योग्यता खचित आहे. अनुप्रास जमविण्याच्या धडपडींत अर्थाचें धोरण कवीस ठेवतां आलें नाहीं; आणि एवढेंही करून पुष्कळशीं स्थळें दुर्बोध बनलीं. शब्द तोडण्याचा प्रघात त्या वेळीं नव्हता. तथापि वाचनसौलभ्यासाठीं मीं अर्थानुरोधानें शब्द तोडले आहेत. क्वचित् अशी शब्दतोड चुकीची वाटेल हें मी जाणून आहें. अनुस्वारांची तीच गत आहे. मात्र मूळच्या लेखांत मीं कांहींएक बदल केला नाहीं. कवीची हीच पहिली प्रत असावी असें मला वाटतें. कारण ठिकठिकाणीं त्यानें आपल्या लेखांत सुधारे केलेले आढळतात. अर्थात् दुसरी प्रत मिळण्याची अपेक्षा नको.

शेवटच्या १०१ व्या श्लोकांत कवीनें आपलें इतिवृत्त सांगितलें आहे. परमानंद कवीन्द्राचे पुत्र दोन, देवदत्त व श्रीधर. देवदत्ताचा पुत्र गोविंद. या तीन कवीन्द्रांनीं भोसल्यांच्या तीन पिढ्यांची सेवा केली. नेवासकर कवीन्द्र परमानंद हाच शिवाजीचा गुरु परमानंदबाबा पोलादपूरकर होय हें प्रो. पोतदार यांनीं मोठ्या चतुराईनें नुकतेंच सिद्ध केलें असून हा

गृहस्थ शिवाजीच्या अखेरीपर्यंत, कदाचित् थोडा पुढेंही ह्यात होता असा माझा कयास आहे. देवदत्त व श्रीधर यांना कोल्हापूरकर संभाजीनें व राजसबाईनें इनामगांव दिल्याच्या सनदा स. १७१६-१८ च्या छापलेल्या आहेत आणि त्यांतलाच तिसरा पुरुष गोविंद यानें ही मराठी प्रभामंजरी स. १७४५ च्या आंत-बाहेर रचली असा पुरावा याच काव्यांत मिळतो. शंभराव्या श्लोकाची पहिली ओळ अशीः—

" फत्ते अंजनवेलि गोवळ दुजा ह्या कोट केला जिर्णे " अशी ग्वाही काव्याच्या शेवटीं कवि देतो, आणि असा दुसरा कोणताहि प्रसंग या समग्र काव्यांत तो सांगत नाहीं. अर्थात् तो विजय त्या वेळीं सर्वतोमुखी गाजत असावा. दाभोळजवळचें अंजनवेलचें ठाणें सीदी सातापासून सोडविणें आणि चिपळूणजवळचा गोवळकोटहि सीदीचे ताब्यांतून काढणें हीं कामें प्रत्यक्ष बाजीरावाकडूनही सिद्धीस गेलीं नाहींत याची शाहूला व सर्व मराठेमंडळास मोठी नामुष्की वाटत होती. पुढें स. १७३६ त सीदी सातास चिमाजीआप्पानें ठार मारिलें तरी तीं ठाणीं सीद्याचेच कबजांत राहिलीं. पुढें बाजीराव व चिमाजीआप्पा दोघेहि दिवंगत झाले आणि वरील ठाणीं तर मराठ्यांच्या कबजांत येईनात. संभाजी आंगरे स. १७४२ त वारला आणि सरखेलीच्या पदाबद्दल त्याचे बंधू तुळाजी व मानाजी यांचा कलह चालू झाला. तेव्हा शाहूनें त्या दोघांस कळविलें, तुमच्यापैकीं जो कोण अंजनवेल व गोवळकोट घेऊन देईल त्यास आम्ही सरखेलीवर दाखल करूं. त्यावरून तुळाजीनें मोठी हिंमत करून दोनही स्थळें काबीज केलीं. त्याचें खुष वर्तमान तुळाजीनें तावडतोब ता. २७ जानेवारी स. १७४५ च्या पत्रानें बाळंभट वैद्यामार्फत शाहूस कळवून त्याजकडून सरखेली मिळविली. हें पत्र वैद्य संग्रह खं. ४ स. १७४५ सालचें क्रमांक ६ वर आहे. शाहूला मोठी धन्यता वाटून त्यानें त्या स्थळांचीं नांवे गोविंदगड व गोपालगड अशीं ठेवलीं. या कामीं मुख्य पुरस्कार सकवारबाईचाच होता हें कवीचें विधान निरपवाद होय.

मुख्य काव्य प्रहर्षिणी वृत्तांत असून १०१ पैकीं ८६ श्लोक या धाटणीचे आहेत. हीच या काव्याची अपूर्वाई म्हणतां येईल. बाकीचे कांहीं शार्दूलविक्रीडित व स्रग्धरा असे आहेत. प्रहर्षिणीचे चरणांत तेरा अक्षरें असून म न ज र ग हे त्याचे गण थोडेसे रचनेला सुकर मानतां येतील. प्राचीन मराठी कवींस हें वृत्त फारसें प्रिय नाहीं. म्हणण्यासही तें कांहींसें अवघडच वाटेल. 'या काव्यीं पहिलाच सर्ग वहिला तेणें असे गुंफिला,' या उक्तीवरून आणखी पुढचे सर्ग रचण्याची कवीची इच्छा होती असें दिसतें. मात्र ती सिद्धीस न जातां पहिल्यावहिल्या सर्गावरच त्याची कृति संपली. उघड दिसतें कीं शाहूची प्रकृति ढासळून पुढील राज्यकारभाराची विवंचना उत्पन्न झाली. सकवारबाईचीं कारस्थानें सुरू होऊन तिला सती जाणें भाग पडलें, तेणें करून कवि व त्याचें काव्य दोनही विराम पावलीं. सकवारबाईची स्तुति त्यानें अपरंपार केली आहे; तरी शाहूची मर्जी धाकट्या सगुणाबाईवर विशेष असल्यामुळें लौकिकांत सकवारबाईला मान्यता येण्यासाठीं मुद्दाम अशा कवीला तिनें हाताशीं धरलें असावें असा भास होतो. " विप्राला प्रतिदिन देय दक्षिणेला," " पदक तुरे कवीस वाटी," " जे न्हाणी कविमणिला सदा सुवर्णी," " देऊनी जडित सुवर्ण जी नवाजी," " अर्पूनी द्विज युवतींस पातळांतें," असल्या पाणचट वाक्यांनीं वाचकांस आनंद वाटत नाहीं. आपणाला पंच महाकवींची ओळख आहे हें दाखविण्यासाठीं त्यानें बाण, श्रीहर्ष, कालीदास, भारवि,

माघ, वामन या थोर कवींचीं नांवें कशीं तरी ओढून कवितेंत घुसडलेलीं अप्रयोजक भासतात. उदाहरणार्थ, श्लोक ४२-४५ पहा.

सामान्य वाचकांस सहज समजेल असें हें प्रकरण असल्यामुळें त्यांतील मथितार्थ निराळा सांगण्याची आवश्यकता नाहीं. पहिल्या पद्यांत नुसतें अंबेला नमन आहे. ही अंबा म्हणजे कवींद्राची कुलस्वामिनी एकवीरा देवी होय. दुसऱ्या पद्यांत आपल्या आश्रयदात्रींचें स्मरण करून पुढील ३-३२ श्लोकांत शाहूचें व ३३-९० या कवनांत राणी सकवारबाईचें वर्णन आहे. त्या पुढचे दहा श्लोक उपसंहारात्मक आहेत. शाहूच्या वर्णनांत कवीनें विशेष असें फारच थोडें सांगितलें आहे. इराणी तुराणी पठाणी अशा परकीयांनाही शाहू पूज्य व वंद्य वाटत होता, तो शहाजीराजांचा प्रपौत्र होय, तो दिल्लींद्राचें पालन करतो असें हा कवि सांगतो. मोगल बादशाहाचा विध्वंस न करितां, त्याचें हा शाहू संरक्षण करीत आहे हा अलीकडील ऐतिहासिक निष्कर्ष त्या वेळींही लोकांच्या नजरेंत भरला होता हें स्पष्ट दिसतें. " सांडूनी हठ अयसें स्तवीति वंदी " (२४) या वाक्यांत शाहूवर मारेकऱ्यांचा प्रयोग झाला, हातांतील तरवारी टाकून ते त्याच्या भजनीं लागले या गोष्टीस दुजोरा मिळतो. गुजराती, मारवाडी, तेलंगी वगैरे परकी लोकही शाहूच्या भजनीं लागले असें हा कवि सांगतो (२५–२७) तें सत्य आहे. सकवारबाई शिर्क्यांच्या तुवर कुळांतली, या शिर्क्यांनीं शृंगारपुरकर सुर्व्यांची सेवा केली, सकवारबाईचा बाप रामोजी व बंधु कुवरजी, वाघोजी, जयसिंग व कान्होजी हीं नांवें कवि देतो (५७–६१) तीं बरोबर आहेत. त्यांपुढील पद्यांत सकवारबाईच्या अवयवांचें वर्णन आहे त्यांतही हृद्य असें कांहीं आढळत नाहीं (६६–७५).

एक गोष्ट निर्विवाद दिसते कीं, स्वराज्यांत गुणिजनांना उत्तेजन मिळून राष्ट्राची प्रगति होत जाते, ही गोष्ट आनंद नेवासकराच्या एकंदर वृत्तान्तावरून नजरेंत भरते. मात्र एवढा स्तुतिपाठ केल्याबद्दल गोविन्द कवीन्द्राला आर्थिक लभ्यांश कांहीं झालेला दिसत नाहीं. उलट त्याला जीविताचा कंटाळा येऊन माहुलीच्या संगमांत जलसमाधि घेण्याचा प्रसंग आला. उघड दिसतें कीं हें काव्य निर्माण झाल्यावर लवकरच स. १७४९ च्या डिसेंबरांत शाहू व त्याची राणी दिवंगत होऊन साताराचा कारभार पुण्यास गेला. कवीन्द्राचा वशिला पेशव्यांकडे लागला नाहीं. ता. २३ मार्च स. १७८२ चें या नेवासकर गोविन्द कवीचें नारायण दीक्षित बापट यास लिहिलेलें पुढील पत्र उपलब्ध आहे. " आमचा वृद्धापकाळ झाला. पोटीं संतान नाहीं. बहुत जीर्ण जालों. यास्तव चतुर्थाश्रम संपादून माहुली संगमी जलसमाधिस्त होणार. जवळ रामचंद्राच्या मूर्ती आहेत, त्या आपण संभाळाव्या. नेवासे येथें आमचें वर्षासन तीनशें रुपये आहे तें आपण घेऊन रामनवमीचा उत्सव चालवावा." (पे. द. ४३.१६).

यावरून शाहूच्या पश्चात् हा कवि ३२ वर्षे हयात असून तरुणपणींच त्यानें हें काव्य लिहिलें. एवढें सांगून मी पुढील कवन वाचकांचे हातीं देतों. ता. १० एप्रिल स. १९५०.

श्री गोविंद प्रसन्न ॥

नाकीं सुंदर बेसरी जडितसी कंठीं विराजे सरी[1]। कांतीला पसरी सरीस परिसा ये ना जिला दूसरी ॥
त्रैलोक्यास हि ओसरी दनुसुताला[2] पाडिते वीसरी। रूपाची कुसरी मनांत भजतो अंबा महा आसरी ॥ १ ॥

गुरुचरणसरोजीं भक्तिचा स्वाद घेतो। मन मधुकर पाहा आदरानें रिघे तो ॥
तदुपरि कथिजेते शाहुची पट्टराणी। सहित बहु रसाची सत्कथेची शिराणी ॥ २ ॥
जो वाटे नरपति दाक्षिणात्य दाता। जो कीर्ती करित असे सदा वदाता ॥
जाला तों म्हणति जगामधें शहाणें। जाचें हें अकुटिल शोभतें पहाणें ॥ ३ ॥
जो राजा गडपति गाजतो प्रतापी। जाचे हे रिपु कढती मनांत तापीं ॥
काढीना निजजन सेवकास खोडी। पाखंडें सकलिक जो अखंड खोडी ॥ ४ ॥
ज्ञानाचा सहज समुद्र पूर्ण भासे। दुष्टांचें दमन करावया उभासे ॥
जो उग्राहुनि गणिजे महोग्रताई। जो काढी खणुनि अनेक आततांई ॥ ५ ॥
जाचे हे गड अवघेच कोठ सारे। जाला तों परनृप देति रत्न सारे ॥
विद्यांचा जगतिंत जो असे पसारी। खेलेना क्षणभरि जो कदापि सारी ॥ ६ ॥
हे आज्ञा नृप धरिती सिरीं जयाची। जाचीया पढति कथा भले जयाची ॥
धर्मांची बहु चढवी जगीं बडायी। जो योद्धा अधिक रणांत होय डायी[3] ॥ ७ ॥
हें जाला वश अवघीं असेति ठाणीं। जो धाकें प्रतिदिन वंदिला पठाणीं ॥
जाच्या या भुजबलवैभवें इराणी। पावेती विलय समस्त ही तुराणी ॥ ८ ॥
जाची हे अगणित होय थोर शाही। हिंदूंची परम जयास पातशाही ॥
जाला[4] या असति पहा दहा व शाही। प्रेमानें अधिक महारसें दिशाही ॥ ९ ॥
जो लोकीं गडपति जास थोर जागे। जो शाह[5] क्षितिपतिला प्रपौत्र जागे ॥
आज्ञेनें सकलिक लोक हा रहाटे[6]। जाला जो उठत असे सदा पहाटे ॥ १० ॥
जो खेले अनुपम पारधीस खासा। जो भासे विबुधजनासही सखासा ॥
चाऱ्ही जो दपटुनि पातशाह भारी। साम्राज्यासहि भुवनामधें उभारी ॥ ११ ॥
जाला कीं घडति अनेक हेमदानें। द्वारीं तों झुलति गजेंद्र हे मदानें ॥
जो आणी अरिंस रणांगणीं उमासा[7]। दावी तो सुभट नटोनियां तमासा ॥ १२ ॥
शत्रूंच्या शिरिं न मिळे जऱ्हीं दसोडी[8]। जो मानी दृढतर बंधनें न सोडी ॥
जो साजे सिवसरजास पौत्र गाजी। जो ज्ञाता परम खलांस दे दगा जी ॥ १३ ॥

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१ बेसर = स्त्रियांचा नासिकालंकार. या पहिल्या चरणाचा वैकल्पिक पाठ कवीनें दिला आहे तो असा : "कंठीं सुंदरसी सरी जडितसी नाकामधें बेसरी."

२. कश्यपाची स्त्री दनु तिचा पुत्र. ३. डायी = दावेदार, द्वेष्टा.

४. जाला = ज्याला. च व ज या अक्षरांची ही मोडणी लक्ष्य आहे.

५. शाहक्षितिपति = शहाजी राजे. ६. रहाटे = वागतो.

७. उमासा = उद्वेग. ८. दसोडी = वस्त्राची दशी.

जो शंभु क्षितिपतिचा सुपुत्र मादि । जो मानें करुनि घणी मणी जना दे ॥
विश्वाचा परम हितु परोपकारी । सत्कारी कविंस सुरद्रुमानुकारी ॥ १४ ॥
जो शोभे शुभ अवतार माधवाचा । जो बोले अनुदिन फार सत्य वाचा ॥
मालोजी नरपतिचा[९] कुळांत वाटे । जो हीरा करि रिपुसैन्य तीन वाटे ॥ १५ ॥
जाला हे वर शिवयुक्त[१०] दे भवानी । जो इंद्रोपम गुणवंत वैभवानी ॥
प्रेमाचें निगड[११] धरूनि सज्जनानीं । आनंदे निजमनिं मानिला मनानीं ॥ १६ ॥
वानीती द्विजनृपशूद्र जास वाणी । जो बोले अधिक रसाल शास्त्रवाणी ॥
वेदांची सकलिक जाणतो रहस्यें । जाचीं तो अगणित वाटती रहस्यें ॥ १७ ॥
जो क्रोधें खल जन मंडलीस जाची । वीरश्री नटत असे अखंड जाची ।
आठांचा अनुपम अंश दिक्पतींचा । जो ज्ञाता मज उमजे महा मतीचा ॥ १८ ॥
कल्पांत प्रतिम दिसे परांस मोडी । जो जाणे नरपति सर्व तोडमोडी ॥
रूपाचा उदधि नलास होय साक्षी । पाहोनी वदति अनेक सारसाक्षी ॥ १९ ॥
मानीतो परम मनांत जास राणा । जो कर्णासम सजतो हठी शिराणा ॥
दिल्लींद्रासहि बहुसाल फार पाली । जो केला निजमनिं मान्य लोकपालीं ॥ २० ॥
चाऱ्ही या वश विदिशा[१२] दिशा असेती । ताराशा अगणित वाहिनी दिसेती ॥
जाच्या तीं रवि मुलुकामधें कुचाले । टाकोनी प्रतिदिन तीन पार चाले ॥ २१ ॥
जेणे हे क्षिति निज गांव तुल्य केली । आभासे परम दयेस जे भुकेली ॥
हे द्वारीं प्रतिदिन वाजताति बाके[१३] । जो बोले अनुपम बोल थोर बांके ॥ २२ ॥
चाऱ्ही हे जलनिधि खंदकप्रमाणें । जेणें या क्षणिं रचिले महाप्रमाणें ।
तीरींचे स्थल दृढकोठ होय केला । जेणें जो जरिं तरिं सज्जनी भुकेला ॥ २३ ॥
जो मानें निजकपटें परांस पाडी । नीतीच्या धरिं हृदयांत थोर पाडी ॥
तो जाला प्रतिदिन शंभु बंधु वंदी । सांडूनी हठ अयसें स्तवीति बंदी[१४] ॥ २४ ॥
जाचा हा गढ म्हणवी अखंड पाया । जो पाली प्रबल अमोल नीतिपाया ॥
जाला हे लवति अपार गूजरानी । येकांती मिलुनि वदेति गूज राती[१५] ॥ २५ ॥
जाची हे निरखुनि रम्य कीर्तिवाडी । राहेति सुखित समस्त मारवाडी ॥
जाचे हें म्हणत असेल बागुलाणें[१६] । राज्याचें अधिक असें जयासि लाणें[१७] ॥ २६ ॥
भक्षीना तिलभरि जो कदापि गौडी । धाकानें दचकुनि मानिलाच गौडी ॥
तैलंगीं मनिं जपिजे जप स्वरूपें । जो गाजे हरि अवतार शाहुरूपें ॥ २७ ॥
जो जोडी सुघड अखंड गोड गोडीं । पद्मानी दृढ पढिजे धरोनि गोडी ।
आरबीं कबज लिहोनियां कराचें । दीलें हें भजन जयासि शंकराचें ॥ २८ ॥

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९. नरपतिचा = नरपतिच्या. १०. शिवयुक्त = मंगलप्रद.
११. निगड = बंधन. १२. विदिशा = चार विशिष्ट उपदिशा आग्नेय इ.
१३. बाका = कर्णा. १४. बंदी = बंदींतले मारेकरी.
१५. गूज राती = रात्रीं हितगूज. १६. बागूलबोवा.
१७. लाणें = लाभ, प्राप्ति.

नेलीसे सकल तलास मोगलायी। जेणें जो धरित असे महा भलायी ॥
जो मोटा अकपट नीट धीट मानी। शत्रूला तिलभरि जो मनीं न मानी ॥ २९ ॥
सेनेच्या दवति अखंड युद्धरंगीं। जाच्या या सकलिक उग्रसे फिरंगी ॥
छत्राचा अधिपति सार्वभौम लोकीं। जाला कीं सकलिक वानिते त्रिलोकी ॥ ३० ॥
जो राजा शशधरकाय सूर्यवंशी। आनंदें स्तविति जयास सूरवंशी ॥
धीरांचीं मनकुमुदें प्रफुल्ल होती। शोभेती नवकवितारसें अहो तीं ॥ ३१ ॥
सातारा अचल करोनि येक थारा। पुंडांचा जगतिंत मोडिलाच थारा।
भूपांचा मुकुटमणी धणी जनाचा। ज्ञानाचा जलनिधि जो महामनाचा ॥ ३२ ॥
त्या शाहूक्षितिपतिलागि पट्टराणी। इंद्राणीहुनि बहु धिंगसी[१८] शिराणी ॥
हें साजे बहु सखवार नाव जीला। ऊभारी निशिदिन कीर्ति नौगजीला[१९] ॥ ३३ ॥
जे साक्षात्क्षितिवरि होय सिंधु जासी। लीलेनें परिधरि काय दो भुजासी ॥
सीतेचे गुण हरुनी अधीक भासे। जीचा तो पति म्हणुनी पुढें उभासे[२०] ॥ ३४ ॥
राशी या दिसति अनेक अन्नपूर्णा। जीच्या हो घरिं जगतीस अन्नपूर्णा ॥
जे वाटे परम सती सतींत मानें। जे कांहीं विषम नसे कदा तमानें ॥ ३५ ॥
जे शोभे शुभ अवतार भारतीचा। जाणेही सकल विचारभारतीचा ॥
आभासे प्रतिपदिं जे महाप्रभावी। जे प्रेमें गुरुजनदेवविप्र भावी ॥ ३६ ॥
जे दुर्गा अनुपम दैत्य संहराया। आलीसे बहुधन दान आचराया।
दीनाला सदय असोनि उद्धराया। भूलोकीं कलि अवघा बळें हराया ॥ ३७ ॥
या लोकीं मज उमजे अरुंधतीसी। प्रेमानें भिजुनि भजे सदा पतीसी।
जे याची पदकतुरे कवींस वाटी। शत्रूला प्रबल भयें करोनि वांटी ॥ ३८ ॥
विप्राला प्रतिदिन देय दक्षिणेला। जे भासे मज उपमा सुदक्षिणेला ॥
जे गौरीपरि अति थोर मान वाहे। नम्रत्वे सज भज नित्य मान वाहे ॥ ३९ ॥
जे ज्ञाती कविजन कौतुकें नवाजी। देवूनीं जडितसुवर्ण जीन वाजी।
सौभाग्यें करुनि जयेस पातशाही। मानी जे परिजन सर्व शीवशाही ॥ ४० ॥
राज्याचें सकलिक चिन्ह होय पायीं। जे कोठें तिल न पडे कदा अपायीं।
हे चिंतामणि मणिमालिकाच किंवा। हस्तानें सुरलतिका असेल किंवा ॥ ४१ ॥
राज्यश्रीविभव जयेस बाणला हे। जीच्या या सुमतिस हारि बाण लाहे।
लज्जा त्या परि धरिजेल कालिदासें। झाले हे नरपति आजि कालिदासें ॥ ४२ ॥
जीचा हा अतिमति राघवाभिधानी। आचार्यां अनुपम मानिला बुधांनी ॥
जे पाली बहुगुणवंत संत जोसी। दानानें द्विज म्हणती सदा सजोसी ॥ ४३ ॥
बुद्धीनें परिजित होय भारवी तो। तेजानें चकित अपारसा रवी तो।
श्री हर्षासहि मग हर्ष होय काचा। झालासे परिजन माघ हा फुकाचा ॥ ४४ ॥

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१८. धिंगसी = उदार.

१९. नौगजी = उंच टांगलेलें शिंकें.

२०. 'जीचा हा पति अनुकूलसा प्रभासे' असा दुसरा पाठ कवीनें दिला आहे.

युक्ती या परिसुनि कौतुकें उदंडी। आहे हा चकित अपार आजि दंडी।
जीचें हे सुचरित थोर वामनानें। प्रेमानें घडि घडि मानिलें मनानें ॥ ४५ ॥
चौदा ही कळति जयेस पूर्ण विद्या। जे खंडी जगतिंत संभ्रमें अविद्या ॥
ऐसें तों स्तविति समस्त अंबुजाक्षी। जी लाजे चतुर उदार पंकजाक्षी ॥ ४६ ॥
पाळीते परम जयेस येकवीरा[२१]। या लोकीं अति सिरजोरसी प्रवीरा।
हे गाजे जगतिंत फारसीदुहाई। घालीतें रिपुकुल थोर हाय हाई ॥ ४७ ॥
कौसल्योपम जगतीत संय्यमानी। धर्मांची मज दिसते पहा जमानी।
जे देते धन विबुधांस बेतमाही। हे साजे सजवजजीस नित्यमाही ॥ ४८ ॥
हे आहे अनुकुल नित्य सत्य चंडी। जी लाजे म्हणवुनि वंदिली प्रचंडी।
जीच्या या घरिं अनिवार लक्ष चंडीं। होते हो अनुपम आणि कोटि चंडी ॥ ४९ ॥
सुज्ञांला अगणित ऊच देय शालू। जीची हे स्थिति न दिसे कदापि शालू ॥
अर्पूनी द्विज युवतींस पातळांतें। गीतांच्या घडि घडि पाहते कळांतें ॥ ५० ॥
वाटे हे सुचरित काय अत्रिपत्नी। जीच्या या बहुदमना मधें सपत्नी ॥
नीतीची तिल न करी कदापि खामी। जीचा तो पति म्हणतो जिला सखा मी ॥ ५१ ॥
स्पर्धेतें परिधरितेच रेवतीसी। गेलें हें कळुनि जगामधें सतींसी ॥
कांतीला स्मररमणीं जिच्या कचावें[२३]। हे जीला अघटित बोल हो सुचावे ॥ ५२ ॥
सूर्याला निज नयनापुढें न लक्षी। केली जे सजवज[२४] मान्य लक्षलक्षीं।
वानीती घंडघड पिंजऱ्यांत पक्षी। जे मानी कविंस अखंड आत्मपक्षी ॥ ५३ ॥
जीचा हा अधिक अमोल थोर वाडा। तीं[२५] लोकीं बहु मिरवे महा पवाडा ॥
जीचें हे यश अयसें जगीं प्रकासे। लावीते द्विजकुलकामिनीस कासे ॥ ५४ ॥
फौजांचा परिस जिचा च थोर खंडा। चाले हा म्हणुनि विपक्ष देति खंडा।
सौभाग्यें तिल न दिसे जयेस मस्ती। जे लोकीं क्षितिवरि मानिली समस्तीं ॥ ५५ ॥
नीतीसीं अणु न दिसे कदा उदासी। विप्राला बकसिस देय दासदासी ॥
जीच्या या परि तुलनेस ये सुमित्रा। जे साजे जगतिस मायसी सुमित्रा ॥ ५६ ॥
जे आहे अनुरत फार कुलधर्मी। सत्कीर्ती अघटित आचरी स्वधर्मी ॥
विश्वाचे पुरवुनिया मनोरथाला। स्थापी जे कुलतनया महां पर्थाला ॥ ५७ ॥
जीचें हें पितृकुल चंद्रवंश राजे। जे शीलें करुनि सुसीलसी विराजे ॥
रामोजी जनक जिचा असा अहो तो। ज्ञानानें जनक दुजाच काय होतो ॥ ५७ ॥
जीचा हा कुवर सुबंधु सिंधुशौर्यें। दावीतो अरिविर सैनिकांसि शौर्यें ॥
साजे तो अपर महोग्र व्याघ्र नामें। जाची तों निघति सभेंत नित्य नामें ॥ ५८ ॥

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२१. कवीचो कुलदेवता एकवीरा. २२. तमा न धरतां.
२३. कचावें = भ्यावें.
२४. सजवज = सजावट अशा अर्थी कवि हा शब्द पुष्कळदां वापरतो.
२५. तीं = तीन.

शूरांचें परि करि थोरसे दिलासे। जो युद्धीं अति महशूर भाविलासे ॥
जीचा तो अनुज जयास अन्य माता। जो जाणे बुध जयसींग गोष्टि माता ॥ ५९ ॥
कान्होजी वडिल दुजा प्रतापशाली। या ज्याच्या जगिं सुमती महाविशाली ॥
जे लोकीं तुंवर असोनि होति शिर्के। ज्यांच्या या घरिं कलि पाव ही न शिर्के ॥ ६० ॥
शूरांची विदित जयांस हो हुमाणीं[२६]। जे ख्याति बहु करिति महाप्रमाणीं ॥
जे पूर्वी हितकर सूरत्यांस[२७] लोकीं। वाखाणीं म्हणुनि जयांस हे त्रिलोकी ॥ ६१ ॥
जीच्या या सुचरित होय पूर्वजांनें। हें ज्यांच्या बल चढतें सदा भुजांचें ॥
आभासे वतन जयांस देसमूखीं। राज्यश्री परियुत वानिती सुमूखीं ॥ ६२ ॥
जीच्या या हृदयिं नसे कही कुडायी। सेनेनें करवि परांसवें लडायी ॥
पुंडांची सकलिक मोडिते पुंडायी। दुष्टाची तुडवि घडीमधें लडायी ॥ ६४ ॥
जेयाचा गल न वदे दुजी सुभद्रा। आभूषा शुभ सुमुखी मधें सुभद्रा ॥
सेवीते स्वपतिस द्रौपदीसमाना। बैसोनी सुपतिसमीप हीस माना ॥ ६५ ॥
जीची हे परम विशाल रुंद वेणी। शोभेती दृढ पदरीं जसी त्रिवेणी ॥
राही जे अनुपम कुंकुमें ललाटी। जीच्या या नमति अनेक जीसलाटी ॥ ६६ ॥
शोभे ती स्मरधनुतुल्य भोवयाही। जीच्या या सुगड समस्त स्वास याही।
वर्णानें भ्रमर समान थोर डोळे। जीचे जे पतिवचनीं अखंड डोले ॥ ६७ ॥
चंद्राच्या द्युतिहुनिया मुखास कांती। जें हांसे हलु हलु फार कौतुकांतीं ॥
नाकातें निरखुनि जाय काय रांवा[२८]। धाकानें करि फिरतां वनीं सरांवा ॥ ६८ ॥
ओष्ठांनीं परिहरुनी प्रवाललीला। चित्ताला हरिपतिच्या करी सुलीला ॥
नारिंगोपम मिरवेति गंड दोनी। जे प्रेमें स्वपतिस रीझवी वदोनी ॥ ६९ ॥
ब्रह्मयानें मृदुपण सर्व घेवुनीया। पद्मांचे निज हृदयीं विचारुनीयां ॥
हे केले अघटित गल्ल होति हातें। जीचें हें सखिकुल कौतुकें पहातें ॥ ७० ॥
जीचे हे मिरवति कर्ण हेमसिंपी। प्रेमें जे कवितरुंला धनेंच सिंपी ॥
आभासे घनवट[२९] तुल्य जांवळासी। जीची हे हनवटि नीट ये दिलासी ॥ ७१ ॥
जीचीं हें तरल मनोघ थोर पातीं। पाहीना पतिविन भानु दृष्टिपातीं ॥
जे नांदे हितकर मावली भवानी। आनंदें सकल जहान[३०] जीस वानी ॥ ७२ ॥
येवूनी मुखकमलांत काय वाणी[३१]। राहे हे वदत असे असीच वाणी ॥
भूषेचें सहज महत्व कोण वर्णी। जे न्हाणी कविमणिला सदा सुवर्णी ॥ ७३ ॥
पाहीना पतिस कदापि वक्र दृष्टी। सौभाग्यें भरित शची परी अदृष्टीं ॥
स्वामीसीं मधुर रसाल कंबुकंठी। जे बोले बहु दिस राति लागि कंठी ॥ ७४ ॥
साध्वींची मुकुटमणी धणी न माता। लोकांची विदित जयेसि शास्त्र माता ॥
जीचे हे अनुपम बाहु भूषणांनीं। शोभेती घटित अनेक लक्षणांनीं ॥ ७५ ॥

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२६. हुमाणी = ठोसा, आघात. २७. सुर्व्यांचें हित पाहणारे शिर्के कारभारी होते.
२८. रावा = पोपट. २९. घनवट = घडण. ३०. जहान = जग.
३१. वाणी = सरस्वती.

गंगेसी सहित मनांत शंभु राहे। जो प्रेमें करि सगुणा गृहीं स्वराहे ॥
गौरीचा वर अवतार जे जयेला। तो शाहुक्षितिपतिनाथ लाधियेला ॥ ७६ ॥
आणोनी मृदुदल काय कल्पवेली। हस्तश्री विरचित शोभते नवेली ॥
कीं चिंतामणि क्षणि सार घेवुनीया। धात्यानें घटित रसास मानुनीयां ॥ ७७ ॥
इंद्राच्या उपवनिच्या सुवर्ण केली। पानांच्या मृदुलपणें असेल केली।
ह जीचें अतिशुभ पृष्ठ नीट मांडे। जे वाढी सुगड पतीस नित्य मांडे ॥ ७८ ॥
जीचे हे अतिनत मान मानसाला। येते ही जर्हि तर्हि मान्य माणसाला ॥
बैसे हो इठमणि हेमदाभ[३२] माजी। येकांतीं बहु विलसे प्रभा समाजीं ॥ ७९ ॥
जीचें हो उदर लघु प्रमाण मात्रें। राहेती अनुदिन त्यांत अर्धमात्रें।
गंगेचा अनुपम भोंवरा जसा हा। नाभीचा सकल विलासही तसा हा ॥ ८० ॥
शुंडेच्या परम जयें मनांत हाती। लाजे हें सखिजन संभ्रमें पहाती ॥
हस्तानें तनु रचिली असे विधीनें। जीची जे पतिस जपे महा विधीनें ॥ ८१ ॥
रंभेनें दचकुनियां वनांत बागीं। वस्तीला परि रचिल्या अनेक बागी।
ऐसें हें सखिजन अंग येक जाणे। जे साध्वी पतिविण इच्छिला न जाणें ॥ ८२ ॥
शेषाला धृतिमति मंदता दुणावे। कोणे हे तनुगुण येवडे गणावे।
स्वर्णाच्या अघटित होति काय वाद्या। जीच्या या अनुपम भासताति वाद्या ॥ ८३ ॥
जीची या अधिक जगामधें तितिक्षा[३३]। स्वामीची करित असे सदा प्रतीक्षा ॥
साजेती शुभ गुण गूढ फार घोटे। जीला कीं जलपति वाचुनी न घोंटे ॥ ८४ ॥
पाठीची द्युति अति कूर्मनायकाची। राहे या वसतिस पावुलीं फुकाची ॥
चंद्राची बहुत नखांस कांति काली। सारें ही कवि पढती असें सकालीं ॥ ८५ ॥
पाहातां सजवज[२४] अंगुलींस काच्या। चांप्यांच्या घडति कल्या पहा फुकाच्या ॥
देहाची परम रमा असी विराजे। जीच्या या नमिति जयेस राव राजे ॥ ८६ ॥
जीचे हे प्रबल महाधिक प्रभावें। मायेचे कुल महशूरसे स्वभावें ॥
धर्मश्री अकुटिल जीस फार राते। जे देते कविस घडी घटी वरातें[३४] ॥ ८७ ॥
तारांची परि गणती घडेल केली। सीमा ही जलनिधिची दिसेल केली ॥
शाहूच्या गुणगण पट्टसुंदरीचे। कोणी हीन गणिति थोरसे परींचे ॥ ८८ ॥
अगणित बहु जीचे भूमि लोकीं पवाडे। कविवर पढताती सौख्य भूमीस वाडे ॥
अवनयनय[३५] जीचें पाविजेतां निवाडे। अनुपम यश ऐसें विभ्रमें पूर्ण वाढे ॥ ८९ ॥
श्री हिंदूपति पातशाह भुवनीं या शाहुजी भोसला। जाणें येवुनियां विपक्ष लवती नाना रिती नेसला ॥
वेगानें करिती तयासि विलसे जे पट्टराणी महा। नावानें सखवार थोर कविनीं ते वानिलीसी पहा ॥ ९० ॥

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३२. हेमदाभ = सुवर्ण कटिबंध.
३३. तितिक्षा = सहनशीलता. ३४. वरातें = वर देते. ३५. ?

सत्ता ऐसी विराजे सकलिक लवती संभ्रमें रावराजे। सौभाग्यश्रीच माजे घडि घडि
अपसे वाजती थोर बाजे ॥
स्वामीची प्रीति गाजे अनुदिन बरवे पालिते या जगा जे। शाहु क्षोणींद्र राणी सुरपति
रमणीहूनि अत्यंत साजे ॥ ९१ ॥

जाचा हा शक आजि चालत असे श्रीविक्रमार्कापरी। जो राजा महशूर शूर विलसे
लोकांत इंद्रापरी॥
जाला हे सखवार पट्टरमणी लक्ष्मीपरी शोभते। त्या शाहुक्षितिपास आस जगतीं
पावूनिया लोभते ॥ ९२ ॥

पायीं या ऊर्ध्वरेखा सकलिक जगतीं मस्तकीं ऊर्ध्व लेखा। वज्रश्री अंकुशश्री तदुपरि बरवें
त्या ध्वजश्रीस देखा ॥
द्रव्याचा हो न लेखा करि करकमलीं साजती दिव्य रेखा। जीच्या जे शाहुराणी असति
बहु सख्या या जिला थोर सेखा ॥ ९३ ॥

जीची मानवती पवित्र जननी भूमंडलीं गाजते। जे कीं मानवती स्वयें असुनियां
स्वामीसि आराधिते॥
धर्माला बल वाढवोनि बरवें विप्रांसि जोपाविते। शाहूची सखवार पट्टरमणी अंबेहुनि
शोभते ॥ ९४ ॥

जाणे शास्त्रार्थ चर्चा सुरपति सदरेमाजि होताति चर्चा। खर्चायाला द्विजांला बकसिस
करिते कोश अत्यंत घर्चा॥
सद्रत्नाचा पदर्चा वितरण करिते राशि अत्यंत वर्चा। नानापर्चाच शाहु क्षितिपति रमणी
वाढवी देवतार्चा ॥ ९५ ॥

पोसीती विप्र गायी म्हणवुनि फुलल्या भूतलीं कीर्ति जायी। नेले अस्तासि डायी करवुनि
समरीं सैनिकांसी लडायी॥
गाती हें आयिबायी निजवर सुदती युक्त नांदे निधायी। या लोकीं शाहुराजा धनपति
दुसरा भासतो जो सवायी ॥ ९६ ॥

होती दारीं नगारे म्हणउनि चढती सागराला फुगारे। भानूची कांति गारे अकल सकलसे
तेज जाला उगारे ॥
शत्रुश्रेणी विगारे समरमखमुखीं होति मांसास्थि गारे। फोजाचे हे ढिगारे जन्हि तन्हि
कविचा शाहुराजास गारे ॥ ९७ ॥

माद्रीसी तुल्य साध्वी पद बहु मिरवे या युगीं श्रीविशेषें। जीला जे येक शेषें निजमुख-
कमलीं वानिजेते अशेषें ॥
नेते अस्तास दोषी अति अधिक भजे शंकराला प्रदोषीं। शाहूची पट्टराणी अगणित
महिमा वाढवी दानघोषीं ॥ ९८ ॥

विष्णूचा अंश साक्षात् क्षितिवरि मिरवे शाहुराजा प्रभावें। लक्ष्मीचा अंश जाला प्रतिदिन
नमिते पट्टराणी स्वभावें ॥
जेणें विश्वांत हिंदू अति अधिक बलें वाढवीले प्रतापें। इंदूसी तुल्य कीर्ती विखरुनि
अवघीं खंडिलीं होति पापें ॥ ९९ ॥

फत्ते आंजणवेलि गोवलदुजा हा कोठ केला जिणें। जीची थोर कृपा कवींद्र म्हणुनी पावे यशातें जिणें ॥
श्रीशाहुक्षितिपालपट्टरमणी कीर्ति प्रभामंजरी। नावें काव्य असें असे विरचिली जेथें कथा साजिरी ॥ १०० ॥
श्री गोविंद पहा जयासि पणजा आनंद आजा जया। जाला दत्तहि तात आणि चुलता हे श्रीधराख्या जया ॥
या काव्यीं पहिलाच सर्ग वहिला तेणें असे गुंफिला। श्रोत्यांनीं हृदयीं दया धरुनियां आतां असे मानिला ॥ १०१ ॥

इति श्रीमदभिनवसौभाग्य परंपराप्रभाव [३६]भिरितायीं राजाधिराजकीर्तिप्रभामंजर्यां निवासकरगोविंदकवींद्रपल्लवितायां प्रथमः सर्गः ॥ १ ॥ श्री ॥

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३६. 'भि'च्या ऐवजीं 'भ' पाहिजे.

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स्थानपोथी

ह. ना. नेने, एम्.ए., एल्.टी., उमरावती

देशान् पुण्यान् संश्रयेत मद्भक्तैः साधुभिः श्रितान् । भागवत ११-२९-१०

तैसेंचि गंगेचां उभयकुळीं । नांदीजे अवतारीं सकळीं ।
वरी परमेश्वराचां चरणकमळीं । जालीं महातीर्थ ॥

आतां संमिश्रें असती अपार । वाराणसी सैंह्याद्र लोणार
प्रतिष्ठान त्र्यंबक येळोर । उभयकुळीं गौतमी ॥

वांकीमहात्म्य, कविडिंभ, अध्याय २, ओवी २७, ३२.

१. **पूर्व माहिती :** श्री. आप्पासाहेब देशपांडे यांनीं 'महानुभावीय मराठी वाङ्मयांत,' पान ४०-४१ वर प्रस्तुत 'स्थानपोथी'ची थोडीशी माहिती दिली आहे. कुमरेआम्नायांतील मुनिव्यास (पूर्वाश्रमींचे पंडित कमळाकर अयाचित) यांनीं, महानुभाव पंथांतील पूज्य तीर्थस्थानांची नोंद करून, जीर्ण अवशेषांची सुधारणा केली. हें कार्य शके १२७५ च्या सुमारास झालें. कै. भावे यांच्या 'कविकाव्यसूचींत' (पान २२ पहा) ही नोंद केली आहे. यासंबंधीं अधिक माहिती, 'नारोबहाळे' कृत 'ऋद्धपुरवर्णन' या काव्याच्या प्रस्तावनेंत, ऋद्धपूर (रिधपूर) संबंधीं माहिती देतांना श्री. आप्पासाहेब देशपांडे यांनीं दिली असून, त्या गांवासंबंधीं विविध स्थळांची माहिती देणारा 'स्थानपोथींतील' विस्तीर्ण उतारा 'परिशिष्टांत' त्यांनीं दिला आहे. तसेंच 'शारदाश्रमवार्षिक' मध्यें 'श्रीचक्रपाणी-चरित्र' याच्याविषयीं माहिती देतांना 'फलटण' चें वर्णन देणारें 'अवतरण' त्या ठिकाणीं दिलें आहे. प्रस्तुत 'स्थानपोथींत.' इतकें विस्तृत वर्णन नाहीं. हा उतारा ज्या पोथींतील आहे, त्या पोथीची प्रत मला पाहण्यास मिळाली. तींत 'मातापूर' (माहूर) वर्णन व 'फलटणवर्णन' असून, इतर 'स्थानपोथींत' आढळणारी माहितीही आहे.

२. ***'लीळाचरित्र व स्थानपोथी'***: लीळाचरित्राचा अभ्यास करतांना, 'स्थानपोथी'-कडे माझें विशेष लक्ष गेलें. महामहोपाध्याय प्रि. मिराशी यांचें 'रामटेक' विषयक संशोधन, तसेंच हैद्राबाद (दक्षिण) येथें उपलब्ध झालेल्या यादवकालीन ताम्रपटाचें त्यांचें संशोधन यांत आलेल्या स्थळांची माहिती पुष्कळशी 'स्थानपोथी'तील माहितीशीं जमली. श्री. गुप्ते, पुणें यांनीं 'सिन्नर' येथील प्राचीन माहिती देतांना केलेले उल्लेख, भिल्लमठ व इतर देवळें यांची माहिती 'स्थानपोथी'ला पोषकच आहे हें पाहून, 'नेवासें भिल्लमठ' यासंबंधीं माहिती देणारा लेख 'भारत इतिहास संशोधक मंडळा' पुढें मीं वाचला. तसेंच 'लोणार' येथील 'धारें'संबंधीं कोर्टात वादविवाद चालू असतांना, कमिशनपुढें 'स्थानपोथी' वरून, तें

स्थान अनेक वर्षांपासून हिंदूंचें कसें आहे, याविषयीं साधार साक्ष दिली. तसेंच बऱ्हाडांतील अळजपुर (एलीचपूर), 'पातुर' वगैरे स्थळांची माहिती प्रत्यक्ष गोळा केलेली, 'स्थानपोथी'शीं जुळती आहे, हेंहि माझ्या अनुभवास आलें. 'लीळाचरित्र' वाचनास या पोथीचा निःसंशय फायदा झाला. त्यामुळें सर्व पोथीचा उतारा सांकेतिक लिपींतून सरळ बालबोध लिपींत करून त्याचा अभ्यास चालू केला. स्थळांचा नकाशा करणें हें काम महत्त्वाचें वाटून त्याला प्रारंभ केला. पण हें काम वाटलें तितकें सोपें नाहीं, असा अनुभव आला. त्यामुळें 'स्थानपोथी' प्रसिद्ध करून बाकीचें काम नंतर करावें असें ठरविलें.

प्रि. मिराशी, पुण्याचे डॉ. दीक्षित, शंकरराव जोशी, महामहोपाध्याय पोतदार इत्यादिकांनीं या कामीं प्रोत्साहन दिल्याबद्दल मी त्यांचा ऋणी आहें. महंतांनीं पोथ्या दाखवून, त्या वापरण्याची परवानगी देऊन उपकृत केलें म्हणून त्यांचे आभार मानणें जरूर आहे.

३. **'स्थानपोथी'चीं जुनीं हस्तलिखितें:** गेल्या १० वर्षांत या पोथीच्या निरनिराळ्या जुन्या हस्तलिखित प्रती १५–२० तरी पाहिल्या असतील. त्यांतील ३–४ पोथ्यांवर लेखनकाळ होता. एक पोथी पंधराव्या शतकाच्या उत्तरार्धांतील होती, एक सोळाव्याच्या प्रारंभींची होती; एक सतराव्या शतकाच्या उत्तरार्धांतील होती; व आज ज्या पोथीवरून मीं निबंध तयार करीत आहें, ती शके १५६५ मधील आहे. तिची लिपी 'सकळा' नामक सांकेतिक असून, पाठपोठ पानें ६२ आहेत. प्रत्येक पानांत सामान्यत: १७ ओळी असून, प्रत्येक ओळींत ८-९ शब्द आहेत. या पोथींत शब्दांचे संकेत अनेक असल्यानें व 'लीळा चारित्रांतील' लीळांचे व स्थानांचे अनेक उल्लेख यांत येत असल्यानें, पोथीचें वाचन व अभ्यास जरा त्रासाचींच आहेत.

४. **प्रस्तुत हस्तलिखिताचा लेखनकाल :** "शके १५६५ वीक्रम संवत्सरे : श्रावण मासे : कृष्णपक्षे : वार सोम : तिथी बारसी : दोन प्रहरीं लेखन संपूर्ण जालें : हस्ताक्षेर कपाटीया मंडळ सुत साइदमुनि : तयाचे जाणिजे : वाचीता वीजया हो :" वरील सूक्ष्म कालदर्शक माहितीवरून पोथी, तीनशें वर्षांची जुनी आहे. अक्षरवाटिका, कागद व विशिष्ट बांधणी यांवरून वरील गोष्टीस दुजोराच मिळतो.

५. **पोथीचा आरंभ व शेवट :** श्री परेशाय नमः फलेठाणीं कऱ्हाडे या ब्राह्मणांचा घरीं अवतार स्वीकारु : ॥६॥: मातापुरीं दोही देवा भेटि :, फलटण गांवीं कऱ्हाडे ब्राह्मणाच्या कुलांत श्रीचक्रपाणी अथवा श्रीचांगदेव राऊळ यांनीं अवतार धारण केला; कांहीं वर्षांनीं ते माहूर येथें गेले, तेथें 'श्रीदत्तात्रयप्रभु' यांची व्याघ्रवेषाने भेट होऊन, श्रीदत्ताचें वरदान त्यांना मिळालें. प्रकाशित 'लीळाचरित्राचा' 'एकांक' भागांतील आरंभाचा मजकूर वाचल्यास, वरील भागांतील उल्लेख स्पष्टपणें कळून येईल. पोथींतील प्रकरणें संपतांना मधून मधून 'एवं पूर्वार्धस्थानें संपूर्ण' 'एवं उत्तरार्धस्थानें संपूर्ण' व शेवटीं 'एवं ऋद्धपूर स्थानें संपूर्ण' असे उल्लेख येतात. त्यावरून 'लीळाचारित्र' व 'श्रीगोविंदप्रभु चरित्र' यांतील स्थानें प्रस्तुत पोथींत आहेत, हें दिसून येईल.

६. **स्थानपोथींतील गांवांची संख्या :** एका 'स्थानपोथी'च्या शेवटीं पुढील उतारा

आहे. गंगातीरी[1] आमुचेया[2] गोसावीयांचे[3] गांव: एकांक: २१: वराडी[4] गांव: ३६: गंगे उत्तरे मेहंकरा[5]-येळापुरा[5] मध्यें गांव: ३८: तल्हाटी:[6] ९ आतां रावसगावो त्रिअंबकु उभे थडी:[7] ८१ बलेघाट[8] :२६: खालाटी बीड[9] बेलापूर[9] :२३: एवं आमुचेया गोसावीयांचे गांव: २३६:[10] आतां ८ गांव दोहीं[11] देवाचे:[11] श्री प्रभुगोसावीयांचे[12] गांव :३६: आमचेया गोसावीयांचे गांव :२३६: एवं दोही देवाचे गांव[13] :२६९: इति समग्रस्थानें संपूर्णः '

' शारंगर भोजने ' यांच्या ' तीर्थमाळिका ' स्तोत्रांवरून पाहतां हीं गांवें एकंदर २२५ च्या सुमारास येतात. त्या प्रत्येक गांवांतील ' वंदनीय ' स्थळांची नोंद पाहिल्यास ती संख्या मोठीच भरते. सारांश, 'स्थानपोथींत' आलेल्या २००-२२५ गांवांवरून, पूर्वीच्या ' महाराष्ट्राची ' कल्पना येण्याजोगी आहे. 'उभय गंगातीर' या शब्दाचा अर्थ 'गोदावरीचा' उभय कांठ, असा करावयास पाहिजे, असें श्री. महामहोपाध्याय पोतदार यांना नम्रपणें सुचवावेंसें वाटतें.

हीं गांवें झाडीमंडळ, नागपूर, वऱ्हाड, पूर्व खानदेश, नाशिक, अहमदनगर, औरंगाबाद, बीड, इत्यादि भागांतील आहेत. गांवांचीं नांवें देऊन जागा अडवत नाहीं.

७. **कांहीं गांवांचीं नांवें**: कांहीं गांवांचीं नांवें इतक्या दीर्घ काळांत बदललीं असल्यास नवल नाहीं. हिवरळी (जालना), डोमेग्राम (कमालपूर), देवगिरी (दौलताबाद), पुरी (शहागड), इत्यादिकांत वरील म्हणण्याची प्रतीति येते. कांहीं नांवांचा उच्चार बदलत बदलत आला आहे; जसें : पैठण (प्रतिष्ठान), देगांव (देहगांव), देवग्राम, भामाठाण (भामस्थान), नेवासें (निम्बिवास), पेहरासंगम (प्रवरासंगम), काचराळा (येथें 'काचरेश्वर' आहे), लाखेपुरी (येथें 'लक्ष्मणेश्वर' आहे), वामोरी (वामपुरी), अळजपुर (अळर्कपूर), मेहकर (मेघंकर), कोळेश्वर (येथें 'कोडेश्वरा'चें देऊळ), विंझवासिनी (विंध्यवासिनी), नेऊरगांव (नेपुरग्राम), रामटेक (भोगराम, सिंदुरगिरि), इत्यादि. मराठी व्युत्पत्तीच्या दृष्टीनें गांवांच्या नांवांचा विचार करण्याजोगा आहे.

८. **मूळ पोथीचा काल** : मला उपलब्ध झालेल्या कोणत्याही 'स्थानपोथींत' शेवटीं मूळपोथीचा लेखनकाल किंवा रचणाऱ्याचें नांव दिलेलें नाहीं. पण पोथींत मधून मधून पुढील उल्लेख येतात; जसें:'वासना', 'एकीवासना', 'एक म्हणति', 'एकमहानुभव म्हणति', 'शोध', 'मार्गरूढी', रामेश्वरव्यास, परशुरामव्यास, हिराइसा, इत्यादि. श्री. वामन नारायण देशपांडे यांनीं प्रसिद्ध केलेल्या ' स्मृतिस्थळा 'च्या प्रस्तावनेंत कालनिर्देशाची चर्चा करतांना, पान ७-१० यांवर यांचें स्पष्टीकरण आलें आहे. त्यावरून 'स्थानपोथींत' अधिक भर पडत गेली असावी, असें दिसतें. 'लीळाचरित्रा'चे 'संशोधनकार' व 'स्थानपोथींचे' संशोधनकार एकच असले पाहिजेत.

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१. गोदावरी. २. श्रीचक्रधर. ३. श्रीचक्रधर एकटे हिंडतांना. ४. वऱ्हाडांतील.
५. वऱ्हाडांतील बुलढाणा जिल्ह्यापासून तों ' दौलताबाद वेरूळ ' यांच्यामध्यें.
६. पायथ्याला. ७. गोदावरीच्या उभय तीरांवर. ८. सातपुड्यामधील.
९. सोलापूर, अहमदनगर पूर्वभागीं. १०. बेरीज २३४ पाहिजे.
११. श्रीचक्रधर व त्यांचे गुरु श्रीगोविंदप्रभु. १२. श्रीगोविंदप्रभु.
१३. बेरीज २७२ येते.

पुढें स्थानपोथींतील एक विस्तृत 'अवतरण' दिलें आहे, त्यावरून लीळाचारित्रांतील 'लीळा' व 'स्थानपोथी' यांचा कसा घनिष्ठ संबंध आहे, हें कळून येईल.

श्रीचक्रधरांचें 'उत्तरापंथें गमन' परंपरेप्रमाणें शके ११९४-९५ मध्यें झालें. श्री गोविंद प्रभु यांचा निर्याणकाळ शके १२०८-१२०९ आहे. श्री नागदेव शके १२२४ मध्यें 'काळधर्मास' गेले. श्रीचक्रधरांचें वियोगदुःख सहन झालें नाहीं, म्हणून 'रिधपूर' येथें श्रीगोविंदप्रभूकडे सर्वजण आले. तेथेंच श्रीनागदेव यांच्या नजरेखालीं 'महानुभाव वाङ्मयाच्या' आरंभींच्या घटना घडल्या. श्री गोविंदप्रभु यांचा निर्याणकाल झाल्यावर, मनाला आराम वाटावा म्हणून, श्रीनागदेव, महदाईसा, आउसा, भाईदेव व्यास, वगैरे तीर्थाटनास निघून निरनिराळ्या ठिकठिकाणीं ते कसे गेले, याची स्थूल कल्पना 'स्मृतिस्थळ' या ग्रंथांतील पुढील अवतरणावरून येईल.

'भटोबासा : भक्तजनां : थोर दुःख जालें : मग तेणेंचि दुःखं भटोबास गंगातीरासि आले : सरिसे लक्ष्मीधरबा,[१४] भाईदेवबा,[१५] माहादाईसे,[१६] कोथळोबा.[१७] पोमाइसें,[१८] साधें,[१८] मुख्य आणिकेंही : ऐसें रावसगांवापासौनि डोमेग्राम वेन्ही थडी नमस्करिली : प्रतिष्ठानी पंचरात्रीं घातली : अवधें नगर सव्य घालौनि नमस्कारीलें : मग वृधासंगमा जोगेश्वरीहुनि खडकुळिये आले : मग पेहरा संगमा नेउरगांवीहुनि छिन्नपापासि आले : ... मग भटोबास सर्व शिष्यांसहित डोंबेग्रामांतु आले : जगतीचा दारवंठा दंडवत घातलें :' — स्मृतिस्थळ.

वरील गोष्ट १२०८ ते १२१० च्या सुमारची आहे.

लीळाचरित्राच्या 'एका पाठांत' असाच तीर्थाटनासंबंधीं उल्लेख आहे. नागदेवाचार्यांच्या आज्ञेनें, भाईदेवबास, पंडितबास, केशिराजबास हे तीर्थाटन करून आले. सारांश, चक्रधरचरणांकित पवित्र स्थळांची तीर्थयात्रा करण्याची 'प्रथा' पडून ती चालू होती हें स्पष्ट दिसतें. त्यानंतर दक्षिणेंत यादवांची सत्ता जाऊन मुसलमानी अंमल चालू झाला. अशा काळांत कमळाकर अयाचित कोठी यांनीं तीर्थस्थानांची पुनः दुरुस्ती केली, असा उल्लेख 'अन्वय स्थळांत' व इतरत्र सांपडतो. 'स्थानपोथी'च्या पोथ्या 'सकळां' लिपींत आढळतात. तेव्हां परंपरेच्या माहितीवरून तेराव्या शतकाच्या शेवटीं 'स्थानपोथी'ला विशिष्ट स्वरूप येणें शक्य आहे. तसेंच 'लीळाचरित्राचा' मूळ खरडा हरवल्यावर, केलेले संशोधनाचे प्रयत्न हे तेराव्या शतकाच्या अखेर व चौदाव्याच्या पूर्वार्धांत, रामेश्वरबास, परशुरामबास, इत्यादींकडून झाल्यानें, स्थानपोथींत 'शोध' 'मार्गरूढी' 'रामेश्वरबास' 'हिराइसा' इत्यादि शोधदर्शक शब्द आल्यास नवल नाहीं. कसेंही असो. मला उपलब्ध झालेल्या कोणत्याही हस्तलिखितांत, स्थानपोथी मूलतः अमक्यानें, अमुक वेळीं लिहिली, असें

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१४. लक्ष्मीद्रव्यास. १५. 'पूजावसर' कर्ते भाईदेव व्यास.

१६. 'धवळें' करणारी महदंबा.

१७. श्रीगोविंदप्रभु शिष्य; कोथळोबांना 'चक्रधरांनीं' गीता सांगितली.

१८. श्रीचक्रधरांच्या शिष्यिणी.

नोंद केलेलें नाहीं. परंपरेचा कालशक शके १२७५ आहे. पण त्यामध्यें चौदाव्या शतकापर्यंत संशोधनानुसार थोडी भर पडत गेली.

९. 'सूत्रपाठ' व 'स्थानपोथी' ची तात्त्विक भूमिका : 'परमेश्वर भज्य : संबंधु वंद्य :' (आचार, सूत्र १८५), 'एथचेया संबंधा गेले तेतुले बोटे गोटे तुम्हां नमस्करणीये कीं गा:' (आचार, सूत्र १८६), 'संबंध व्यक्त : व्यक्तसबंधीं प्रसन्नता परमेश्वरू निक्षेपिती : मग आपुला संबंधु देती : म्हणौनि संबंधु वंद्य :' (आचारमालिका, सूत्र १३०), स्थान, प्रसाद, बासनिक, भिक्षु; परमेश्वराचें स्मरण करतांना, परमेश्वरी अवतारभूत व्यक्तीच्या संबंधांत, त्यामध्यें परमेश्वरी प्रसन्नतेचा व कृपेचा निक्षेप संचार झाल्यानें, त्या त्या वस्तू, त्या त्या व्यक्ती, तीं तीं स्थानें, वंदनीय-स्मरणीय-पूजनीय मानावीं, असा श्रीचक्रधरांचा उपदेश आहे. तसेंच 'स्मृतिस्थळांत' ही स्थानांचें महत्त्व वर्णिलें आहे; 'जया तीर्था जाईजे : तेथचीया लीळा आठवीजती: तेथ तें स्मरण' (स्मृतिस्थळ, ३९). अशा रीतीनें तीर्थयात्रेची सोय करणारी तीर्थांचा नामनिर्देश करणारी पोथी तयार झाली असावी. लीळा चरित्रांतील लीळा वाचत असतां, बऱ्याच ठिकाणीं ते ते स्थानदर्शक उल्लेख अजून पुष्कळ सांपडतात. 'स्थानपोथींत' केवळ स्थाननिर्देश केला आहे, इतकेंच नव्हे, तर कोणता प्रसंग घडला, कोण व्यक्ती होत्या, कोणत्या स्थानीं त्या गोष्टी घडल्या, त्या स्थळाची खूण काय, वगैरे सूक्ष्म वर्णन तेथें येतें. सविस्तर लीळा, लीळाचरित्रांत उपलब्ध आहेत. सारांश स्थानांना महत्त्व देऊन थोडक्यांत प्रसंगाची नोंद, लीळाचरित्राच्या आधारें, स्थानपोथींत केली आहे. शब्द व शब्दसमूह जवळ जवळ तेच आहेत. याचा अर्थ असा कीं, लीळाचरित्रावर जशा अनेक पोथ्या अधिष्ठित झाल्या, तीच स्थानपोथीची गोष्ट आहे.

१०. स्थानपोथींतील पुढील अवतरण 'नाशिक' विषयक आहे. हें स्थान पुष्कळांना परिचयाचें असल्यानें 'स्थानपोथी' काय म्हणते, व निरूपणाची पद्धति कशी आहे, हें वाचकांना कळून येईल :

नाशिकसंबंधीं अवतरण

मग गोसावी श्रीनगरीहुनि[१९] बीजें[२०] केलें :[२०] नासीकासि : पंचवटीयें : अवस्थान :[२१] दीस २० : रामनाथा अग्ने गुंफा दोनि : एकि पूर्वाभिमूख:।: एकि उत्तराभिमूख:।: आंगणी मादनेस्थान:[२२] जगतीचा[२३] दारवठा[२४] पूर्वाभिमूख:।: गुंफेसि दक्षिणे परिश्रएस्थान:।:[२५] रामनाथाचे देऊळ पूर्वाभिमूख: रामनाथा उत्तरे आदीत्याचें देऊळ: पूर्वाभिमूख:।: महालक्ष्मीचें देऊळ पूर्वाभिमूख:।: गणेशाचें देऊळ उत्तराभिमूख:।: जगतीचा[२३] दारवठा[२४] पूर्वाभिमूख:।: शोध[२६] आदीत्याचीए जगती आंतु सोमनाथाचें देऊळ उत्तराभिमूख:।: मध्यें विनायकाचें देऊळ: एवं वीहरण[२७] स्थानें:[२७] रामनाथा नैऋत्येकोनी मार्गी[२८] उजवीया हाता

१९. सिन्नरहून.

२०. गमन केलें. २१. वाहणें. २२. स्नान करण्याची जागा. २३. भिंत.

२४. दरवाजा. २५. 'परसाकडे' जाण्याची जागा.

२६. यानंतर नवीन माहिती.

२७. अटन करण्याची जागा. २८. रस्ता.

आश्रा : तेथ आसन : नाथोबा[२९] श्रीकेशदर्शनी बिस्मयो :।: कपाळेश्वराचें देऊळ पश्चिमाभिमुखः तयासि आग्ने गुंफा पूर्वाभिमूखः उत्तरे देउळी पूर्वाभिमूखः पूर्वे खीडकीः[३०] शोधु : एक म्हणति : वरूणासंगमीं गोसावी चरणचारी[३१] उभे[३१] असति : गंगा उतरुनि : चासा[३२] ऐलाडि आसन : शोध चासा पैलाडि आसन : शोध डोहापसिमे लींगा[३३] जवळि चरणचारी उभे असति : बाइसें निर्बुजली :[३४] जळसेन : जळसेनाचा घाट : जळसेनुनि बीजें करणें : सुंदरासि :[३५] सुंदराचें देऊळ पूर्वाभिमूख : जगतीचा दारवठा : पूर्वाभिमूखः खीडकी[३०] उत्तरे : दुसरा दारवठा दक्षिणे :।: पंचायत्नीं[३६] आसन :। पंचायत्न पूर्वाभिमूख : जगतीचा दारवठा पूर्वाभिमूख : गांवांतु काळीकेचा देउळी वसति : काळिकेचें देऊळ पूर्वाभिमूख : शोध : त्रिरात्रि अवस्थान : एक म्हणति : शाळांक तीर्थी आसन : नाशीकीचीं स्थानें : ३० :॥⊙॥

११. **अवतरणाचें सूक्ष्म अवलोकन :** लीळा चरित्राच्या पूर्वार्धाच्या पहिल्या भागांत पान ५४ ते ५८ नाशीक पंचवटीच्या लीळा वर्णिल्या आहेत. तेथें ते आपल्या शिष्यांसह 'सिन्नर' कडून 'भीलम-मढा'हून आले होते. नंतर थोडा मुक्काम झाल्यानंतर, 'गोवर्धन-त्र्यंबक-अंजनी' असें जाऊन परत नाशिकास आले.

नाशिक पंचवटीच्या गुंफेंत राहिले होते. राहण्याचे प्रकार अनेक, त्याप्रमाणें शब्द वेगवेगळे. नुसतें कांहीं वेळ उभे असले तर 'चरणचारी;' खालीं बसून कांहीं अधिक वेळ राहिले तर 'आसन;' त्याहून अधिक तर 'वसति' किंवा 'कुडी वसति;' हें राहाणें जर एक रात्र किंवा दोन रात्रींचें असलें तर 'वसति' म्हटली जाते, त्याहून अधिक तर 'कुडी वसति;' पण यापेक्षां अधिक काळ गेला तर 'अवस्थान' शब्द वापरतात. येथें मुक्काम २० दिवस होता, म्हणून 'अवस्थान' शब्द वापरला. 'रामाच्या' देवळाच्या नैऋत्य कोनीं थोडें बसले तेव्हां 'आसन' शब्द योजला. 'वरुणासंगमा' जवळ 'चरणचारी' होते, तेथें 'आसन' नव्हतें. 'पंचायतनाच्या' देवळांत 'आसन' झालें, पण 'वसति, अवस्थान' वगैरे नाहीं. गांवांत 'काळिकेच्या' देवळांत 'वसति' झाली. सारांश, मुक्कामाचा वेळ किती, त्यावरून निरनिराळे शब्द वापरले जातात, इतकी सूक्ष्मता यांत दिसते.

गुंफा होती, तर तिचें मुख कोणत्या दिशेला, कोणत्या भागाजवळ, तेथें कशा कशाची सोय होती, याचा बारीक विचार केलेला दिसतो. मुख्य रामनाथाचें देऊळ, त्याच्या अग्नयेस

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२९. लीळाचारित्र प्रसंग, नाथोबा हे चक्रधरांचे शिष्य; [लीळाचारित्र, भाग २, पूर्वार्ध खंड १ लें; पान ५७ पाहा.] चक्रधरांचे दोन शिष्य, नाथोबा व डखले चांगदेव भट. चांगदेवांनीं संन्यास घेतला नसल्यानें, त्यांना केस होते. नाथोबा व चांगदेव सारखेच दिसत. तेव्हां नाथोबांना नित्य पाहणाऱ्यांना आश्चर्य वाटलें कीं नाथोबांचे इतके केस एकदम कसे वाढले.

३०. मोठ्या भिंतीला असलेला लहान दरवाजा. ३१. पायांवर उभे; बसले नव्हते.

३२. नदीचा तास. ३३. महादेवाचें लहान देऊळ.

३४. गंगेंत बुडकुळी घेतली. (लीळाचारित्र, भाग २, पूर्वार्ध खंड १ लें, पा. ५४).

३५. सुंदर नारायण.

३६. पंचायतनीं (लीळाचारित्र, भाग २ रा, पूर्वार्ध खंड १ ला, पान ५४). चक्रधरांनीं औदास्य स्वीकार केला. ते भक्तजनांवर रागावले. व नदीकडे गेले. तेव्हां बाईसा तिकडे गेल्या. पण नदीचें पाणी अधिक असल्यानें बाईसा बुडूं लागल्या. मग चक्रधरांनीं त्यांना वर काढलें.

गुंफा. गुंफा दोन होत्या. त्यांचीं तोंडें निरनिराळ्या दिशेला. गुंफेच्या अंगणांत स्नानाची जागा (मादनें स्थान); देवळाला भोंवतालीं भिंत (जगती) होती, तिचा दरवाजा (दारवठा) पूर्वाभिमुख होता. गुंफेच्या दक्षिणेला 'परिश्रय' स्थान ('परसाकडे'ची जागा) होतें. इतकें सूक्ष्म वर्णन सांप्रतच्या लीळाचरित्रांत नाहीं, त्याचा अर्थ असा कीं, 'स्थानपोथी' रचना झाल्यावर, 'लीळाचरित्र' उतरून घेतांना या स्थानवर्णनाच्या बारकाव्याची जरूर वाटली नाहीं. 'रामनाथा'च्या बाजूला असलेलीं देवळें म्हणजे आदित्य, महालक्ष्मी, गणेश, यांचीं; यांना 'विहरण' स्थानें म्हणून म्हटलें आहे. येथें श्रीचक्रधर गेले असावेत; कारण हीं स्थानें गुंफेपासून जवळ आहेत. 'लीळाचरित्रांत' याचा निर्देश नाहीं, कारण येथें कांहीं घटना झालेली नसावी. पण भक्तजन जेव्हां यात्रेस जात, तेव्हां त्या ठिकाणीं हीं देवळें त्यांना आढळलीं; व त्यांचा निर्देश पोथींत घातला गेला.

पुढें 'शोध' शब्द येतो. याचा अर्थ असा कीं, एक महत्त्वाची पंथीय व्यक्ति[३७] त्या स्थळीं गेली असतां, 'आदित्याच्या' देवळाच्या भोंवतालच्या भिंती आंत 'सोमनाथ व विनायक' यांचीं देवळें आढळून आलीं. तीही निर्देश लिहिला गेला.

रामनाथाच्या नैॠत्य दिशेला मार्ग म्हणजे 'वाट' होती. तेथें उजव्या बाजूस आंब्याचें झाड होतें. भक्तजनांना तीर्थयात्रा करतांना ज्या 'खुणा' दिसल्या, त्या त्यांनीं 'लिखित' केल्या. पण लीळाचरित्राचा 'उतारा' करतांना, त्या महत्त्वाच्या असल्याशिवाय उतरल्या नाहींत.

'नाथोबा केशदर्शनी, स्त्री विस्मयो' हें छोटें वाक्य लीळाचरित्रांतील प्रसंग वर्णन करणारें आहे. एक बाई नदीवर नेहमीं येत असे, तेव्हां 'श्रीचक्रधरांच्या शिष्यांपैकीं चांगदेव भट, ज्यांचें मुंडन केलें होतें ते, तिला दिसत. एक दिवशीं चांगदेव गांवाला गेला होता, त्याच दिवशीं त्याचा जुळा भाऊ 'नाथोबा' चक्रधरांकडे आला. त्यानें संन्यास घेतलेला नव्हता. त्याच्या डोक्यावर केस होते. हे दोघे भाऊ अगदीं एकासारखे एक दिसत. बाईला हें माहीत नव्हतें. तेव्हां ती आपल्या मैत्रिणीला म्हणाली, कीं 'काल पाहिलें तर डोकें मुंडित होतें, आणि आज एकदम इतके केस कसे वाढले!'

लीळाचरित्राचें वाचन नसल्यास, हें प्रकरण काय आहे, याचा उलगडा होणार नाहीं. त्यामुळें केवळ स्थानपोथी वाचणें अवघड वाटतें.

कपाळेश्वराचें देऊळ, त्याच्या अग्नयेस गुंफा, उत्तरेस लहान देऊळ, पूर्वेच्या बाजूला 'खिडकी' (आवाराच्या भोंवतीं भिंत असली म्हणजे त्याचा मुख्य दरवाजा असतो; पण कधीं कधीं अगदीं लहान 'दार' आंत येण्यास असतें; त्याला 'खिडकी'[३८] म्हणतात).

या बाजूकडे येतांना चक्रधरांची उदासवृत्ति होती. हे आपल्या शिष्यगणांवर रागावून निघाले होते. ते 'वरूणासंगमाकडे' 'डोहाजवळ' गेले. त्यांची पट्टशिष्यीण बाईसा; त्यांना

३७. 'स्मृतिस्थळ,' प्रस्तावना, पान ८-१० पहा. संस्करणकारांची परंपरा म्हणजे कवीश्वर व्यास, परशराम व्यास, पेठे हारे व्यास, अचळ मुरारी, गुर्जर शिवबास अशी आहे.

३८. उमरावतीच्या तटाए, अशा खिडक्या म्हणजे 'लहान प्रवेश द्वारें' आहेत. आंबाबाईच्या देवळाकडे 'माता खिडकी आहे.' खिडकीचा आधुनिक अर्थ हा नाहीं.

घाटलें कीं चक्रधर डोहांत उडी घेतात काय; म्हणून बाईसा चक्रधरांच्या मागोमाग निघाल्या. नदीचें पाणी अधिक लागलें व त्या बुडूं लागल्या, तेव्हां 'बाबा' म्हणून ओरडल्या. मग चक्रधरांची दृष्टि तिकडे गेली व त्यांनीं बाईसांना वांचविलें. 'कपाळेश्वरीं' जाऊन भिजलेलें वस्त्र सोडून, कोरडें वस्त्र त्या नेसल्या.

ही घटना घडली कोठें ? 'रामाच्या देऊळीं असतांना' असें 'परशरामबास'[३९] म्हणतात; 'पंचायतनाच्या देऊळीं' असें 'रामेश्वरबास'[४०] म्हणतात.

'जळसेन, जळसेनाचा घाट, सुंदराचें देऊळ' याचा उल्लेख लीळाचरित्रांत नाहीं. तेव्हां डोहाजवळ हा घाट आहे कीं काय, अशी शंका येते.

यानंतर 'पंचायतना'च्या देवळांचा उल्लेख असून गांवांत 'काळिकेच्या देवळीं' चक्रधरांनीं 'वसति' केली, असें दिसतें. तेथें ते 'तीन रात्र' होते. 'एक म्हणति' म्हणजे कोणी महानुभाव म्हणतात कीं, 'शाळांक' तीर्थी श्रीचक्रधर थोडा वेळ वसले होते. 'शाळांक' तीर्थाचें नांव लीळाचरित्रांत नाहीं.

लीळाचरित्रांतील घटनांच्या अनुक्रमाच्या दृष्टीनें 'केशदर्शनीं विस्मयो' ही घटना नंतरची असून, बाईसा 'कपाळेश्वराच्या' पार्शी बुडत होत्या, ही घटना अगोदर आहे. पण 'स्थानपोथींत' उलटापालट झालेली दिसते. किंवा उतारा करितांना चूक झालेली दिसते. निरनिराळ्या 'स्थानपोथ्या' एकत्र आणून वाचल्याशिवाय हा उलगडा होणार नाहीं.

सारांश, लीळाचरित्रांतील घटनांच्या दृष्टीनें, रामाचें देऊळ, कपाळेश्वराचें देऊळ, पंचायतनाचें देऊळ, वरुणासंगम, डोह, हीं स्थानें महत्त्वाचीं आहेत.

आज नाशिक येथें या गोष्टी आहेत कीं नाहींत, हें 'नाशिक'कर जाणतील. सुंदराचें देऊळ, सुंदराचा घाट, आज अस्तित्वांत आहे कीं नाहीं हें माहित नाहीं. आंब्याचें झाड केव्हांच नष्ट झालें असेल, 'वाट' अजून आहे कीं तेथें दुसरें कांहीं आहे, हें सांगतां येत नाहीं. 'सिन्नर'हून येतांना प्रथम 'रामनाथ' लागतो कीं 'पंचायतनाचें' देऊळ लागतें, हें माहीत नाहीं. वरुणासंगम, कपाळेश्वर व सुंदराचा घाट, हीं एकमेकांपासून कोणत्या दिशेला व किती अंतरावर आहेत हें कळत नाहीं.

वरील उदाहरणांवरून 'स्थानपोथी'च्या अर्थाच्या आड किती गोष्टी आहेत याची कल्पना येईल. त्या त्या गांवच्या लोकांनींच ही खटपट केली, तरच हें कार्य लवकर होईल. या दृष्टीनें प्रस्तुत पोथींतील गांवें व त्यांचें स्थूल वर्णन, लोकांना उपलब्ध झाल्याशिवाय, वरील गोष्ट घडणें शक्य नाहीं. एवढें मात्र खरें कीं महानुभाव पंथांतील लोकांनीं ह्या जुन्या पोथ्या इतक्या वर्षे संभाळून ठेवल्या, म्हणून त्यांना धन्यवाद देणें इष्ट आहे. तसेंच त्यांना ज्या गोष्टी आढळल्या, त्या सरळ रीतीनें त्यांनीं 'लिखित' करून ठेवल्या आहेत. आतां त्याचा अर्थ लावणें एकट्याचें कार्य नाहीं.

१२. स्थानपोथींत येणाऱ्या कांहीं गोष्टी :— 'पैठण, डोमेग्राम, नेवासे,

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३९. लीळाचरित्राची शोधनी करणारे.

४०. हे देखील लीळाचरित्राचे शोधनकार आहेत. हे समकालीन होते. नाहींसे झालेल्या चरित्राचें शोधन चालू असतां, प्रस्तुत घटना कोठें झाली, याविषयीं दुमत होतें.

जोगेश्वरी ' इत्यादि ठिकाणीं ' श्रीचक्रधर ' होते, तेव्हां त्याचे आसपासच्या गांवचे लोक तेथें येत असत, त्यावरून तीं तीं गांवें कोठें आहेत याचा अंदाज घेण्यासारखा आहे. नरसिंह, आदित्य, ब्रह्मदेव यांचीं देवळें विशिष्ट गांवीं सांपडल्यास, त्याचें कारण शोधण्याजोगें आहे. आदित्यांचीं नांवें ' मुधादित्य, उग्रादित्य, निंबादित्य,' अशीं कां पडलीं, याचा विचार केला पाहिजे. कांहीं ठिकाणीं अंतर किती आहे, हें दाखविण्यास ' पांड, आऊड व नेतन ' अशीं मापें येतात. कांहीं ठिकाणीं नदीच्या घाटाच्या, देवळाच्या, विहिरीच्या पायऱ्या किती आहेत, याची संख्या दिली आहे. बोडणबावी, सिंदूरबावी, कापूरबावी, जळमांडवी, इत्यादि विहिरींचीं नांवें असून त्यांना आंत शिरण्याची वाट कोरून आहे, याची नोंद कांहीं ठिकाणीं सांपडते. गौतमाळें, देवकीआळें, आंबाळें, इत्यादि तळ्यांचीं नांवें आढळून येतात. गांवाचे जवळ टेकडी, नदी, घाट, स्मशान, पार, अग्निष्टिका, वेदिका, वट, पिंपळ, बकुळ, आंबा इत्यादि अनेक वर्षे राहणारीं झाडें, वाळवंट, नदीच्या वाळवंटांत असणारें देऊळ, ' वाट ' दोन गांवास जात असेल तर त्याची नोंद, गोदरी, विदी, राजविदी, (लहान आळी, मोठी आळीची वाट, मोठा रस्ता), बाजारांतील रांधवण हाट (शिजलेल्या पदार्थांचीं दुकानें), नगराला दरवाजे अथवा वेशी किती आहेत, 'सीमोलंघना'-साठीं कोणत्या दरवाजांतून जातात, देऊळ नदीच्या कोणत्या कांठाला आहे, नदी किंवा टेकाड गांवाच्या कोणत्या दिशेला आहे, देवळांचीं, महाद्वारांचीं, वेशींचीं तोंडें कोणत्या दिशेला आहेत, अमुक जागेपासून देऊळ किती ' पांड ' आहे, ' महारवाडा ' वस्ती गांवाच्या कोणत्या दिशेला आहे, नदींचे संगम कोठें आहेत, कोणत्या रानांत चोरांचें भय आहे, कोणत्या ठिकाणीं आंब्याचें बन आहे, द्राक्ष, महाळुंग यांच्या वेली कोठें आढळल्या, ओहोळ नाले, नागझऱ्या कोठें आहेत; जैन, बौद्ध यांचीं स्थानें म्हणजे विहार, वसई, लेणीं कोठें आहेत; देऊळ नाहींसें करून त्या जागीं मशीद कोठें दिसते, कोणतें देऊळ मोडकें होऊन भंगलेलें आहे, व्याघ्रदर्शन कोणत्या जागीं घडलें, धाकटें सुकीयाणें व मोठें सुकीयाणें (गांवांचीं नांवें), भुजंगाचें वटनेर (म्हणजे वटनेर गंगाई नव्हे), जुने नागमठाण (म्हणजे नवीन नव्हे), जळगांव (लाडाचें), मातखेड-ईटखेड, एळापुर अथवा वेरूळ येथील राजविहार, धुमाळाचें लेणें, गोमटदेव, चतुर्विधाचा मठ, ईशाळुवाचें लेणें, महावसई, काटेवसई (जैनांचे विहार), भिवाडाउवाचे राजूर, पोटफोड्याचा गणेश, जखीणीचे धावे, अदंडीनाथाचा मळा; एकवाट ' मात्राकवळी ' जाए, एक जांबुखेडा जाए, असें मार्गदर्शन; अशा अनेक प्रकारच्या ' खुणा ' या पोथींत आहेत. पण या सर्व गोष्टी ' लीळाचरित्रांतील ' घटनांशीं संबद्ध पाहिजेत, हें मुख्य धोरण विसरून चालत नाहीं. कांहीं गांवांचीं नांवें समान असतात, त्या वेळीं तर हें धोरण निश्चित ठेवलें पाहिजे. सेंदुरजना, पिंपळगांव, अष्टी, अशा प्रकारचीं गांवें अनेक ठिकाणीं असूं शकतात. पण लीळाचरित्रांतील घटनांप्रमाणें अंतर-काळ-व्यक्ति यांच्याशीं ज्या गांवांचीं नांवें जुळतील, तींच घ्यावयास पाहिजेत. त्यामुळें या गांवांचा नकाशा करण्याचें काम सोपें वाटतां वाटतां अवघड होत आहे. पण साधारणपणें जरी नकाशा तयार झाला, तरी त्याचा उपयोग लीळाचरित्राचें उद्घाटन होण्यास मार्गदर्शक होईल, व जुन्या भौगोलिक क्षेत्रांत नवीन दालन उत्पन्न होईल. हें नकाशाचें काम चालू आहे.

१३. घर व इमारती यांच्या वर्णनांत अनेक नवीन शब्द सांपडतात. वृंदावन (सहा खणाचें), पौळी, जगती; नांदेयाचे साजे (उंच चौथऱ्यावर नंदी), गरुडाचें खांबें (भिंतींत

अगर कोनाड्यांत देउळीं), दादर (जिना), गाभारा, शुकनासी (मोरी), पन्हिवा (गदळ पाण्याची मोरी), दारवठा (दरवाजा), उंबरवठा (उंबरा), कवाडे, द्वारशंका (दरवाजाच्या चौकटीच्या दोन बाजू), मदलसा (गच्ची), बाळाणा (कटघर), वोसरी, उपरी (माडी), ओवरी, पटिशाला, दुर्ग (तट), अवार, कीर्तिस्तंभ, खांब, सांडोवा, वेस, विहार, वसई; मठ, मंडप, चौकी, देव्हारचौकी, न्हाणी, दोनघरांतील संदी, गुंफा; रायांगण, वटांगण, अंगण, आवार; चौवारा (चारी बाजू मोकळ्या असें राहण्याचें स्थान), पाणिवारें; तसेंच थडी, तट, पाणंदी, आडी, दरडी, टेक, खडकाळी, खालाटी, तल्हाटी, लवणी, ओहळ, वोत, नाकझरी, संगम; घाट, पायऱ्या, विहीर, रवणी (विहिरीच्या कांठाची जागा); पुष्करणी, वावी, वापी, विहीर, तळें; ओटा, सोंडी (पुढें आलेल्या सुळक्यासारखा भाग), सिहाडा (दरवाज्याच्या दोन्ही बाजूंला बाहेर बसण्याची जागा); वेदिका, अग्निष्टिका, कामठ, हाट-वटी, रांधवणहाट इत्यादि शिल्पशास्त्रांतील अनेक शब्द येतात. त्या त्या शब्दांच्या अर्थाची निश्चिति इतर ग्रंथ पाहून करणें हेंही महत्त्वाचें काम आहे. संदर्भानें अर्थ लावतांना कांहीं वेळां चुका गमतीच्या होत असतात, म्हणून इतर ग्रंथांतील त्या शब्दांच्या उपयोगाकडे तुलनात्मक लक्ष देणें अवश्य आहे.

१४. कांहीं महत्त्वाचीं गांवें :

नागपूर : भोगराम (रामटेक), भंडारा (भानदरा), कांति (काटोल).

वऱ्हाड : रिधपूर, अळजपुर (एलिचपूर), मेघंकर (मेहकर), लोणार, राहाटगांव, थूंगाव, वाकी, वेलोर, सिराळा, पुसदा, देऊळवाडा, सेंदुर्जना, तिवसा, आखतवाडा.

धुळें : वाघळी, कनाशी, भडेगांव, सिवाळा, पाचोरा, सेंदुर्णी, चांगदेव, सावळद्वार.

नाशिक : नाशिक, पंचवटी, गोवर्धन, आंजनेर, त्र्यंबक, आडगांव, सुकेणा, निफाड, नांदूर, हतनुर, पैठण.

अहमदनगर : घोगरगांव, डोमेग्राम, संवत्सर, कोपरगांव, कुंकुमठाण, पुणतांबा, हिंगणी, मिरजगांव, भिंगार, वामोरी, नेवासें, टाकळी, चाचरमुदी, पिंपळगांव, चिंचोडी, येळी, भोकरी, बेलापूर.

औरंगाबाद : फुलंबरी, वेरुळ, मातखेड, ईटखेड, लासूर, नागमठाण, वागडी, मात्राकवळी, गांगापुर, फुलसेवरा, नेऊरगांव.

बीड : बीड, पाली (मैराळ), निंब, पाटवधा, रामदरा, अंधी, मिराळा, वाकी, देवळाना.

इतर : फलटण, भरवस (भडोच), द्वारावती (द्वारका), मातापूर (माहूर), पंचाळेश्वर, वोरंगळ, आपेगांव, राक्षसभुवन, बळ्हेग्राम.

१५. निबंधाची मर्यादा राखली पाहिजे, तेव्हां हात आवरणें अवश्य आहे. स्थान-पोथींत कोणत्या प्रकारची माहिती आहे, तिचा अर्थ लावतांना कोणत्या गोष्टी लक्षांत घेणें अवश्य आहे, व महाराष्ट्राच्या प्राचीन भूगोलाच्या दृष्टीनें त्या पोथीला कोणतें स्थान आहे, इत्यादि गोष्टी जर या निबंधानें वाचकांना पटल्या, तर माझें काम झालें असें मी समजेन.

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प्रतापगडची भवानी

शां. वि. अवळसकर, महाड

१. सातारा जिल्ह्यांत, जावळी तहसिलींत, महाबळेश्वरपासून आठ मैलांवर नैऋत्य दिशेस ३'५४३ फूट उंचीवर प्रतापगडचा किल्ला आहे. किल्ल्याच्या बांधकामाशीं संबद्ध म्हणून मोरोपंत पिंगळे पंतप्रधान व आबाजी सोनदेव यांच्या नांवांचा उल्लेख येतो. पूर्वी किल्ल्यावर कचेरीची जागा, मातुश्री जिजाबाईचा वाडा, दारूखाना, कोठीच्या इमारती इ. बांधकामें होतीं; सांप्रत त्या सर्व इमारती नष्ट झाल्या आहेत. पेशवाईत व तत्पूर्वी किल्ल्यावर आंतून व बाहेरून पहारे असत; त्या पहाऱ्यांचें स्वरूप आतां उरलेलें नाहीं.

२. किल्ल्याच्या आग्नेयेस कोयनेचें खोरें पसरलें असून त्या खोऱ्यांतून अफझलखान वाईस व नंतर प्रतापगडास आला. कोयनेच्या काठीं त्याच्या सैन्याचा तळ होता.

ज्या वेळीं अफझलखान स्वारी करून आला, त्या वेळीं म्हणजे इ. स. १६५९ मध्यें किल्ला आजच्या स्वरूपांत नव्हता. चढत असतांना आढळांत येणारा अफझल बुरूज प्रतापगडच्या युद्धानंतर उभारला गेला व तो किल्ल्याचा भाग म्हणून समाविष्ट झाला, असें स्पष्टपणें दिसतें; कारण या ठिकाणचा पूर्वीचा दगडांतून कोरलेला मार्ग अजून कायम असून त्याचा वापर करण्याचें कारण न उरल्यानें आतां बंद करण्यांत आला आहे. जुन्या वाटेनें प्रवासी एकदम मंदिराजवळ पोहोंचतो.

३. मराठ्यांच्या इतिहासांत प्रतापगडचें नांव दोन गोष्टींमुळें सतत गाजत आहे. (अ) येथें झालेलीं युद्धें, (ब) शिवरायांच्या भवानीचें स्थान या त्या दोन गोष्टी होत. झालेल्या तीन युद्धांतील १६५९ च्या युद्धाचा तपशील आतां पुष्कळच उपलब्ध आहे. औरंगजेबाच्या दक्षिणेकडील मोहिमेच्या कालांत हा किल्ला त्यानें मराठ्यांपासून जिंकला व तेरा महिने आपल्या ताब्यांत ठेवला. या काळांत प्रतापगडची व्हायची ती पडझड झाली. भवानीची मूर्ति कांहीं काळ तेथून हालवून जावळी येथें एका विहिरींत गुप्त ठेवण्यांत आली अशी आख्यायिका आहे. नंतर हा किल्ला पुन्हा मराठ्यांनीं जिंकला. सदर दोन युद्धांची हकीकत मराठी कागदपत्रांतून अजून उपलब्ध झालेली नाहीं.

४. प्रतापगडावर छत्रपतींनीं भवानीची स्थापना केली, ती अफझलखानाच्या वधानंतर होय. तेव्हांपासून या गडास एक धार्मिक स्थान म्हणून महत्त्व प्राप्त झालें आहे. या तुळजाभवानीची शतकभराची माहिती या लेखांत थोडक्यांत देण्याचें योजिलें आहे.

५. प्रतापगडावरील वंशपरंपरागत हवालदार घराण्याचीं आडनांवें नाईक, हवालदार, पानसरे, जुन्नरकर, सोनवणी, अशीं आहेत. त्यांच्या दप्तरांत असलेली राजारामकालीन अस्सल सनद आमच्या पाहण्यांत आहे. पण आम्हीं नकलेची नकल करून घेतल्यानंतर

अस्सल आमच्या पाहण्यांत आलें; असो. तीवरून तुळजाभवानीच्या स्थापनेची निश्चित हकीकत समजते ती अशी—१ छत्रपति थोरले शिवाजी यांस भवानीचा साक्षात्कार झाला व त्यांनीं भवानीचे कृपेकरून अफझलखानाचा वध केला. २ भवानीची मूर्ति स्थापन करावयाची हा विचार निश्चित झाल्यावर हिमालयांत त्रिशूल गंडकी, श्वेतगंडकी व सरस्वती या तीन नद्यांचे संगमस्थानची शिला पर्वतचा राजा लीलासेन याच्या साह्यानें मिळविली. ३ नेपाळांतील शिल्पी 'कारागीरांनीं भवानीची मूर्ति घडविली. ४ राजगडावर छत्रपतींनीं तिचें प्रथम दर्शन घेतलें. ५ पंतप्रधान मोरोपंत पिंगळे यांनीं छत्रपतींच्या सांगण्यावरून तिची प्रतापगडावर प्रतिष्ठापना केली. ६ छत्रपतींनीं पूजा, उत्सव इत्यादींबद्दलची पद्धति घालून दिली. सदर सनदेची नकल पुढें देत आहोंत—

ले. १

श्री तुळजाभवानी

श्री धर्मप्रद्यो-
तित शेष वर्णी दाश-
रथेरिव राजारामऽस्य
मुद्रेयं विश्ववंद्या
विराजते

शके १६१६ भाव, माघ शु॥ ७

इ. स. १६९५ जाने. १०.

स्वस्ति श्री राज्याभिषेक शके २१ भाव नाम संवछरे माघ शुध्द सप्तमी भृगुवासरे क्षत्रिय कुलावतंस श्री राजाराम छत्रपति याणी

श्रीमं राजाराम
नरपति हर्षनिदान
मोरेश्वरसुत नीलकंठ
मुख्य प्रधान

श्री लक्ष्मी नृहरीप्रीत मुद्रा
निराजी जन्मना श्री राजाराम
प्रतिनिधि प्रल्हादस्य
विराजते

राजेश्री मंबाजी ना-
ईक बिन गोमाजी
नाईक पानसरे जुनर-
कर मुतालिक भोपे-
पण हावाला देव-
स्थान श्री— किले

प्रतापगड यासी दिल्हे वतनपत्र ऐसे जे तुम्ही सांप्रत देसीहून स्वामीचे शेवेसी चंजीचे मुकामी येऊन स्वामीचे दर्शन घेतले आणि श्रीमुहूर्तीचे व आपले सर्व वृतांत स्वामीसंनिध विदित केले की—स्वामीस पूर्वी श्रीचा साक्षात्कार जाह्याला त्याउपरि स्वामीनी श्रीकृपे आफुजलखानाचा बध केला ज्यय पावले यानंतर श्रीची मुहूर्ती करून प्रतापगडी स्थापना करावी असे स्वामीचे चिती भरोन राजश्री स्वामीने आपणास आज्ञा करून आनकूलता केली आणि गंडकी सिळा आणावयास पाठविले आपण पर्वतचा राजा लीलासेन याचे राज्यापावेतो जाऊन त्रिशूळ गंडकी व स्वेतगंडकी व सरस्वतीचे संगमी सिळेचा शोध करून सिळा उतंम प्राप्त जाली ते घेऊन आलो मुहूर्ती सिध करावयास हुनरबंद सिलपी त्याच प्रांतीचे आणोन श्रमेकडोन मुहूर्ती सिध केली राजश्री राजगडी असता संनिध आणिली त्यावरी

राजश्रीने प्रतापगडास राजश्री मोरोपंडित प्रधान या समागमे पाठऊन प्रतिष्टा केली ते समई श्रीचे भोपे आपण आपली मुतालिकी देवस्थानचा ह्वाला तुम्हास दिल्हा असी आज्ञा आम्हास केली आणि श्रीचे पूजेचा व परपत्याचा कार्यभाग आपले स्वाधीन करून दिल्हा तेणेप्रमाणे आपण स्वामीची मुतालिकी भोपेपण ह्वाला देवस्थान करून श्रीचे सेवेवरी अलो कैलासवासी स्वामीनें व राजश्री संभाजी राजे स्वामीनेही चालविले स्वामीनेही चालवावे व पुढे पुत्रपौत्र वंशपरंपरेने चाले असे अभयपत्र करून द्यावे म्हणोन विदित केले ते मनास आणोन पुरातन येकनिष्ट सेवक श्रीची पूजा उछाव येथाविधि चालवीत आले आहा कैलासवासी स्वामी तुम्हावरी बहुत कृपा करून तुमचे चालवीत होते असे जाणोन स्वामीनेही कैलासवासी स्वामीने निश्चय केल्याप्रमाणे तुम्हास वंशपरंपरेने श्रीचे भोपेपणाची आपली मुतालिकी हवाला करून दिल्हा असे तुम्ही व तुमचे पुत्रपौत्र वंशपरंपरेने श्रीसंनिध भोपेपणाची मुतालिकी ह्वाले याचा कार्यभाग सर्व पारपत्य करीत जाणे तुम्हास ह्वाली वतन केले सनदेप्रमाणे घेत जाणे व प्रसाद श्रीचा पहिले चालत असेल तेणेप्रमाणे घेत जाणे आणि सुखरूप असणे हे वतनच तुम्हास करून दिल्हे आहे श्रीने स्वामीचे वंशी सतावीस पिढी राज्य दिधले असे वरदान देऊन साक्षात्कार केला तैसे राज्य श्रीकृपे चालले येदर्थी संदेह नाहीं जोवरी स्वामीचे वंशी राज्य तोवरी श्रीसंनिध भोपेपणाची मुतालिकी म्हणजे श्रीदेवस्थानचा ह्वाला तुमचे वंशास चालेल जो कोणी स्वामीचे वंशी तुमचे वंशास हे मुतालिकी न चालवील त्यास श्रीची व ब्राम्हहात्या गोहात्याची शफत असे तुम्ही निसंदेहपणे श्रीची पूजा उछाव परंपरेने यथाविधि चालवीत जाणे स्वामीचे राज्याची आभिवृध्धी श्रीपासी चिंतून सुखरूप असणे जाणिजे निदेश समक्ष[१]

(मर्यादेयंवि)
(राजते)

७. थोरल्या छत्रपतींच्या कालापासून येथें पूजा, उत्सवादि कोणतीं धर्मकृत्यें रूढ झालीं याची थोडक्यांत माहिती देणें अवश्य आहे.

मंदिरासमोर प्रतिदिनीं सूर्योदयपूर्व प्रहरीं व सूर्यास्तानंतर चौघडा झडतो. प्रत्येक मंगळवारीं प्रत्येक प्रहराचे आरंभीं चौघडा वाजतो. देवीची प्रतिदिनीं पंचामृतपूजा होते. अभ्यंगस्नानास सुवासिक तेल व उष्णोदक असतें. स्नानाचे वेळेस आरती होते, त्या वेळीं वाजंत्रीं वाजतात.

प्रत्येक पौर्णिमेस उत्सव होतो; त्या वेळीं मंदिराभोंवतीं पालखीच्या पांच प्रदक्षिणा होतात. त्या वेळीं शिंगाडे व कर्णेकरी पालखीबरोबर असतात.

कोजागिरीच्या उत्सवरात्रीं दुग्धपानाची पद्धति पूर्वापार आहे.

त्रिपुरी पौर्णिमेच्या उत्सवदिनीं दीपमाळा प्रकाशित होतात.

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१. कोर्ट कचेरींत दाखल केलेल्या नकलेची ही नकल बऱ्हंशीं अस्सल बरहुकूम आहे.

मंदिरालगत होळीचा माळ आहे; तेथें होलिकोत्सव साजरा होतो. होळी प्रचंड असते.

दर पौर्णिमेस बकरा अगर मेंढा बळी देतात.

नवरात्रांत विजयादशमीपर्यंत दहा दिवस उत्सव होतो. नवमी व दशमीच्या दिवशीं अजबली देतात. ही रूढी छत्रपतींच्या काळापासून आजवर चालत आहे. दर तीन वर्षांनीं रेडा बळी देत; पण आतां तो बंद झाला आहे. बली देण्यापूर्वी रेड्यास तटाभोंवतीं हिंडवीत. त्यास उत्तरेकडील रेडका बुरुजाखालून दक्षिणेस तळ्याचे बुरुजापर्यंत आणून तेथें बळी देत. बळीचा नैवेद्य मंदिरांत आणून देवीस अर्पण करण्यांत येतो. दसऱ्याच्या पालखीची मिरवणुक पालखीच्या माळापर्यंत—म्हणजे अफझलखानाच्या कबरीपर्यंत, पूर्वापार नेतात.

नवरात्रांत होमहवन, शतचंडी, पूजा दोन वेळ, पुराण दोनदां व नैवेद्य त्रिकाल होतो. सकाळसंध्याकाळचा नैवेद्य भोपी सोनवणी यांजकडे सिद्ध होतो; मध्यान्हींचा नैवेद्य उपाध्ये हडप यांनीं दाखवावयाचा अशी पद्धति आहे.

नवरात्रांतील उत्सवांत आजवर दोन परंपरा सांभाळलेल्या आहेत: १ शिवकालीन परंपरा, २ शाहूकालीन परंपरा. पहिल्या परंपरेंत घटस्थापना, पूजा, सप्तशतीचा पाठ, गोंधळ घालणें, ब्राह्मणसुवासिनी एक, मराठासुवासिनी एक, ब्राह्मणकुमारिका एक व मराठा कुमारिका एक—यांस नऊ दिवस भोजन घालण्याची पद्धति होती. प्रत्यक्ष भोजन न घालतां शिधा देत. शाहूच्या काळांतील दुसऱ्या परंपरेमुळें दोन घटस्थापना होतात. ती पद्धति—घटस्थापना, पूजा, सप्तशतीचे शंभर पाठ, दुर्गास्तोत्राचे शंभर पाठ, श्रीसूक्ताचे शंभर पाठ, भवानीसहस्रनामाचे पाठ दहा, नवग्रहजपाचे प्रतिदिनीं सहस्र पाठ, होम, ब्राह्मण सुवासिनी व कुमारिका यांना नित्य भोजन, दहा दिवस कीर्तन, नवमीस हवन——ही पद्धति कटाक्षानें पाळतात.

वैशाख शु।। २ स शिवजयन्त्युत्सव प्रतिवर्षी होतो.

गोकुळ अष्टमीच्या उत्सवाकरितां मातीचा गोकुळ करून पूजा होते; दुसऱ्या दिवशीं दही हंडी होते.

गणेशोत्सव होतो. गणपतीची मूर्ति लालभडक रंगाची असते. तिचा रंग ठरलेला, मूर्तीची उंची एक हात चार बोटें इतकी पूर्वापार ठरलेली आहे.

८. भवानीच्या नैवेद्याची व्यवस्था छत्रपतींनीं कशा स्वरूपाची केली, तें पुढील पत्रावरून समजेल——

ले. २

श्री तुळजाभवानी

तालिक

शके १५९९ पिंगल, मार्ग. ब।। १४

इ. स. १६७७ डिसें. १३

स्वस्ति श्री राज्याभिषेक शके ४ पिंगल नाम संवछरे मार्गसीर्ष बहुल चतुर्दसी

गुरुवासरे क्षत्रियकुलावतंस श्री राजा सिव छत्रपति याणी मंबाजी नाईक दिमत श्री मु॥ किले प्रतापगड यासी आज्ञा केली अैसी जे विनतीपत्र पाठ [विले] ते पावले श्री—चा प्रसाद व आगारा व मलवट घेतला समाधान वाटले

सिका

व लिहिले की राजश्री मोरोपंत प्रधान याणी सनद पाठविली आहे की श्री—च्या नैवद्याची मोईन आहे त्यात निमे सामग्री नैवद्य करीत जाणे निमे सामग्री आनछत्राकडे घेत जाणे असी सनद आले आहे म्हणून लिहिले तरी खलेल काई करावयाची गरज नाही जे मोईन पहिले स्वामीनी करून दिल्ही आसे तेणेप्रमाणेच नैवद्य करीत जाणे वरकडही चालवणे मोरोपंती सनद पाठविली आसेल त्ये रद मखुम न धरणे ज्या सनदा स्वामीच्या पहिल्याच असेत त्याच खऱ्या तेणेप्रमाणे वर्तणूक करीत जाणे लेखनालंकार मुद्रा[२]

९. भवानीच्या दर्शनास प्रतिदिनीं यात्रेकरू, प्रवासी येत. त्यांच्या भोजनाची व्यवस्था व्हावी म्हणून छत्रपतींनीं गडावर एक अन्नछत्र घातलें. आमान्न म्हणजे कोरान्न, शिधा देण्याची पद्धति रूढ होती. त्याबद्दलचें पुढील पत्र पहा. आमची स्पष्ट समजूत आहे कीं छत्रपतींचें प्रत्येक पत्र अतिशय भारदस्त, विचारपरिप्लुत व परिणामकारक, ठाशीव शब्दांचें असतें. मनुष्यस्वभावाची पारख व विचारांची सखोलता या दोन गोष्टी त्यांतून असावयाच्याच !

ले. ३

श्री

तालिक

शके १६०१ सिद्धार्थी, जेष्ठ व॥ ५

इ. स. १६७९ जून १४

स्वस्ति श्री राज्यभिषेक शेके ५ सिधार्थी नाम सवछरे जेष्ठ बहुल प्रतिपदा मंद वासरे क्षेत्रीयकुलावतंस श्री राजा सिव छत्रपति याणी मंबाजी नाईक दिमत श्री—यासी आज्ञा केली अैसी जे श्रीपासी प्रत्यही अनछत्रे घालविले आहे बीतपसील

सिक्का
पंतप्रधान

दि॥ मंबाजी नाईक	दि॥ विश्वनाथभट	पुराणिक यास
आमान्य ५ पाच	आमान्ये ४ च्यार	आमान्य १

येकूण आमान्ये दाहा यास देविली असेती अैसीयास सदरहु आमान्ये दिमतीप्रमाणे घेत जाणे यासी प्रत्यही जे ब्राह्मण येत जातील कधी दोन कधी पाच जण कधी सात जण येतील ते विश्वनाथभट याचा आमान्ये ते घालीत जावे मंबाजी नाईक याकडे पाच आमान्ये देविली आहेती ते ब्राह्मण वगैरे जाती येतील त्यास भोजन घालीत जावे जे दिवसी ही थोडे येतील तेही घालावे जे दिवसी फार जण येतील तेही घालावे व पुराणिकास येक आमान्ये देविली ते त्यासच देत जावे येणेप्रमाणे तुमचा इतबाराबरी अमान्ये देविली असेती तुम्ही त्यांत मन दाखवाल तरी तुम्ही जाणा

२. भवानीचे उपाध्ये, गणकभूषण भाऊशास्त्री हडप यांचे दफ्तरांतील नकलेवरून.

स्वामीनी तो श्री—प्रीत्यर्थी दिल्ही असेती याचाही शह कितेकास पुसावयास गरज नाही तुमच्या इतबारावरील दिल्ही असेती तुमचे तुम्ही जाणा पहिले श्रीचे आमान्यातील काही सामग्री राहिली आहे ती दिमतीवार देऊन ज्यास जसी खर्च सागितला आहे तेणेप्रा। करणे त्याची हिसेब कितेब कोणासही पुसावयास गरज नाही व श्री—पासी तुम्हास मुतालिक देणे ठेविले आहे तुम्ही श्रीची शेवा करणे व श्री—चे शेवेसी लोक दिल्हे आहेती यापासून श्रीचे शेवेसी काम घेत जाणे कोण्हास हवालगीर न न देणे देवीची शेवाच करीतत जाणे लेखन लकार मार्तंव असे[3]

प्रस्तुत अन्नछत्र १९२० चे सुमारास कायमचें बंद झालें. सध्यां गडावर, दरवर्षी सुमारें सत्तर प्रवाशांच्या भोजनाची व्यवस्था फडणीसांकडे, देवीच्या उत्पन्नांतून होत असते.

१०. तुळजाभवानीचे चरणीं थोरल्या छत्रपतींची निष्ठा निस्सीम होती, याचे दाखले वर दिले आहेत. येथें छत्रपति राजारामाच्या निष्ठेबद्दलचे उल्लेख द्यावयाचे. त्याबरोबरच आणखी एका वादग्रस्त मुद्यावर थोडा प्रकाश टाकावयाचा आहे.

मराठेशाहींतील राजनीतीवरील महत्त्वाचा ग्रंथ ‘ आज्ञापत्र ’ हा संशोधकांच्या अर्चेचा एक विषय आहे. “ स्वामी[4] सुमुहूर्तें नर्मदापार जहाले. श्रीकृपें अल्पकालेंच मुख्य शत्रूचा पराभव करून दिल्ली, आग्रा, लाहोर, डाका, बंगाल, जलक(चा?)रादि करून संपूर्ण तत्संबंधी देशदुर्ग हस्तवश्य करून वाराणशीस जाऊन स्वामी श्रीविश्वेश्वरस्थापना चरितात, ” या वाक्याची चर्चा करणारांत सरदार किबे, प्रो. कोलते, प्रो. राव यांनीं व काणखीही कांहीं संशोधकांनीं भाग घेतला आहे. वरील संशोधकांपैकीं कांहींचे मतें सदर भाग अनैतिहासिक स्वरूपाचा असून, तो नंतर कोणीतरी अंतर्भूत केला असल्यानें प्रक्षिप्त आहे. प्रो. राव यांचें मत थोडें निराळें आहे. ते म्हणतात, “ I think that the statement under reference is not an empty boast on the part of the Amatya. It reflects a happy combination of wishful thinking and the currents of thought prevailing at that time. ”[5] प्रो. राव यांच्या म्हणण्यास पोषक असें अस्सल पत्र, अनेक दृष्टींनीं महत्त्वाचें असल्यानें, पुढें देत आहोंत—

ले. ४

श्री शंकर

शके १६२२ विक्रम, आश्विन व॥ ४
इ. स. १७०० आक्टो. २०

माहाराज राजेश्री—छेत्रपति स्वामीचे सेवेसी विनति बखेर सेवेसी सेवक येसाजी पानसेरे ह हवालदार व कारकून दिमत श्री—मुकाम प्रतापगड सेवेसी विनति सु॥ इहिदे मया व आलफ

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३. वे. शा. सं. भाऊशास्त्री हडप यांचे संग्रहांतील नकलेवरून. नकलकार अशुद्ध लिहितो.
४. वीणा प्रकाशन प्रत, १९४५ ची आवृत्ति, पृ. १० पहा.
५. भा. इ. सं. मं.-भारतीय इतिहास परिषद-खास अंक, पृष्ठ ५५ पहा.

बाो श्रीकडील व सेवकाचे वर्तमान ता। छ १८ जमादिलौवलपरियेत स्वामीच्या कृपादस्टीकरून येथास्तित असे

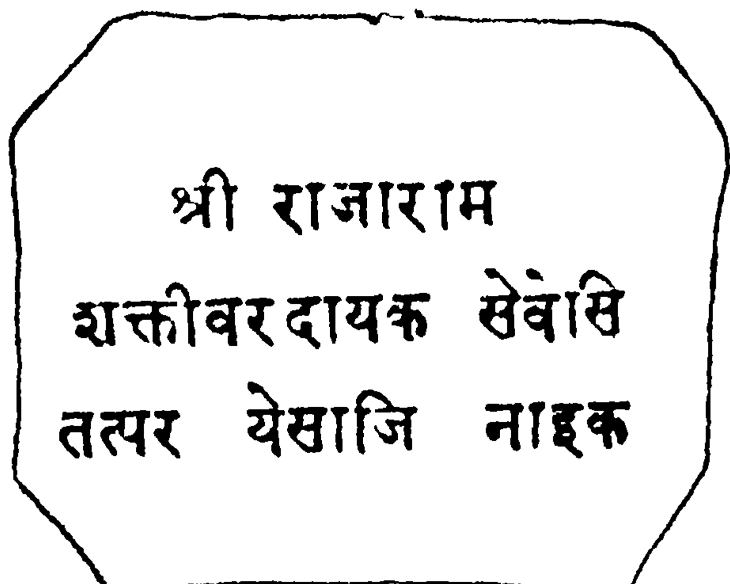
बाो हुजरून श्रीच्या नवरात्रचे बेगमी मोहछायाबदल यैवज बाा हरि विठल मुाा मजमुदार व बालोजी लाड चाकर हुजरात या बाा दाभोली लारी नवसे पाठविली बाा सनद छ २७ रबिलाखर पैवस्तगी छ ४ जमादिलौवल श्रीच्या पोता जमा धरून स्वामीचे आज्ञेप्रमाणे नवरात्रामधे शतचडी आनुष्ठान होम व श्रीदेवीस अभिषक व ब्राह्मणभोजन व दपत्यपूजन व मराठियाकडील सोवासिणी व गोधल व इत्यादिक पूजा मोहछाये विजयादशमीपरियेत येथासाग येथाविध साग अनुष्ठान भले ब्राह्मण योग्य श्री क्षेत्रीचे अणून वेदमुहूर्ती राजेश्री विस्वनाथभट श्रीक्षेत्र व निलकठभट पूजक श्री याच्या विद्यमाने श्रीस प्रार्थना करूनी दुष्ट पराभव होऊन दिलीपरियेत राज्य हस्तगत होऊन सर्व राज्यासहित स्वामीचे कल्याण उतरोतर म्हणौन शतचडि अनुस्टान करविले त्यास बाा मोहछायास खर्च द्वाा छ ४ जमादिलौवल ताा छ ९ रोज मि। येकूण सा रोज खर्च बेरीज दाभोली लारी बाा जाबिता नख्त झाडा ६६०। सासे साडेसाठी लारी खर्च जाहाला त्याचे जाबिते अलाहिदा नख्तचा व यैनजिनसाचा तपसीलवार सेवेसी रवाना बाा बालोजी लाड दिमती चाकर हुजराती केला अहे तेणेप्रमाणे सेवेसी श्रुत होये

बाा बाकी सिलीक पोता दाभोली लारी २३९। दोनीसे सोडेयेकूणचालीस लारी राहिल्या त्यास खर्च पेस्तर अगत्य अगत्य श्रीस वस्त्रे सेले व हडा ताबेचा व सदरेस पाल बैसावयास व खिसमती खर्चास पूजेस खुशबई जिनस जे अगत्य आगत्य खर्च श्री देवीस लागेल ते घेऊन खर्च होईल त्याचा जाबिता हुजूर पाठऊन सेवेसी श्रुत होये

बाा हुजरूनी श्री—कारणे वस्त्रे विजयादसमीस दुस्त बाा हरि विठल मुाा मजमदार व बालोजी लाड या बाा स्वामीनी पाठविला ते पावली बाा सनद पातल जरी १ येक व चादर १ येक व फडका १ येक व चौली १ येक येकूण सनगे च्यार श्रीस सुहुमूर्ते समपून श्रीच्या जामदारखाना जमा धरिले सेवेसी श्रुत होये

बाा हुजरुन श्रीकडील कारकुनास व लोकास यैवज बदल मुाा यैवज रुपये १०० येकसे कृपाळु होऊन देविले बाा सनद छ २७ रबिलाखर पैवस्तगी छ ४ जमादिलौवल सनद सादर जाहाली त्याप्राा दामाशाही प्राा वाटणी करूनी हुजूर सेवेसी वाटणीजाबिता अलाहिदा पाठविला अहे तेणेप्राा सेवेसी श्रुत होये

बाा श्रीच्या नवरात्राचा प्रसाद आगारा मलवट व श्रीफल यैसे बाा बालोजी लाड याबराबरी पाठविले अहे सेवेसी श्रुत होये बहैर[६]



६. मोर्तबाच्या जागीं समाप्तिमुद्रा म्हणून हाच शिक्का वापरला आहे. कागदाच्या जोडावर हाच शिक्का. पत्र हडप संग्रहातील.

११. शिवाजीच्या मृत्यूनंतर औरंगजेबाच्या स्वारीचें जें संकट मराठी राज्यावर कोसळलें, त्याचें निवारण करितांना मराठ्यांना आरंभीं 'माघार, माघार' हा मंत्र जपावा लागला. कालांतरानें मोगली सैन्याच्या बलाचा अजमास लागल्यावर मराठे 'प्रतिकार' करूं लागले. मोगली सैन्य दमल्यावर मराठ्यांनीं जें चढाईचें धोरण स्वीकारलें, तें यशस्वी व्हावें म्हणून त्यांनीं भवानीची जी आळवणी केली, तिचें स्पष्ट दिग्दर्शक म्हणून या पत्राचें आम्हांस मोल वाटतें. यांत मराठ्यांनीं दिल्लीवर चालून जाण्याची भाषा उच्चारल्याचें स्पष्टच असल्यानें मराठमंडळाच्या बेतांचा स्पष्टच उलगडा होतो व राजनीतींतील अगर आज्ञापत्रांतील सदर भाग पूर्ण ऐतिहासिक, अप्रक्षिप्त पण प्रो. राव म्हणतात त्याप्रमाणें "wishful thinking" असल्याबद्दल संशय उरत नाहीं.

१२. प्रतापगडच्या भवानीचे चरणीं निष्ठा असलेल्यांची यादीच करावयाची झाल्यास तींत मराठेशाहींतल्या अर्ध्याअधिक कर्तबगार पुरुषांना व स्त्रियांना तींत समाविष्ट करावें लागेल. आमचेजवळ सुमारें सवाशें पत्रें असून कांहीं तर त्या त्या राष्ट्रपुरुषांच्याच हस्ताक्षरांत आहेत. शाहु, सकवारबाई, यमाजी शिवदेव, रामचंद्रपंत अमात्य, विरूबाई, ताराबाई, इ. सर्वांचीं पत्रें आतां स्थलाभावीं बाजूस ठेवून एकच पत्र उद्धृत करणार आहोंत.

१३. तुळाजी आंगरे व नानासाहेब पेशवे यांचें वैमनस्य कां उत्पन्न झालें व पेशव्यांनीं एका दृष्टीनें मराठ्यांचेंच आरमार बुडवून आत्मनाश कां ओढवून घेतला, हा एक मराठ्यांच्या इतिहासांतील विवाद्य विषय झाला आहे. इतिहासकार दोन्ही पक्षांस कमी अधिक दोष देतात. या प्रश्नाचा विचार करतांना पुढील पत्राचा भावी इतिहासकारास विचार करावा लागेल. भवानी ही मराठमंडळाची उपास्य देवता—एक स्वातंत्र्यप्रदात्री स्वामिनी असा महाराष्ट्राचा पूर्ण ग्रह झाला होता. छत्रपतींची तीवर दृढ निष्ठा. खुद्द कान्होजी आंगऱ्यांस तिजबद्दल भक्ती वाटत असतां तुळाजीचें वर्तन तिजबाबत निषेधार्ह झालें, असें पुढील पत्रावरून स्पष्ट दिसतें—

ले. ५

श्री

मसुदा

शके १६७३ प्रजापति, जेष्ठ

इ. स. १७५१ मे–जून

श्रीमंत माहाराज राजश्री— छत्रपति साहेबाचे सेवेसी—

विनंति सेवेसी सेवक मंबाजी पानसरे हवालदार व कारकून दिा श्री मुाा किले प्रतापगड सेवेसी विज्ञापना ताा छ—माहे रजब सन इसने खमसैनपर्येत सेवकाचे वर्तमान येथास्तित आसे श्रीकडील मुकासे गाव मौजे कापडे खुर्द व मौजे देवले ताा कोंढवी व मौजे चरई ताा बिरवाडी हे तीन गाव यास आगरेयाकडील मुकादमी पूर्वीपासून वंशपरंपरेने राजश्री कानोजी बाबा आगरे यानी श्रीस दरोबस्त दिली आहे त्याप्राा मुकादमीचा यैवज श्रीकडे

पावत आला आजीपर्येत त्याचा जमाखर्च श्रीकडे होतो आहे यैसे आसोन हाली राजश्री तुलाजी आगरे यांनी गावात बरातदार पाटऊन पाच साला यैवज आणविला आहे दोनसे रुपयाची बरात केली दाहाजण सिपाई येऊन गावात मारामार करितात याचा विचार साहेब राजश्री तुलाजी आगरे यास कागद पाटऊन श्रीच्या गावास मुकादमीचा तगादा न लागे पूर्वी चालत आले यैसे चाले यैवज श्रीकडे पावे आणि बरातदारास मनाचिठी येऊन बरातदार उठून जात श्रीकडील गाव सुरक्षित नादेत यैसे करावे बरघाटी मुकासेगाव आहेत तेथील यैवज दंगा जाला त्याजमुळे लुटून नेला गावात वस्ती नाही आगावर चिरकूट नाही यैसे गाव नागवले याजमुळे तोही यैवज आला नाही खालसेकरी याविसी चौथाईबाबत साहेबास विनंतीपत्रे पाठविली परंतु त्याची ताकीद त्यास न क[ल]ली याजमुळे त्यानी तो यैवज गावात मारामार करून चौथाई पाच साला घेऊन गेले यैसा यैवज जिकडून तिकडे जाऊ लागला पुढे श्रीचे पूजेचे साहित्य कैसे होते आम्हा चाकर लोकाची बेगमी कैसी होती मामला साहेबाचा आहे जेणेकरून नकशा राहे आणि मामला सुरलीत चाले अैसे करावे तूर्त आगरे याकडील बरातदार उठेत यैसे करणार साहेब धणी आहेत आगरे यास कागद पाठऊन तगादा न लागे यैसे करणार साहेब धणी आहेत श्रीचा तीर्थ आगारा मलवट पा। आहे घेऊन स्वीकार करावा आम्हा सेवक लोकाची व श्रीकडील कारखानदार लोकाची बेगमी करणार साहेब धणी आहेत यैवज होता त्याची गत यैसी जाली म्हणून सेवेसी विज्ञाप्त लि।। असे निपोटी सेवा करीत बैसलो आहो बेगमी करणार धणी समर्थ आहेत सेवेसी श्रुत होये हे विज्ञापना[७]

१४. भवानीच्या देवस्थानचें सध्यांचें उत्पन्न सुमारें तेरा हजार रुपयांचें आहे. त्यांतून देवीचे नित्य व उत्सवादि खर्च चालतात. वंशपरंपरागत मंडळी आपापलीं कामें करीत आहेत. पण तिचें इतिहासकालीन वैभव आणि महत्त्व आतां इतिहासांत जमा झालें आहे. ‘ कालाय तस्मै नमः। ’

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७. रा. यशवंतराव फडणिस, प्रतापगड, यांचे संग्रहांतील.

या लेखांतील पत्रें येथें प्रथमच प्रसिद्ध होत आहेत. त्यांची रुजुवात रा. शं. ना. जोशी यांनीं घेतली आहे.

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गोप्रतीकात्मक कला

श्री. चिंतामण गणेश कर्वे, बी. ए.

तृतीयक (टर्शियरी) युगाच्या मध्यखंडांत म्हणजे मायोसीन कालांत मोंगोलिया आणि हिंदुस्थान या आशियिक भूभागाशीं युरोप जोडलेलें होतें व या मोठ्या प्रदेशावर हरणें, घोडे, हत्ती, वानर यांसारखे (पण यांच्या पूर्वाश्रमींचे प्रचंड आकाराचे) प्राणी नांदत असावेत. हिंदुस्थानच्या प्रदेशांत अनेक प्रकारच्या हरणांच्या जाती आढळत होत्या व त्यांपासूनच विकासपद्धतीनें गोवंशोत्पत्ति झाली असें कांहीं शास्त्रज्ञ सांगतात [वाट्सन–लाइफ ऑन अर्थ बिफोर मॅन]. या प्राथमिक अवस्थेंतील गोजाति बायझनप्रमाणें होती. माणूस पशुपालन-वृत्तीचा बनल्यावर त्याला या जातीची उपयुक्तता पटली व त्यानें ती चांगली माणसाळून ठेवली हें ओघानेंच झालें. या उपयुक्त पशूंचा माणसाच्या जीवनाशीं निकट संबंध आल्यावर त्याचीं प्रतीकें मानवी कलाकृतींतून उमटावींत यांत नवल नाहीं. त्यांचाच हा त्रोटक वृत्तांत आहे.

गोप्रतीकांच्या या कलाविषयक इतिहासाप्रमाणेंच अज, अश्व, हस्ती, इ. प्राण्यांचा मागील धागादोरा बाहेर काढतां येईल. भारतीय आर्यांना गोसेवा अगदीं प्रथमपासून आदरणीय झाली आहे. तेव्हां प्रस्तुत संशोधनाला गोविषयच प्रथम निवडला. तथापि यांत धार्मिकता व प्रचार कोठेंहि आणूं दिला नाहीं.

संशोधन हें एक वेड आहे; पण तें पद्धतशीर वेड आहे. कोणी वैदिक वाङ्मयांतून 'अस्' सारख्या एकाच धातूचा मागोवा घेत जातो, तर दुसरा ऋग्वेदांत इन्द्राचें चारित्र्यच फक्त त्यांतील इन्द्रोल्लेखांवरून सांगत सुटतो. काय विषय घ्यावा याचें बंधन संशोधकाला नसतें. फक्त विषय हाताळावा कसा याचें शास्त्र अवगत असलें म्हणजे झालें. बरें, भौतिक शास्त्रांतल्या विषयांखेरीज अशा संशोधनांची प्रत्यक्ष उपयुक्तताहि नसते. तेव्हां माझा प्रस्तुत लेख या दृष्टीनें पाहावा अशी विनंति आहे.

चित्रकला, शिल्पकला, अलंकार, वस्तु व नाणीं या विविध क्षेत्रांत गोप्रतिमा-प्रतीकें आढळतात काय व आढळत असतील तर त्या केव्हांच्या व कशा प्रकारच्या, हें पाहणें संशोधनात्मक व उद्‌बोधकहि होणार आहे. प्रथम चित्रकला घेऊं.

चित्रकला

अतिप्राचीन चित्रें—प्राचीन आद्यमानव संस्कृतीच्या काळांत मृगया व्यवसायांत माणूस रमलेला होता. तेव्हां चित्रकलेला लागणारे गुण म्हणजे सूक्ष्म निरीक्षण आणि हस्त-कौशल्य हें त्याच्या ठिकाणीं उघडच असणार. एरवीं त्याला स्वतःची उपजीविका करतांच येणार नाहीं. फ्रान्सच्या पश्चिम भागांत आद्यपाषाणयुगांतील गिरिकंदरांत वस्ती करून

राहणाऱ्या लोकांनीं मामथसारखे प्रचंड हत्ती, हरणें, काळवीट, घोडे, वगैरे प्राण्यांचीं चित्रें गुहांतील भिंतींवर काढलेलीं उपलब्ध झालेलीं आहेत. दक्षिण फ्रान्समधील दोर्दोन्य भागांत ले आयझीजजवळच्या फौंत-द-गोम या लेण्यांत बायझन जातीच्या रानबैलाचीं चित्रें काढलेलीं आहेत. हीं चित्रें नवपाषाणयुगांतील म्हणजे ६०,००० वर्षांपूर्वींचीं तरी असावींत. याच काळांत मॅगडॅलेनियन शिकाऱ्यांनीं वायव्य स्पेनमध्यें कँटाब्रियन जिल्ह्यांतील आल्टामिरा लेण्यांत वेगवेगळ्या हालचाली करीत असलेल्या बायझनचीं सुरेख रंगीत चित्रें जीं काढून ठेविलीं आहेत तीं पाहून मन थक्क होतें. उदा०, एक बैल हंबरतो आहे, तर एक मोठ्या जोशांत आला आहे. अशीं तिरंगी व हुबेहुब सजीव भासणारीं हीं चित्रें प्रकाशकिरणांचा जेथें आज प्रवेशहि नाहीं अशा अंधाऱ्या गुहेंत काढलेलीं आहेत. तेव्हां या अतिप्राचीन चितार्‍यांचें कौतुक करावें तितकें थोडेंच होणार आहे. भारतांतील अजंठादि लेण्यांतील चित्रें अशींच आहेत; पण तीं फारच पुढच्या काळांतील आहेत. या चित्रांप्रमाणेंच एकरंगी व खोदीव चित्रेंहि या काळचीं उपलब्ध आहेत. निओ लेण्यांतील बायझनच्या प्रतिमेंत त्याचें हृदय किंवा काळीज बाणाच्या टोंकानें दाखविलें आहे. असें बाणाग्रचिन्ह काढून प्रेक्षकाचें लक्ष वेधण्याची क्लृप्ति इतकी प्राचीन आहे तर! याच लेण्यांत वाळूवर एका बैलाच्या आकृतीचा आराखडा काढलेला दिसेल. खडक भिंतीवर कायमचें चित्र रेखाटण्यापूर्वी चित्रकारानें हा नमुना पुढें ठेवला असावा.

कँटाब्रिआंतील ला-लोजा येथील लेण्यांत जीं सुंदर चित्रें खोदलेलीं आहेत त्यांत एक जनावरांचा कळपच्या कळप दाखविला आहे. माल्टामधील देवळांतहि याच नवपाषाण-युगांतील बैलांचीं चित्रें जीं आहेत तीं पुरातन पाषाणयुगांतील वाटतात. आपल्याकडे हैद्राबाद संस्थानांत यम्मी गुड्डा टेंकडीवर कांहीं गुंडे आहेत. त्यांवर दोन बैल व एक माणूस यांचीं हुबेहुब चित्रें रेखाटलेलीं आढळतात. हीं चित्रें ताम्रयुगांतील असावींत असें संशोधकांचें मत आहे [हैद्राबाद समाचार, जुलै १९४३].

दक्षिण आफ्रिकेंतील झुडुपी माणसें (बुशमेन) आपल्या खडकाळ घरांतून जीं चित्रें काढीत त्यांत गुरांचीं चित्रें असत. हे जंगली लोक स्वतः गुरें पाळीत नसत, पण गुरांचा त्यांना फार उपयोग असे. तेव्हां दुसऱ्यांचीं गुरें ते चोरीत. एका चित्रांत अशीं चोरलेलीं गुरें हांकून नेत असल्याचा देखावा दिसेल.

भिंतींवरील गिलाव्याचीं चित्रें (फ्रेस्को)—यानंतर ऐतिहासिक काळांत आपण आल्यास क्रीटमधील ओल्या गिलाव्यावर काढलेलीं चित्रें नजरेसमोर येतात. एका चित्रांत बैलाचीं शिंगें पकडून त्याच्या पाठीवरून कोलांटी उडी टाकीत असलेली बालिका दिसेल. हा सर्कशीचा प्रकार तीन हजार वर्षांपूर्वींचा व मुलींचा आहे हें ध्यानांत घेतल्यास आजच्या सर्कशींतल्या चड्डीदार बायांचें कौतुक वाटणार नाहीं! सुमेरियन संस्कृतीच्या काळांत तेल-एल्-ओबीद येथील देवालयांत भिंतींवर सुंदर चित्रें काढलेलीं जीं दिसतात, तीं शिंपांचे तुकडे चुन्यांत पक्के बसवून तयार केलीं आहेत. हीं पाहून गोपाळकृष्णाच्या गोकुळाचा देखावा आपल्या डोळ्यांपुढें नाचूं लागतो. गवळी व गुरें, गुरांचे कळपच्या कळप, त्यांची यात्रा, गोदोहनाचे प्रसंग, इ. किती तरी दृश्यें रेखाटलीं आहेत, तसेंच गाईचें दूध काढतांना वासराला त्यानें आचळ्याला तोंड घालूं नये म्हणून मुसकी घातली आहे; एकीकडे दूध भांड्यांत गाळून त्याची

ओपासना चालली आहे; असे विविध प्रसंग तेथें चितारले आहेत [' सुमेरियन्स '—लिओनार्ड वुलेकृत, पृ. १४].

बाबिलोनी-मिसरी चित्रें—यापुढें बाबीलोनमध्यें आल्यास, ईस्टरद्वारावर कांचमिन्यांत बैलाच्या प्रतिमा दिसतील. एक आडवी ओळ बैलांची, तर तीखालीं दुसरी सिंह्श प्राण्यांची. अशा एका खालोखाल ओळींत कांचमिन्याचीं चित्रें आहेत. याच खिस्तपूर्व दीड हजार वर्षांच्या काळांतील मिसरी (ईजिप्त) चित्रकला अभ्यासल्यास आपल्या नंदी-महादेवाप्रमाणें अनेक जोड प्रतिमा आढळतील. मिसरी लोकांचा महादेव प्ताह ही देवता असून त्यांचा नंदी ॲपिस हा आहे [ए. डब्ल्यु. शार्टरकृत इजिप्शियन रिलिजन]. पहिल्या सेतीच्या थडग्यांत एका देवतास्वरूप गाईचें उठावदार चित्र आहे. ही 'हाथोर' गाय विश्वमाता व स्वर्गाचें प्रतीक समजत. शू नांवाच्या देवानें आपल्या अनुचरांच्या साहाय्यानें या गोदेवतेला भूमीपासून वर उचलून धरल्याचीं चित्रें दिसून येतात. कृषिविषयक व्यवसायांतील चित्रांतून गाईबैल दिसल्यास नवल नाहीं. उदा०, वझीर पेपी-आंख (६ वें घराणें) याचे नोकर शेतांत बीं वियाणें पेरीत आहेत ; कुळवांना बैल जोडले आहेत. इ.; एका थडग्यांत गुरांना गोठ्यांत घालण्याच्या वेळचा एक देखावा दिसेल. प्रथम गुरांची मोजदाद करून त्याच्या पंचकड्या बनवीत. लढायांतील रथांनाहि बैल जुंपलेले दिसतात. तिसऱ्या रामेससच्या स्वारींत भरीव चाकांच्या रथांना चारचार बैल जोडल्याचें पाहावयास मिळतें [युनिव्हर्सल हिस्टरी २.७९६]. बिचाऱ्या बैलांना दगडहि वाहून न्यावे लागत असें दिसतें [बिब्लिकल ॲन्टिक्विटीज, पृ. १८३].

ग्रीक-रोमन चित्रें—या चित्रांत कांहीं बळी द्यावयाच्या पशूंचीं चित्रें आढळतात. पेरिक्लियन काळांतील एका चित्रांत उपासनाविधि चालला असून एक बैल बळी द्यावयास काढला आहे. आगस्टस बादशहानें जी ' शांतता वेदी ' तयार केली होती तिच्या भिंतीवर पृथ्वीमातेचें चित्र काढलें आहे. या पृथ्वीच्या पायाशीं एक गाय बसलेली दिसते. विजयी रोमन योद्धे लूट घेऊन जात आहेत असें इ. स. १७४ मधल्या एका रोमन सिनेटनें उभारलेल्या विजयस्तंभावर दृश्य आहे; त्या लुटीच्या मालांत गुरेंहि आहेत. या रोमन काळांतील एका ट्युनिशिअन खेड्यांत एक मोझॅइक प्रतिमा (जडवाची) उपलब्ध झाली आहे. तींत कृषिजीवनाचा सुंदर देखावा आहे. त्यांतील गुरें आणि औतें स्पष्ट दिसतात.

इंग्रजी भाषेंतील शेतकी विषयावरचें १५२५ त छापलेलें जें पहिलें पुस्तक आहे त्याच्या मुखपृष्ठावरील चित्रांत एक शेतकरी व त्याचा मुलगा जमीन नांगरतांना दाखविला आहे; नांगराला दोन बैल जुंपले आहेत.

भारतीय चित्रें—हिंदुस्थानांत खिस्ती शकापूर्वीचीं मध्यप्रदेशांत जीं थोडीं चित्रें आढळलीं तीं पर्वतांच्या कड्यांवर कोरलेलीं आहेत. तीं सर्व शिकारीचीं असून तांबड्या रंगांत काढलीं आहेत. माणसाच्या मृगयाकालांतील तीं असावींत असें संशोधक समजतात. यानंतर बौद्धकालांतील अजंठा लेण्यांतील चित्रें नजरेपुढें येतात. या चित्रांतील प्राणी फार सुंदर काढलेले दिसतील.

मुसलमानी वर्चस्वाच्या काळांत चित्रकला विलासी बनली. या अहिंदु शिल्पांत गो-प्रतिमा शोधण्याचें कारणच नाहीं. घोमान येथें संत नामदेवाची समाधि त्याच्या भक्तांनीं

बांधलेली आहे. तिच्या भिंतीवर मढविलेले जे सोनेरी पत्रे आहेत त्यांवर नामदेवाच्या जीवनांतील प्रसंग रेखाटले आहेत. एक प्रसंग असा आहे कीं, बादशहा फिरोझशाह तुघ्लख यानें एक मेलेली गाय नामदेवापुढें आणून टाकली व "तूं आपल्या–लोक समजत असलेल्या–दैवी प्रभावानें या गायीला जिवंत केलें नाहींस तर तुला यमलोकीं पाठवितों," असें बजावलें. नामदेवानें विठ्ठलाचा धांवा करून ती गाय उठविली.

रजपूत कलमी चित्रांत कृष्णलीला दाखविल्या असतात. तेव्हां त्यांत गोप्रतिमांना फार मोठा वाव मिळाला. अतिपरिचित म्हणून त्यांचें विशेष विवेचन करण्याचें कारण दिसत नाहीं. आतां मूर्तिशिल्पाकडे वळूं.

मूर्तिशिल्प

आपल्या विषयाच्या दृष्टीनें प्राचीन मूर्तींची पाहणी करतांना स्वतंत्र गोमूर्ति फारच थोड्या आढळतात. इतिहासपूर्व कालांतील टयुक दोदाबर्त लेण्यांत मातीचे दोन बायझन (नर-मादी) त्यांचें बलिदान चुकल्यामुळें तसेच पडून राहिलेले आहेत. हजारों वर्षे होऊन गेलीं तरी या मृण्मय प्रतिमा चांगल्या स्थितींत राहिल्या आहेत. याचें कारण गुहेंतील ओलसर दमट हवा हें असावें.

सुमेरी शिल्प—प्राचीनतम सुमेरियन संस्कृतीच्या उपलब्ध अवशेषांत बैल काढलेल्या मातीच्या मुद्रा दिसतील. या मुद्रांवरून सिंध प्रांतांत एकशिंगी बैलासारखा विशिष्ट प्राणी उपासनेंत असावा अशी शंका येते. हा प्राणी कोणी हरणासारखा मानतात. हा चांगला पुष्ट असून याची शेपटी गोंडेदार आहे. हा प्राणी मिरवतांना दाखविला आहे. कांहीं मुद्रांवरील बैल आखूड शिंगाचे व रागीट दिसतात. कांहींच्या गळ्यांत नक्षीदार पट्टा असतो व पुढें खाण्याचें पात्र असावेंसें वाटतें. ऊर येथील अवशेषांत असाच एक खालमान्या बैल पाहावयास मिळतो.

मोहेंजोदारो येथील कांहीं मुद्रित बैल ब्राह्मणी ठेवणीचे दिसतात. एका मुद्रेवर डोक्यावर शिंग असलेली शिवप्रतिमा आहे; तिच्या डाव्या बाजूस वृषभ काढला आहे. त्याखेरीज वाघ, हत्ती व गेंडा असे तीन प्राणी आहेत. तेव्हां या शिवाचें 'पशुपति' हें नांव सार्थ आहे यांत शंका नाहीं [इंडियन हिस्टरी जर्नल, मार्च १९३२].

याच सुमेरी संस्कृतीचे जे अवशेष बाबिलोनमध्यें सांपडले आहेत त्यांत एक लांकडी बैल आहे; तो बनविण्यांत फार कौशल्य खर्चलेलें दिसून येईल. तो सध्यां तेल-एल्-ओबीद मध्यें आहे. असेंच दुसरें उल्लेखनीय प्रतीक म्हणजे ऊर येथें शबअद राणीच्या थडग्यांत सांपडलेलें गोशीर्ष होय. तें चांदीचें असून जगांतील प्राचीनतम एकाकी म्हणजे सुटी अशी गोमूर्ति म्हणतां येईल. याच्या डोक्यावर सोन्याचीं फुलें आहेत. लिआनार्ड वूले याच्या 'दि सुमेरियन्स' या ग्रंथांत याची प्रतिकृति दिली आहे (पृ. ४८).

असुरी शिल्प—याच प्राचीन भूप्रदेशांत असुरी (ॲसीरियन) संस्कृति नांदत होती. तिच्या अवशेषांचें संशोधन केल्यास कित्येक सपक्ष वृषभ दिसतील. राजवाड्यांच्या प्रवेशद्वारीं आपल्याकडील देवद्वारावरील जयविजयासारखे हे पंख वागविणारे बैल पाहून समान मनोरचनेची साक्ष पटते. या बैलांचीं तोंडें माणसांचीं आहेत; व त्यांच्याकडे विघ्नकर्त्या क्षुद्रदेवतांपासून माणसाला पीडा न होऊं देण्याचें काम असे. खोरसाबाद येथील दुसऱ्या सारगॉन

राजाच्या व असुरसम्राट् नझिरपाल याच्या राजवाड्याच्या बाहेरील भिंतींवरील असे द्वार-रक्षक पाहावयास मिळतात.

मिसरी-इराणी शिल्प—मिसरी देशांतील उठावदार शिल्पकृतीचा चित्रकलाविवेचनांत वर उल्लेख आलाच आहे. खि. पू. ६ व्या शतकांतील ॲटिकमधील एका शिल्पांत वासरूं खांद्यावर टाकून चाललेल्या एका माणसाचें दृश्य मनोवेधक आहे [युनिव्हर्सल हिस्टरी २·१४०३].

यानंतर याच काळच्या इराणी लोकांत एका वृषभहननाचा पौराणिक प्रसंग मिथ्र-संप्रदायी देवळांतून रेखाटला गेलेला आढळेल. अहुरमज्दानें एक रानटी बैल उत्पन्न केला व त्याला वठणीवर आणण्याची कामगिरी मिथ्राला सांगितली. व मिथ्रानें ती चांगली पार पाडली. ही पराक्रमी मिथ्र देवता (वैदिक मित्र) पुढील काळांतील रोमन योद्ध्यांनीं आपलीशी करून तिच्या वृषभहनन कथांच्या प्रतिमा ते बनवूं लागले. जर्मनींत हेडर्नहीम येथें असें एक मिथ्र देवालय आढळून येतें. रोमन लोकांनीं मिथ्राप्रमाणेंच दुसरा एक देव उचलला. पण तो वृषभ-सूदन नसून वृषभवाहन होता. हा मूळ हिटाईट लोकांचा टेशुब देव होय. हिटाईट लोक आपल्याकडील लिंगायतांप्रमाणें वृषभपूजक होते. अशा त्यांच्या एका दगडी वृषभदेवतेची प्रतिमा आयक येथें आढळून आली आहे. खि. पू. पहिल्या शतकांतील एट्रुस्कन शिल्पांत शेतकरी व त्यांचे बैल पाहावयास मिळतात.

भारतीय शिल्प—शेवटीं भारतीय शिल्पाची या दृष्टीनें पाहणी करूं. प्रथम इ. स. पहिल्या-दुसऱ्या शतकांतील नाशिकच्या नहपान लेण्यांतील स्तंभांवर गोप्रतिमा आढळून येतात. बहुधा याच काळांतील पाणिगिरी (हैद्राबाद संस्थान)च्या उत्खननावशेषांत एका दगडावर धर्मचक्र आढळलें आहे. या चक्राखालीं एक सुरेख दृश्य रेखाटलें आहे. एक हत्ती एका बैलावर हल्ला चढवीत असून शेजारचा माणूस त्याचा प्रतिकार करीत आहे [हैद्राबाद समाचार, मे १९४४].

जैन तीर्थंकरांच्या प्रतिमांत त्यांच्या पायांशीं त्यांचीं विशिष्ट लांछनें काढलेलीं असतात. पहिला तीर्थंकर ऋषभदेव याचें लांछन वृषभ असून त्याचें चित्र मूर्तीतून दिसून येतें. याच तीर्थंकराचा यक्ष गोमुख नांवाचा असून त्याचीहि मूर्ति पाहावयास मिळते [बर्जेस—दिगंबर जैन इकोनोग्रॅफी]. सुपार्श्वतीर्थंकराचा यक्ष नंदी नांवाचा आहे. यक्षिणी काली हिच्या पायाशीं नंदीची प्रतिमा असते.

वेरुळास कैलास लेण्याशेजारीं नंदीगृह नांवाचें एक लेणें आहे. हें फार विस्तीर्ण असून आंत नंदीची छिन्नविच्छिन्न स्थितींतील एक मूर्ति आहे. इतर लेण्यांतून शिल्पांत कित्येक गोप्रतिमा आढळतील त्या निराळ्या. गुजराथ आणि राजपुताना हा मुलूख कृष्णभक्तीचें आगर असल्यानें गोवर्धनधारीच्या मूर्तिशिल्पांतून गोकुळाचे देखावे किती तरी सांपडतील. कर्नाटकांत नुग्गीहळ्ळी व हळेबीड येथील गोवर्धनधारीच्या देवळांतून असेच गोजीवनाचे प्रसंग चितारले आहेत. ज्या भागांत लिंगायतांचा मोठा भरणा असतो तेथें देवळांतून व भिंतींवरून मोठमोठे दगडी नंदी ठेवलेले दिसतील. बंगळूर येथें ‘ बसवन् गुडी ’ नांवाचें नुसतें नंदीचेंच अवाढव्य देऊळ आहे. आंतील नंदी दोन मजली तरी उंचीचा असेल. म्हैसूरच्या चामुंडी टेकडीवर उपड्यावर असाच एक प्रचंड नंदी आहे. हा एकाच दगडाचा

घडविला आहे. याची लांबी २३ फूट, रुंदी १० फूट व उंची ११ फूट आहे. हा नंदी १६६४ त म्हैसूरच्या दोड्डराज या राजानें तेथें बसविला.

धातूच्या गोप्रतिमा तर कित्येक आढळतील. रजपुतांची महान् देवता भगवान् एकलिंगजी याच्या चौमुखी मूर्तीसमोर जिवंत बैलाइतका मोठा पंचलोह धातूचा नंदी आहे. आहेर-बहुमानांत गोमूर्ति असत असे उल्लेख सांपडतात. १७६८ सालीं मुंबईकर इंग्रजांनीं पेशव्यांस जो नजराणा पाठविला त्यांत एक चांदीची गाय होती.

वास्तुशिल्प

वास्तुशिल्प पद्धतींत गोवाचक रचनाहि कांहीं आढळतात. 'गवाक्ष', 'गोमुख' व 'गोपुर' हीं प्रसिद्धच आहेत. यांखेरीज 'वृषभ' (एक मजली वाटोळी मनोऱ्याची इमारत), 'वृषभालय' (देवळाच्या प्रवेशद्वारावरील गोठा), वृष(नंदी)मंडप, गोस्तंभशीर्ष, यांसारखीं रचनाकर्माचीं नांवें येतात. गोपुर हें द्राविडी पद्धतीचें देवस्थानप्राकारावरील शिल्पकर्म आहे. ही १६ व्या शतकांतील रचनापद्धति दिसते. गोपुराला कित्येक मजलेहि असतात. शेवटीं अर्धचंद्राकृति गोशृंग असतें. सबंध देऊळ हा रथ व गोपुर हा जणुं त्याचा वाहक बैल, अशी कल्पना दिसते. कांची, श्रीरंगम्, मदुरा, तंजावर, इ. ठिकाणचीं गोपुरें प्रचंड आहेत. वर अप्रतिम नक्षी व चित्रें काढलेलीं असतात. कांचीच्या एकाम्रेश्वराच्या देवळाचें गोपुर १८८ फूट उंच आहे.

पवित्र तीर्थाचें पाणी बाहेर सोडण्यासाठीं गोमुख बांधतात. हिमालयांतील गंगेचा उगम एका गोमुखांतूनच दाखविला आहे. राजापूरची गंगा अशा गोमुखांतून बाहेर पडते. बागेस पाणी देण्यासहि अशी रचना करीत असावेत. कारण 'गोमुखें पाट कालवे। साधूनि बांधूनि आणावे।' असें एक समर्थवचन आठवतें.

कांहीं जुन्या इमारतींतून खांब आणि तुळया यांमध्यें जे घिरे दिलेले असतात त्यांना विशिष्ट नक्षी असते. कांहींत जे प्राणी काढलेले असतात त्यांत गोप्रतिमाहि आढळतील. गोस्तंभशीर्ष हा असाच एक प्रकार आहे. इराणांत पहिल्या दारियसच्या राजवाड्यांत बैलजोडीची वर बैठक असलेला खांब आहे [युनिव्हर्सल हिस्टरी, २,११४८]. गुजराथेंत गुमलीच्या नवलाख देवळांत खांबांना जे घिरे आहेत त्यांतील एकावर नंदी काढला आहे [डॉ. सांखळिया—आर्किऑलॉजी ऑफ गुजरात, पृ. १२३].

वीरगळ असें इकडे ज्यांना संशोधक म्हणतात ते कानडी 'वीर कल्ल' (वीरांचे दगड) होत. त्यांतच गोकल्ल असा एक प्रकार आहे. चोर गायींची चोरी करण्यास आले असतां जे त्यांच्याशीं गायी सोडविण्यासाठीं लढतात व मरतात त्यांचीं हीं दगडी स्मारकें होत. म्हैसुर संस्थानांत दहाव्या शतकापासूनचे असे गोकल्ल सांपडतात.

अलंकार, पात्रें, इ.

मायसिनी अलंकारांत बैलाच्या आकृतीचे कांहीं अलंकार दिसतात; तर मिनोई युगांतील कांहीं गोप्रतीक भांडीं सीरा येथें सांपडलीं आहेत. मुलांच्या खेळांतील 'बुल-रिंग' प्रथम क्रीटन संस्कृतीच्या अवशेषांत आढळलें. सायप्रसमधील ऐंकोमी येथें फिनीशियन काळची (खि. पू. ११००) एक खेळांतली हस्तीदंती पेटी मिळाली; तीवर कांहीं प्राणी कोरले आहेत; त्यांत

एक शरविद्ध वृषभ काढला आहे [यु. हि. २. १०२८]. ग्रीकांचीं कांहीं पेयपात्रें गोमुखाकृती आहेत. ६ व्या शतकांतील म्युनिकच्या एका पात्रावर ईलियडमधील एक कथाप्रसंग काढला आहे. पॅरिस हा गुराखी इडा पर्वतावर प्रायमचीं गुरें चारत आहे [किता २. १३४०].

आपल्याकडे जपमाला बाहेर दिसूं नये म्हणून ज्या पिशवींत ठेवून जप करतात तिला गोमुखी म्हणतात. ती बहुधा तांबडी बनातीची असून तिच्या कडांना फीत शिवलेली असते. तंत्रवाङ्मयांत या गोमुखीचें वर्णन आहे. अभिषेकाला गोशृंग जें घेतात तें धातूचें टोपण लावून मढविलेलें असतें. तंजावरच्या बृहदीश्वरास दिलेल्या दानपत्रांत 'गोपुरार्ति पंचखणी' या आरतिपात्राचा निर्देश आहे [तंजावरचे राजे, पृ. ३१६]. तेथेंच काशाच्या घंटेवर रुपेरी वृषभ असल्याची माहिती आहे. 'गोपुच्छ' व 'गोस्तन' या संज्ञांचे चार किंवा चौतीस पदरी हार असतात. जंगम आणि गोसावी यांच्या पवित्रकांवर व कंकणांवर शिवनंदीच्या प्रतिमा काढलेल्या असतात [ब्रिग्जकृत गोरखनाथ, पृ. ११, १९–२०]. वाद्यांतील शिंग हें वाद्य जसें शत्रूला कंप उत्पन्न करण्यासाठीं रणामध्यें वाजवितात तसेंच तें देवाच्या मिरवणुकींत व आरतीच्या वेळीं जागरार्थ वाजवितात. या शिंगाला 'गोमुख' असेंहि नांव आहे. [शृंगं गोमुखमीरितम्। – राजव्यवहारकोष]. शिकारी लोक जयचिन्हें जीं घरांतून लावतात तींत रानबैलांचीं शिंगें असतात. तशींच आजकाल हौशी लोकहि आपल्या दिवाणखान्यांतून शोभेसाठीं लावतात. गोरिवीत, गोवृक्त, गौंगव यांसारखीं सामगायनाचीं नांवें संगीतशास्त्रांत आढळून येतात.

नाणीं

अगदीं प्राचीन नाणीं पाहूं जातां मोहेंजोदारो येथील उत्खननांत आढळलेल्या मुद्रिका लक्षांत घ्याव्या लागतील. या नाण्यांत धरतां येतील कीं नाहीं याविषयीं दुमत आहे. यांवर बैलांच्या प्रतिमा आहेत हें मागें आलेंच आहे. ग्रीक नाण्यांचा काल खि. पू. ७०० पासून धरतात. यांतील एका नाण्यावर मुसंडी मारणारा बैल पाहावयास मिळतो. रोमन नाणीं खि. पू. ४ थ्या शतकापासूनचीं आढळतात. कोमोडसच्या नाण्यावर दोन बैल नांगराला जुंपलेले आहेत. ज्युलियनच्या नाण्यावरहि बैल दिसतो; कारण त्यानें ग्रीक मूर्तिपूजा स्वीकारली होती.

प्राचीन भारतीय ठशांच्या नाण्यांवर बैलाचे पुढील प्रकार आढळतातः १ साधा (बैल), २ किरण चक्रांत, ३ सुखासीन, ४ शिवलिंगापुढें, ५ झाडापुढें, ६ परस्परांकडे तोंडें करून असलेले. कुशानसम्राट् दुसरा कडफिसीज याच्या प्रतिमेचें जें नाणें उपलब्ध आहे त्याच्या मागील बाजूस नंदीला टेकून उभा राहिलेला शिव दाखविला आहे [ब्रिटिश म्युझियममधील नाणीं, अर्ली हिस्टरी ऑफ इंडिया]. याच घराण्यांतील पहिला वासुदेव याच्याहि नाण्यांवर शिवनंदी आहेत; पण त्यांची मांड निराळी आहे. यौधेय राजांच्या लहान नाण्यांवर गतिमान वृषभ काढला असून त्याभोवतीं बौद्ध शिल्पाचा एक कठडा आहे [मध्ययुगीन भारत, १. उत्तरार्ध ३५६]. सातव्या शतकांतील नेपाळच्या अंशुवर्माराजाच्या नाण्यावर पुढें सिंह व त्यामागें 'कामदेही' गाय काढली आहे. काश्मीरच्या स्थलपतिदेवाच्या नाण्यावर 'बैल आणि घोडेस्वार' रेखाटले आहेत. हीं नाणीं काबूलकडील दिसतात. शिवभक्त मिहिरगुल याच्या नाण्यावर एक गतिमान वृषभ दाखविला असून 'जयतु वृषभ' अशीं अक्षरेंहि आहेत. राजस्थानी (राज्ञो जनपदस) नाण्यांवर किरणचक्रामध्यें वशिंडाचा बैल व

पुढें एक माणूस उभा आहे. मालव नाण्यांवर बिंदुवर्तुळांत असाच एक नंदी असतो. आजच्या होळकरशाही पैशावरहि नंदी दिसेल. हर्षवर्धनाच्या नाण्यावरहि नंदी असावा असें बाणाच्या काव्यावरून वाटतें (वृषांकामभिनव घटितां मुद्राम्).

कर्नाटकांत कांहीं जुनीं गवांकित नाणीं आढळतात. पुलुमायी याच्या नाण्यावर उभा बैल काढला आहे, तर महारथीच्या नाण्यावर तसाच पण वशिंडाचा बैल आहे. कांहींत या वशिंडावर अर्धचंद्र काढलेला असतो [म्हैसूर गॅझेटियर ७३–७४].

चितोडच्या बाप्पा रावळाच्या सोन्याच्या नाण्यावर एका बाजूला शिवलिंग व समोर नंदी असून दुसऱ्या बाजूला गाय आणि वासरूं अशा आकृती आहेत. मोंगल बादशहा जहांगीर यानें राशींच्या सोन्याच्या मोहरा पाडल्या होत्या. त्यांत वृषभ राशीच्या मोहरेवर उभा बैल सुंदर दिसतो.

याप्रमाणें विविध कलाप्रकारांतील गोप्रतीकांचा हा धांवता आढावा आहे.

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पिंगलाच्या छंदःशास्त्रांतील प्रक्षेप आणि पाठभेद

श्री. य. ग. फफे, पुणें

पिंगलप्रणीत छंदःशास्त्र हें वेदाच्या षडंगांपैकीं एक अंग होय. दशग्रन्थी वैदिकांस तें मुखोद्गत असतें. त्याची वेदांगांत गणना झाल्यापासून आजवर म्हणजे निदान दोन हजारांहून अधिक वर्षे वैदिक ब्राह्मणांनीं तें मुखपरंपरेनें रक्षिलें आहे. वैदिक ब्राह्मण वेदांइतक्याच कसोशीनें वेदांगांचेंही पठन करितात. म्हणून वेदांगभूत अशा पैंगल छंदःशास्त्रामध्यें वास्तविक कांहीं प्रक्षेप किंवा पाठभेद होऊं नयेत. पण महाराष्ट्र-वैदिक मुखपरंपरेनें जें छंदःशास्त्र म्हणतात तें आणि हलायुधाच्या टीकेसहित मुद्रित केलेलें छंदःशास्त्र यांमध्यें बरेंच अंतर आढळतें. यामुळें पिंगलप्रणीत खरा पाठ कसा असावा याविषयीं जिज्ञासा उत्पन्न होते. या जिज्ञासेच्या तृप्तीचा कांहीं मार्ग मिळतो कीं काय याचाच विचार येथें करावयाचा आहे. विवेचनाच्या सोयीसाठीं दशग्रन्थी वैदिकांच्या पठनांत जें छंदःशास्त्र येतें त्यास "पठित पिंगल" असें म्हणूं आणि हलायुधाचे टीकेसहित छापलेल्या पुस्तकास "मुद्रित पिंगल" असें नाव देऊं.

पठित पिंगलाची शके १७५२ त म्हणजे १२० वर्षांपूर्वी लिहिलेली एक पोथी एका दशग्रन्थी वैदिकास छंदःशास्त्र प्रत्यक्ष म्हणावयास सांगून त्यांच्या पठनाप्रमाणें मीं तपासून घेतली आहे. ही पोथी म्हणजेच "पठित पिंगल" होय. हें पठित पिंगल आणि मुद्रित पिंगल म्हणजे हलायुधटीकेसहित छापलेलें पुस्तक यांची तुलना करून त्यांतील अंतरासंबंधानें जें आढळून येतें तें मी येथें विद्वज्जनांच्या निदर्शनास आणीत आहें.

पिंगलाचें संपूर्ण छंदःशास्त्र सूत्रमय आहे. 'धी श्री स्त्री म्' या सूत्रापासून त्यास प्रारंभ होतो आणि 'परे पूर्णं परे पूर्णमिति' या सूत्रावर त्याची समाप्ति होते. पण पोथीमध्यें 'धी श्री स्त्री म्' या पहिल्या सूत्रापूर्वी सहा पद्यें आहेत. त्यांतील पहिलें पद्य

मयरसतजभनलगसंमितं भ्रमति वाङ्मयं जगति यस्य।
स जयति पिंगलनागः शिवप्रसादाद्विशुद्धमतिः॥

असें आहे. यांत पिंगलाची प्रशस्ति गाऊन त्याचा जयजयकार केला आहे. आणि सहाव्या पद्यांत 'पिंगलः सूत्रं उवाच' असें म्हटलें आहे. ही स्तुति गाणारा व 'पिंगलः उवाच' असें म्हणणारा स्वतः पिंगल नसून दुसराच कोणी असणार हें उघड आहे. म्हणून जरी वैदिक ब्राह्मण हीं पद्यें पिंगलोक्त मानीत असले आणि ब्रह्मयज्ञामध्यें छंदाचा प्रारंभ म्हणून 'मयरसतजभनलगसंमितं' हेंच उच्चारीत असले तरी हीं सहा पद्यें पिंगलप्रणीत नव्हत हें उघड आहे. याचप्रमाणें 'परे पूर्ण परे पूर्णमिति' या शेवटल्या सूत्रापुढें पोथीमध्यें 'मय द्वादश धीः पंचदश' येथून 'अत्रानुक्तं सप्तदशाष्टादश' येथवरच्या ज्या ओळी आहेत त्या वैदिकांच्या पठनांत येतात व त्यांस ते छंदःशास्त्रान्तर्गत मानितात. तथापि या ओळी म्हणजे केवळ छंदःशास्त्रांतील

सूत्रांची संख्या सांगणारी सांखळी आहे म्हणून ती छंदःशास्त्राच्या बाहेरची आहे, त्याचा भाग नव्हे. ही सांखळी व पहिलीं उपोद्घातरूप सहा पद्यें यांच्या मध्यन्तरीं जीं सूत्रें आहेत तेंच पिंगलाचें छंदःशास्त्र होय. या छंदःशास्त्रांतील सूत्रांची संख्या सांखळीप्रमाणें २८६ भरते आणि पोथीवरून प्रत्यक्ष मोजून पाहतांहि ती तेवढीच आढळते.

या पठित पिंगलाशीं मुद्रित पिंगल ताडून पाहतां असें आढळतें कीं, पठित पिंगलाच्या तिसऱ्या अध्यायाच्या शेवटीं असलेलीं 'स्यामान्यतिछंदांसि,' 'रोचनाभाः कृतयः' व 'अनुक्तानां कामतो वर्णा इति' हीं तीन सूत्रें तसेंच सहाव्या अध्यायांतील 'एकरूपं सौज्गौग्' हें सूत्र आणि आठव्या अध्यायांतील 'एकोनेद्धा' हें सूत्र अशीं एकूण पांच सूत्रें मुद्रित पिंगलांत नाहींत. पण त्यांत आठव्या अध्यायाचें अन्त्य सूत्र 'परे पूर्ण परे पूर्णमिति' याचीं दोन सूत्रें धरलीं आहेत. म्हणून यांतील सूत्रसंख्या २८६ – ५ + १ = २८२ इतकी व्हावी, पण ती ३०८ भरते म्हणजे २६ नें वाढते. याचें कारण मुद्रित पिंगलांत सहाव्या अध्यायांत सात, सातव्यांत एक आणि आठव्यांत अठरा मिळून २६ सूत्रें अधिक आलीं आहेत. हीं सर्व सूत्रें समवृत्तांचीं लक्षणें सांगणारीं आहेत. पठित पिंगलांत सहाव्या व सातव्या अध्यायांत समवृत्तें दिलीं आहेत त्यांची संख्या ६६ आहे. त्यांत ही सव्विसांची भर म्हणजे वाढीचें प्रमाण $\frac{१}{३}$ पेक्षां अधिक पडतें. वास्तव हीं २६ वृत्तें पिंगलोक्त आहेत कीं नाहींत असा मोठा प्रश्न पडतो. त्याच्या निर्णयाचा कांहीं मार्ग मिळतो कीं काय तें आतां पाहावयाचें आहे.

येथें हें सांगणें अवश्य आहे कीं, या २६ वृत्तांपैकीं आठव्या अध्यायांत आलेलीं १८ वृत्तें पिंगलोक्त नसावीं अशी शंका यापूर्वी उद्भूत झालेली असली तरी आधुनिक छंदःशास्त्रज्ञांनीं अजून तें निश्चयात्मकतेनें स्वीकारलेलें दिसत नाहीं. आणि सहाव्या व सातव्या अध्यायांत कांहीं वृत्तें प्रक्षिप्त झालेलीं असतील अशी शंकाही अद्यापि कोणीं व्यक्त केलेली नाहीं. याचें कारण असें दिसतें कीं, आधुनिक विद्वज्जनांपुढें छन्दःशास्त्राचें मुद्रित पुस्तकच तेवढें असतें, पोथी नसते. आणि पोथींत म्हणजेच वैदिकांच्या पठनांत कांहीं निराळें असूं शकेल याची कल्पनाहि त्यांस आलेली नसते. यामुळें आधुनिक छंदःशास्त्रज्ञ पिंगलाचा आधार द्यावयाचा तो मुद्रित पुस्तकाचाच देतात आणि साहजिकच हीं विवादित २६ वृत्तें पिंगलोक्त म्हणूनच ते नमूद करितात. अशी वस्तुस्थिति असल्यामुळें या वृत्तांच्या प्रक्षिप्तपणासंबंधानें अधिक ऊहापोह करणें प्राप्त आहे.

मुद्रित पिंगलांत अधिक असलेलीं हीं २६ सूत्रें पिंगलप्रणीत आहेत असें म्हणावें तर तीं वैदिकांच्या पठनांतून गळलीं असें मानावें लागेल. वैदिकांची मुखपरंपरा अव्याहत चालत आली असतां तींतून सूत्रेंच्या सूत्रें गळणें कसें शक्य आहे? एक दोन नव्हे तर २६ सूत्रें गळणें हें केवळ असंभाव्य होय. छंदःशास्त्राचीं सूत्रें उच्चारण्यास अत्यंत बिकट असल्यामुळें क्वचित् व्यंजनें गळणें किंवा अक्षरें बदललीं जाणें संभवनीय आहे असें मानलें तरी तेणेंकरून फार तर कांहीं अपपाठ उत्पन्न होतील एवढेंच. संपूर्ण सूत्रेंच्या सूत्रें गळणें असंभवनीय होय हें कोणासही मान्य करावेंच लागेल.

शिवाय पठित पिंगलाच्या शेवटीं सांखळीनें सूत्रांची संख्या बांधून टाकलेली आहे. ती संख्या २८६ इतकीच म्हणजे पठित पिंगलांत जितकीं सूत्रें आहेत तितकीच नेमकी आहे. तींत या २६ सूत्रांस स्थानच नाहीं. म्हणून तीं सूत्रें पिंगलप्रणीत नसून प्रक्षिप्त आहेत असें

म्हणणें प्राप्त आहे. तथापि यास आणखी कांहीं निर्णायक प्रमाण मिळतें कीं काय तेंही पाहिलें पाहिजे. तत्पूर्वी या विवादित सूत्रांत सांगितलेलीं हीं वृत्तें कोणतीं व तीं मुद्रित पिंगलांत कोठें आलीं आहेत तें प्रथम पाहूं.

मुद्रित पिंगलाच्या सहाव्या अध्यायांत हंसरुत, विलासिनी, तत, कुसुमविचित्रा, चंचलाक्षिका, कान्तोत्पीडा आणि वाहिनी अशीं सात वृत्तें अधिक आहेत. सातव्या अध्यायांत गौरी (ननसग) हें एक वृत्त अधिक आहे आणि आठव्या अध्यायांत २ ते १९ या सूत्रांत कुड्मलदन्ती, वरतनु, जलधरमाला, गौरी (ननरर), ललना, कनकप्रभा, कुटिलगति, वरसुंदरी, कुटिला, शैलशिखा, वरयुवती, अतिशायिनी, अवितथ, कोकिलक, विबुधप्रिया, नाराचक, विस्मिता आणि शशिवदना हीं एका गटानें आलेलीं अठरा वृत्तें अधिक आहेत.

या २६ अधिक वृत्तांपैकीं जीं अठरा वृत्तें आठव्या अध्यायांत एका गटानें आलीं आहेत तीं त्या स्थळीं येणें यथोचित आहे काय याचा प्रथम विचार करूं. पिंगलाचें आठव्या अध्यायाचें पहिलें सूत्र 'अत्रानुक्तं गाथा' असें आहे. व त्यापुढेंच हीं अठरा वृत्तें आलीं आहेत. या वृत्तांचें हें स्थान नीट विचारांत घेणें अवश्य आहे. पिंगलानें चौथ्या अध्यायांत मात्रावृत्तें, पांचव्यांत अर्धसम व विषम वृत्तें आणि सहाव्या व सातव्या अध्यायांत षडक्षरी ते सव्वीस अक्षरी पादापर्यंतचीं समवृत्तें व त्यांहूनही मोठे असे दंडक अशीं सर्व प्रकारचीं वृत्तें सांगितल्यानंतरच आठव्या अध्यायाचे प्रारंभीं 'अत्रानुक्तं गाथा' हें सूत्र लिहिलें आहे. अत्र म्हणजे येथवरल्या या छंदःशास्त्रांत अनुक्त म्हणजे नामलक्षणसहित न सांगितलेलें असें जें जें वृत्त राहिलें असेल त्यास गाथा असें सामान्य नांव द्यावें, असा ह्या सूत्राचा भावार्थ आहे. पिंगलानें येथें असें सूचित केलें आहे कीं, जीं वृत्तें महत्त्वाचीं होतीं तीं वर सांगून झालीं. त्यांशिवाय अन्य कांहीं वृत्तें क्वचित् काव्यादिकांतून येतात तीं विशेष लक्षणीय न वाटल्यामुळें या ग्रन्थांत त्यांचें नामकरणादिक पृथक्पणें केलें नाहीं. अशीं नामकरण न केलेलीं जीं जीं वृत्तें कोठेंही आढळतील त्या सर्वांस सामान्यत्वें गाथा असें म्हणावें. अशा प्रकारें पिंगलानें 'अत्रानुक्तं गाथा' हें सूत्र लिहून वृत्तलक्षणांचा विभाग समाप्त झाल्याचें स्पष्टपणें दर्शविलें आहे. अर्थात् त्यापुढें अधिक वृत्तांस स्थानच राहत नाहीं. निराळा कांहीं विषय सांगावयाचा राहिला असेल तोच येथून पुढें सुरू व्हावयास पाहिजे. आणि पठित पिंगलांत तसाच तो सुरू होतो. त्यांत 'अत्रानुक्तं गाथा' या सूत्रापुढें 'द्विकौ ग्लौ' हें सूत्र येतें व एकदम गणितभागच सुरू होतो. मुद्रित पिंगलांत 'अत्रानुक्तं गाथा' व 'द्विकौ ग्लौ' यांचे मध्यंतरीं वृत्तें सांगणारीं १८ सूत्रें येतात तीं तेथें केवळ अस्थानीं आहेत हें उघड आहे.

दुसरें असें कीं, पिंगलानें सहाव्या व सातव्या अध्यायांत सर्व समवृत्तें पादाक्षर-संख्येच्या चढत्या क्रमानें दिलीं आहेत. त्यास हीं आणखी १८ वृत्तें देणेंच असतीं तर तीं त्यानें त्यांच्या पादाक्षरसंख्येनुसार सहाव्या व सातव्या अध्यायांत त्यांच्या त्यांच्या योग्य स्थानींच बसविलीं असतीं; भलत्याच जागीं दिलीं नसतीं. सारांश, हीं अठरा वृत्तें आठव्या अध्यायांत अस्थानीं पडलीं आहेत हा त्यांच्या प्रक्षिप्तपणाचा स्पष्ट पुरावाच होय.

पण यास आणखीही एक निर्णायक प्रमाण मिळतें. तें म्हणजे जयदेवकृत जयदेवच्छंद या ग्रन्थाचें. या ग्रन्थाचें निरीक्षण केलें असतां असें स्पष्ट दिसून येतें कीं, जयदेवानें पिंगलाचें छंदःशास्त्र प्रत्यक्ष पुढें ठेवूनच अन्य शब्दांत त्याचा अनुवाद केला आहे. असें ज्यांवरून दिसून येतें तीं प्रमाणें अशीं:—

१. पिंगलाप्रमाणेंच जयदेवानेंहि आपल्या ग्रन्थाचे आठच अध्याय केले आहेत.

२. त्यानें प्रत्येक अध्यायांत नेमका पिंगलाच्या त्या त्या अध्यायांतलाच विषय व तोहि त्यांतल्याच अनुक्रमानें दिला आहे.

३. पिंगलाप्रमाणेंच जयदेवानेंहि 'इति' ह्या शब्दानेंच अध्याय-समाप्ति दर्शविली आहे.

४. पिंगलाप्रमाणेंच जयदेवाच्या छंदाचे पहिले तीन अध्याय सूत्रमयच आहेत. पुढें छंदांचीं लक्षणें त्या त्या छंदांतच द्यावयाचीं असें जयदेवानें योजिल्यामुळें त्याच्या ग्रन्थाचा पुढील भाग मात्र पद्यरूप झाला आहे.

५. पिंगलाच्या चौथ्या व पांचव्या अध्यायांत जीं वृत्तें आहेत तींच नेमकीं व प्रायः त्याच क्रमानें जयदेवच्छंदांतहि आहेत. आपीडाचा प्रत्यापीड हा पोटप्रकार तेवढा जयदेवच्छंदांत आढळत नाहीं. त्याशिवाय त्यांत एकहि वृत्त न्यून वा अधिक नाहीं ही गोष्ट विशेष लक्षणीय आहे.

६. पिंगलाप्रमाणेंच जयदेवानेंहि समवृत्तें सहाव्या व सातव्या अशा दोन अध्यायांत विभागलीं आहेत व ही विभागणीही पिंगलाप्रमाणेंच नेमकी प्रहर्षिणीपासून केली आहे हें साम्यहि विशेष लक्षणीय आहे.

पिंगल व जयदेव यांच्या ग्रंथांत प्रत्येक गोष्टींत असें साम्य आढळतें, म्हणजे जयदेवच्छंदामध्यें पिंगलाचें प्रतिबिंब हुबेहूब दिसतें. हें प्रतिबिंब पठित पिंगलाचें दिसतें कीं मुद्रित पिंगलाचें दिसतें याचा शोध आतां घेऊं.

१. मुद्रित पिंगलाच्या आठव्या अध्यायांतील २ ते १९ या सूत्रांचा अनुवाद जयदेवच्छंदाच्या आठव्या अध्यायांत नाहीं व हीं सूत्रें पठित पिंगलांतहि नाहींत. यांतील जलधरमाला हें एक वृत्त जयदेवच्छंदाच्या सहाव्या अध्यायांत आढळतें पण तें पिंगलाच्या आठव्या अध्यायांतलें म्हणून जयदेवानें दिलें नसून तें त्यास काव्यादिकांत आढळलें म्हणूनच त्यानें दिलें असें म्हणावयास प्रत्यवाय नाहीं. सहाव्या व सातव्या अध्यायांत मिळून जयदेवानें अशीं एकंदर १४ वृत्तें पिंगलाहून अधिक दिलीं आहेत. त्यांतलेंच जलधरमाला हें एक होय. हीं १४ वृत्तें पिंगलोत्तर पण जयदेवपूर्व कालीं रूढ झालीं व म्हणूनच जयदेवानें दिलीं असें म्हणावयास हरकत नाहीं.

२. पठित पिंगलाहून मुद्रित पिंगलांत हंसरुतादि जीं आणखी आठ अधिक वृत्तें आलीं आहेत त्यांतील सात जयदेवच्छंदांत नाहींत. त्यांतील 'तत' एवढें एकच त्यांत आढळतें. तें काव्यादिकांत आढळल्यामुळेंच जयदेवानें दिलें असलें पाहिजे. मुद्रित पिंगलांतील हंसरुतादि आठ वृत्तें पठित पिंगलांत नाहींत व जयदेवच्छंदांत यांतलीं सात नाहींत. म्हणजे या वृत्तांच्या बाबतींत जयदेवच्छंदाचें मुद्रित पिंगलाशीं साम्य नसून पठित पिंगलाशीं साम्य आहे हें उघड आहे.

३. पठित पिंगलांतील ६६ समवृत्तांपैकीं ६५ जयदेवच्छंदांत आहेत. 'एकरूप' एवढें एकच वृत्त त्यांत आढळत नाहीं. तें बहुधा लेखनप्रमादानें पोथींतून गळलें असावें.

४. पठितपिंगलानुसार चंडवृष्टिप्रयात, मद्रक असे विशिष्ट पाठच जयदेवच्छंदांत आढळतात. मुद्रितपिंगलानुसार चंडवृष्टिप्रपात, भद्रक असे पाठ त्यांत आढळत नाहींत,

अशा अनेक प्रमाणांवरून जयदेवापुढील पिंगलाची प्रत पठित पिंगलाप्रमाणेंच होती, मुद्रित पिंगलासारखी नव्हती असें स्पष्ट दिसून येतें.

जयदेव इ. स. ९०० पूर्वी झाला हें निश्चित; तो इ. स. ६०० पूर्वीचाहि असेल किंबहुना पिंगलानंतर थोड्याच शतकांनीं तो झाला असावा असें अनुमान प्रा. वेलणकर यांनीं जयदामन्‌मध्यें केलें आहे. या अनुमानास दुसऱ्याहि एका प्रकारें बळकटी येते. पिंगलाहून जयदेवानें १४ च समवृत्तें अधिक दिलीं आहेत. इ. स. एक हजार या वेळीं असलेल्या जयकीर्तीनें त्यांत आणखी सुमारें दोनशें वृत्तांची भर टाकली आहे. वृत्तांची वाढ व ती होण्यास लागलेलें कालान्तर यांचें सम प्रमाण असतें असें जरी म्हणतां न आलें तरी दोनशें नवीन वृत्तें प्रचारांत येण्यास लागलेला काळ १४ वृत्तें प्रचारांत येण्यास लागलेल्या कालाहून पुष्कळच अधिक असणार व म्हणून पिंगल व जयदेव यांमधील कालान्तरापेक्षां जयदेव व जयकीर्ति यांमधील कालान्तर बरेंच अधिक असावें असें अनुमानिण्यास चिंता नाहीं. तें कसेंहि असो; जयदेव नवव्या शतकांत झाला असें मानिलें तरी त्यास आज अकराशेंवर वर्षें झालीं. आणि आज वैदिक ब्राह्मण जसें म्हणतात तसेंच छंदःशास्त्र जयदेवाच्या वेळीं म्हणजे अकराशें वर्षांपूर्वी होतें हें आपण वर पाहिलेंच आहे. हा काळ भारतीय विद्यांच्या अवनतीचा काळ असतांहि या सुदीर्घ कालांत वैदिकांची पठनपरंपरा अव्याहत राहिली असून छंदःशास्त्राचें मूळचें रूप जसेंच्या तसें टिकून राहिलें आहे. तेव्हां तें जयदेव व पिंगल यांमधील उज्ज्वल कालांत तसेंच अविकृत राहिलें असणार यांत शंका नाहीं. म्हणून वैदिकांच्या पठनांत आज जसें येतें तसेंच पिंगलप्रणीत मूळ छंदःशास्त्र होतें, हें जयदेवच्छंदाच्या साक्षीवरून निश्चितपणें कळतें. अर्थात् या पठितपिंगलाहून मुद्रितपिंगलांत अधिक आढळणारीं २६ वृत्तें प्राक्षिप्त होत, यांत अल्पहि शंका राहत नाहीं.

हीं वृत्तें पिंगलाच्या छंदःशास्त्रांत कोणीं केव्हां प्रक्षिप्त केलीं याचा निश्चय करणें अवघड आहे. हलायुधाच्या टीकेसहित मुद्रित केलेल्या पैंगल छंदःशास्त्राच्या पुस्तकांत हीं वृत्तें सांगणारीं सूत्रें व त्यांवरील टीका आढळते. यावरून हलायुधानेंच काव्यादिकांत अधिक आढळलेल्या या वृत्तांचीं लक्षणसूत्रें पिंगलाच्या धर्तीवर तयार करून त्यांवर टीका लिहिली असेल असें सकृद्दर्शनीं वाटण्याचा संभव आहे. पण हलायुध हा भरत व जयदेव यांच्यानंतर झालेला असला तरी तो जयकीर्ति, केदारभट्ट व हेमचंद्र यांच्यापूर्वी होऊन गेलेला आहे. हेमचंद्राचा काळ इ. स. ११५०, केदारभट्टाचा काळ इ. स. ११०० व जयकीर्तीचा काळ सुमारें इ. स. एक हजार असा असून हलायुध हा जयकीर्तीपूर्वी झालेला आहे. म्हणून हीं २६ वृत्तें जर हलायुधानें दिलेलीं असतीं तर तीं जयकीर्ति, केदारभट्ट व हेमचंद्र यांनींहि आपल्या ग्रन्थांत दिलींच असतीं. पण तसें आढळत नाहीं. व म्हणून जयकीर्ति, केदारभट्ट व हेमचंद्र यांच्या अवलोकनांतील हलायुधटीकेंत हीं वृत्तें नसावीं असें म्हणणें प्राप्त होतें.

हीं २६ वृत्तनामें कोणत्या ग्रन्थांत प्रथम आढळतात हें पाहणें येथें उद्‌बोधक होईल. यांपैकीं जलधरमाला आणि तत हीं दोन वृत्तनामें जयदेव देतो. यावरून अनुमान होतें कीं हीं दोन वृत्तनामें पिंगलोत्तर पण जयदेवपूर्व कालीं रूढ झालीं असावीं.

अतिशायिनी, कोकिलक आणि वरतनु हीं तीन वृत्तनामें जयदेव देत नाहीं पण जयकीर्ति देतो. यावरून तीं नांवें जयदेव व जयकीर्ति यांच्या मध्यंतरकालीं रूढ झालीं असावीं असें दिसतें.

हंसरुत, कुसुमविचित्रा, कुटिला, गौरी (न न र र) आणि नाराचक हीं जयदेव-जयकीर्तींनीं न दिलेलीं वृत्तनामें केदारभट्टाच्या वृत्तरत्नाकरांत आलीं आहेत. (त्यांत कुटिला-बद्दल कुटिल व नाराचक याऐवजीं नाराच असें आहे.) म्हणून हीं पांच वृत्तनामें जयकीर्ती-नंतर पण केदारभट्टापूर्वी रूढ झालीं असें म्हणावें लागतें. अर्थात् जयकीर्तीपूर्वी होऊन गेलेल्या हलायुधानें तीं देणें संभवनीय वाटत नाहीं.

अवितथ, वरयुवती, शैलशिखा, कुटिलगति, ललना व कनकप्रभा हीं वृत्तनामें जय-देव, जयकीर्ति व केदारभट्ट यांनीं दिलेलीं नाहींत पण हेमचंद्रानें दिलेलीं आहेत. तेव्हां तीं केदारभट्टानंतर पण हेमचंद्रापूर्वी रूढ झालीं असें दिसतें. अर्थात् हीं सहा वृत्तनामें केदार-भट्टाच्याही पुष्कळ पूर्वी होऊन गेलेल्या हलायुधानें दिलीं असणें असंभवनीय होय.

हेमचंद्र ज्याला अवितथ म्हणतो तें वृत्त जयदेव, जयकीर्ति व केदारभट्ट यांनीं दिलें आहे. पण ते तिघेहि त्यास नर्कुटक म्हणतात, अवितथ म्हणत नाहींत. मग हेमचंद्रानें अवितथ हें नवें नांव कोठून आणलें? श्रीमद्भागवत, दशमस्कंध, अध्याय ८७ वा, यामध्यें वेदस्तुति आहे, तिचें वृत्त हेंच आहे. या वेदस्तुतींत "अथ वितथास्वमूष्व-वितथं तव धाम समम्" (१०–८७–१९–३) या चरणामध्यें अवितथ हा शब्द आला आहे. अवितथ असें जें सत्स्वरूप तें जाणणें हाच वेदस्तुतीचा विषय म्हणतां येईल. या दृष्टीनें येथील अवितथ हा शब्द महत्त्वाचा आहे, म्हणून वेदस्तुति ज्या वृत्तांत आहे त्यास अवितथ हें नांव वेदस्तुतींतील ह्या शब्दावरून देण्यांत आलें असावें. एवढें निश्चित कीं, जयकीर्ति व केदारभट्ट यांसहि माहीत नसलेलें अवितथ हें वृत्तनाम तत्पूर्वी होऊन गेलेल्या हलायुधानें दिलें असणें शक्य नाहीं व म्हणूनच तें पिंगलोक्तहि नव्हेच.

सव्वीसांपैकीं राहिलेलीं दहा वृत्तनामें म्हणजे विस्मिता, कुड्मलदन्ती, कान्तोत्पीडा (भमसम), वाहिनी, गौरी (नननसग), विलासिनी, वरसुंदरी, विबुधप्रिया, शशिवदना व चंचलाक्षी. हीं दहा वृत्तनामें जयदेव, जयकीर्ति, केदारभट्ट व हेमचंद्र यांपैकीं कोणाच्याच ग्रन्थांत आढळत नाहींत म्हणून तीं हेमचंद्रोत्तर काळीं रूढ झालीं असें म्हणणें भाग पडतें.

वरील परीक्षणावरून कळून येतें कीं पठित पिंगलांत नसलेलीं जीं २६ वृत्तनामें मुद्रित पिंगलांत अधिक आढळतात त्यांपैकीं जयदेवानें दिलेलीं जलधरमाला व तत हीं दोन आणि जयकीर्तीनें दिलेलीं अतिशायिनी, कोकिलक व वरतनु हीं तीन अशीं फार तर पांच नांवेंच हलायुधास माहीत असणें संभवतें. जयकीर्तीनें न दिलेलीं बाकीचीं एकवीस वृत्तनामें जयकीर्ती-नंतर म्हणजेच हलायुधानंतरच्या काळीं रूढ झालेलीं असल्यामुळें तीं हलायुधानें दिलीं असणें शक्य नाहीं. अर्थात् तीं नांवें सांगणारीं सूत्रें व त्यांवरील टीका हलायुधप्रणीत नसून त्याच्या टीकेंत हा प्रक्षेप हेमचंद्रोत्तर काळीं झाला असला पाहिजे असें म्हणावें लागतें. एवंच हीं २६ वृत्तें सांगणारीं सूत्रें पिंगलोक्त नव्हत हें निश्चित होय.

येथवर प्रक्षेपांसंबंधानें यथामति विचार केला. आतां पाठभेदांकडे वळूं. पैंगल छंदः-शास्त्राच्या उपलब्ध होऊं शकतील तितक्या भिन्न प्रती मिळवून त्यांतील सर्व पाठभेदांची व्यवस्थित नोंद करणें आणि संशोधनपूर्वक त्यांतील मूळ पाठ निश्चित करणें हें माझ्या या लेखाचें प्रयोजन नाहीं. अशा संशोधनाकडे विद्वज्जनांचें लक्ष वेधावें एवढेंच या लेखाचें उद्दिष्ट आहे. त्यासाठीं पाठभेदांची सामान्य कल्पना यावी म्हणून एक हस्तलिखित पोथी आणि

काव्यमालाप्रत व कलकत्ताप्रत अशीं दोन मुद्रित पुस्तकें एवढ्याच सामग्रीचा उपयोग करून दृष्टोत्पत्तीस आलेले पाठभेद पुढें नमूद केले असून त्यांच्या ग्राह्याग्राह्यतेविषयीं यथामति विवेचन केलें आहे. पोथींतील म्हणजेच दशग्रन्थी वैदिकांच्या पठनपरंपरेंतील पाठ 'पठित' या पहिल्या उभ्या रकान्यांत आणि मुद्रित पुस्तकांतील पाठ 'मुद्रित' ह्या दुसऱ्या रकान्यांत दिले आहेत आणि सूत्रांचे अनुक्रमांक पोथीस अनुसरून दिले आहेत.

सूत्र	पठित	मुद्रित
३–१२	द्वौ नवकौ षट्कश्च नागी ।	द्वौ नवकौ षट्कश्च सा नागी ।
१९	ककुम्मध्ये चेदन्त्यः ।	ककुभ् मध्ये चेदन्त्यः ।
२०	पुर उष्णिक् पुरः ।	पुर उष्णिक् पुरतः ।
२५	मध्येन्ते च ।	मध्येन्त्ये च ।
५४	उपरिष्टाज्ज्योतिरन्त्येन ।	उपरिष्टाज्ज्योतिरन्तेन ।
५७	त्रिपादनिष्ठमध्या पिर्पालिकमध्या ।	त्रिपादणिष्ठमध्या पिर्पालिकमध्या ।
६३	अग्निः सविता सोमो बृहस्पतिर्मित्रावरुणाविन्द्रो विश्वेदेवा देवताः ।	अग्निः सविता सोमो बृहस्पतिर्वरुणइन्द्रो विश्वेदेवाः ।
६४	स्वराःषड्जऋषभगांधारमध्यमपंचमधैवतनिषादाः ।	स्वराः षड्जादयः । स्वराः षड्जर्षभ...निषादाः ।
६७	श्यामान्यतिछंदांसि ।	×
६८	रोचनाभाः कृतयः ।	×
६९	अनुक्तानां कामतो वर्णा इति ।	×
४–४	प्रकृत्या चोपसर्गवर्जितः ।	प्रकृत्या च ।
८	अथ लौकिकम् ।	अत्र लौकिकम् ।
४–१३	गौ गन्तमध्यादिन्र्लश्च ।	गौ गन्तमध्यादिर्लश्च ।
३३	गौपच्छंदासिकम्	गौपच्छंदसकम् ।
४२	गन्ता द्विर्वसबो मात्रासमकं लनवमः ।	गन्ता द्विर्वसवो मात्रासमकं लूनवमः ।
४६	परयुंक्तेनोपचित्रा ।	परयुक्तेनोपचित्रा ।
५२	चूलिकैकान्नत्रिंशदेकत्रिंशदन्तेग् ।	चूलिकैकोनत्रिंशदेकत्रिंशदन्तेग् । चूलिकार्धमेकोनत्रिंशदन्तेग् ।
५–१२	यच्चतुर्थात् ।	य चतुर्थात् ।
२१	गावादौ चेत्प्रत्यापीडः ।	आदौ चेत्प्रत्यापीडः ।
२९	शुद्धविराळृषभं तन्नाः ।	शुद्धविराड्डृषभं तन्नः ।
३६	आख्यानकी तौज्गौग्ज्तौज्गौग् ।	आख्यानिकी...
३७	विपरीताख्यानकी...	विपरीताख्यानिकी...
४२	शिखैकान्नत्रिंशदेकत्रिंशदन्तेग् ।	शिखैकोनत्रिंश...
६–१५	एकरूपं सौज्गौग् ।	×

सूत्र	पठित	मुद्रित
१२	भ्रमरविलसितं...	भ्रमरविलसिता...
२५	वृत्ता नौस्गौग्।	वृन्ता नौस्गौग्।
७-३	मत्तमयूरा...	मत्तमयूरं...
१४	ऋषभगजविलसितं...	मत्तगजविलसितं...
२५	मद्रकं...	भद्रकं...
३३	चंडवृष्टिप्रयातः।	चंडवृष्टिप्रपातः।
८-९	ततो ग्येकं जह्यात्।	ततोप्येकं जह्यात्।
१६	एकोनेद्धा।	×

वरील पाठभेदांपैकीं कित्येक असे आहेत कीं त्यांतला कोणताही पाठ भाषेच्या व अर्थाच्या दृष्टीनें सारखाच ठरतो. उदाहरणार्थ, भ्रमरविलसितं म्हटलें काय किंवा भ्रमरविलसिता म्हटलें काय सारखेंच. मत्तमयूरा किंवा मत्तमयूरं कसेंही म्हटलें तरी अशुद्धता येत नाहीं. अशा स्थलीं जो पाठ परंपरापठित असेल तोच आदरिला पाहिजे हें निर्विवाद होय. वैदिकांचा तर असा आग्रह असतो कीं, वेदाप्रमाणेंच छंदःशास्त्रही आज हजारों वर्षें मुखपरंपरेनें जसेंच्या तसें रक्षिण्यांत आलें आहे. त्यांत अणुरेणूचाही बदल झालेला नाहीं. पठनांत येते तशीच ती पिंगलोक्ति होय. अन्य पाठभेद असतील ते सर्व अग्राह्य होत. वैदिकांचें हें म्हणणें विवेचनाच्या कसोटीस टिकतें कीं नाहीं हें पाहण्याचा प्रयत्न आतां करूं.

१. 'पुर उष्णिक् पुरः' आणि 'पुर उष्णिक पुरतः' यांतील कोणता पाठ ग्राह्य ? याच्या पुढील सूत्र 'परोष्णिक् परः' असें आहे. पुरः आणि परः तसेंच पुरतः आणि परतः अशा जोड्या जमतात. पुरतः-परः अशी जोडी तितकीशी जमत नाहीं. म्हणून पुढील 'परोष्णिक् परः' या सूत्राकडे दृष्टि दिल्यास त्याच्या मागें 'पुर उष्णिक् पुरः' असेंच पिंगलाचें सूत्र असलें पाहिजे यांत शंका राहात नाहीं. म्हणजे येथील पठित पाठ हाच पिंगलोक्त होय असें दिसून येतें.

२. 'मध्येन्ते च' हा पाठ ग्राह्य कीं 'मध्येन्त्ये च' हा ग्राह्य ? मध्ये ही नामाची सप्तमी; तिचे जोडीस अन्ते ही नामाची सप्तमीच सुसंगत दिसते. आदि-मध्य-अन्त यांतील अन्त याचे जागीं अन्त्य शब्द चालणार नाहीं. म्हणून मध्ये याचे जोडीस अन्ते असेंच पिंगलानें योजिलें असणार. यास्तव 'मध्येन्ते च' हा पठनांत येणारा पाठच पिंगलोक्त होय.

(३) 'उपरिष्टाज्ज्योतिरन्त्येन' आणि 'उप.....रन्तेन' यांतील पिंगलोक्त पाठ कोणता समजावा ? या सूत्रामागील दोन सूत्रें 'पुरस्ताज्ज्योतिः प्रथमेन।' आणि 'मध्येज्योतिर्मध्यमेन।' अशीं आहेत. यांतील प्रथमेन व मध्यमेन या शब्दांच्या संगतीस अन्त्येन हेंच पद साजतें; तसें अन्तेन हें साजत नाहीं. प्रथम व मध्यम यांच्या जोडीस अन्त्य हाच शब्द पिंगलानें योजिला असणार, अन्त हा असणार नाहीं. म्हणून पठनांत येणारा अन्त्येन हाच पाठ पिंगलप्रणीत होय असें म्हणणें प्राप्त आहे.

(४) 'अथ लौकिकम्' आणि 'अत्र लौकिकम्' यांतील कोणता पाठ ग्राह्य ? येथें 'यानंतर' हा अर्थ विवक्षित आहे तो अथ या शब्दानें व्यक्त होतोच. म्हणून 'अथ लौकिकं' हा पठनांत येणारा पाठच ग्राह्य होय.

(५) 'गौ गन्तमध्यादिर्न्लश्च' आणि 'गौ...लश्च' यांतील कोणता पाठ पिंगलोक्त ? येथें चतुर्लघु गण दर्शवावयाचा आहे तो लः या पदानें दर्शविला जाईल आणि न्लः या पदानेंही दर्शविला जाईल. यांपैकीं पिंगलानें येथें कोणतें पद योजिलें असेल ? चतुर्लघु गण दर्शविण्यास पिंगलानें अन्यत्र 'न्ल' ही संज्ञा योजिली आहे तीच त्यानें येथेंही योजिली असणार. शिवाय लेखनांतून नकार गळणें शक्य आहे, तसा पठनांत येथील नकार अधिक येणें संभवनीय नाहीं. तो मूळचा असल्यामुळेंच वैदिकांच्या पठनांत येतो असें म्हणणें प्राप्त आहे. म्हणून येथेंही पठनांत येणारा पाठच पिंगलप्रणीत होय.

(६) वैदिकांच्या पठनांत 'परयुंक्तेनोपचित्रा' असें सूत्र येतें. यांतील पहिलें पद परयुंक्तेन असें मानून व तें अशुद्ध समजून मुद्रितांत परयुक्तेन असें शुद्ध रूप योजिलें असावें असें दिसतें. पण या सूत्रांत परयुङ् तेन उपचित्रा अशीं तीन पदें धरितां येतील. याच्या मागील सूत्र 'चित्रा नवमश्च' असें आहे. त्यांतील नवमः (लकारः) हें पद या सूत्रांत अनुवृत्त आहे. नवमः लकारः परयुङ् म्हणजे नववी मात्रा पुढील दहाव्या मात्रेशीं युक्त होत असली, म्हणजेच नववी व दहावी मात्रा मिळून गुरु होत असला, तर 'तेन' म्हणजे त्या कारणास्तव उपचित्रा छंद होतो असा या सूत्राचा अर्थ आहे व तो वर सांगितल्याप्रमाणें ३ पदें धरून सुसंगतपणें निघतो. म्हणून वैदिकांच्या पठनांत येणारा 'परयुंक्तेनोपचित्रा' हा पाद बदलण्याचें कांहीं प्रयोजन नाहीं.

(७) 'चूलिकैकान्नत्रिंशदेकत्रिंशदन्तेग्' या सूत्रांतील एकान्नत्रिंशत् हा शब्द अशुद्ध समजून त्याचे जागीं एकोनत्रिंशत् हा शब्द योजला गेला असावा. पण एकान्नत्रिंशत् हा शब्द शुद्ध आहे इतकेंच नव्हे तर तो एकोनत्रिंशत् या शब्दाहून प्राचीन आहे. तैत्तिरीय-संहितेंत एकान्नविंशति, एकान्नषष्टि इ. शब्दप्रयोग आले आहेत. एकात् न त्रिंशत् = एकामुळें म्हणजे एक कमी पडल्यामुळें तीस नाहींत असे म्हणजे एकोणतीस, असा या शब्दाचा अर्थ आहे. हा वैदिक शब्द पिंगलप्रयुक्त असल्यामुळेंच वैदिकांच्या पठनांत येतो हें निर्विवाद होय.

(८) वृत्ता आणि वृन्ता हे शब्द हस्तदोषानें परस्परांबद्दल पडूं शकतील. जयदामन-मध्यें मुद्रित केलेल्या जयदेवच्छंदांत 'वृन्ता' आहे तर त्यावरील हर्षटाच्या टीकेंत 'वृत्ता' आहे. यांतील हस्तदोष कोणता म्हणावा व शुद्ध पाठ कोणता समजावा ? वृत्तरत्नाकराच्या अनेक टीकाकारांनीं वृत्ता हा पाठ दिला आहे व तोच वैदिकांच्या पठनांत येतो. म्हणून तोच पिंगलप्रणीत होय असें म्हणावयास प्रत्यवाय दिसत नाहीं.

(९) वैदिकांच्या पठनांत 'यच्चतुर्थात्' असें सूत्र येतें. अनुष्टुभाच्या वक्त्र नामक प्रकारांत चतुर्थात् म्हणजे चतुर्थ अक्षरापुढें य गण असावा लागतो असा अर्थ येथें विवक्षित आहे. 'यश्चतुर्थात्' असें असेल तर त्यांतून तो अर्थ सरळपणें निघेल. पण पठितांत "यच्चतुर्थात्" तर मुद्रितांत "य चतुर्थात्" असे पाठ आढळतात. य हें लुप्तविभक्तिक पद होय, अशा प्रकारें 'य चतुर्थात्' या पाठाचें समर्थन हलायुधटीकेंत केलें आहे. स्थितस्य गतिश्चिन्तनीया या न्यायानें पठनांत येणारें यत् हें नपुंसकलिंग आर्ष होय असें येथें म्हणावें लागेल.

(१०) मद्रक आणि भद्रक या जोडींतील पिंगलोक्त पाठ कोणता ? भरत, जयदेव, जयकीर्ति, केदारभट्ट व हेमचंद्र हे सर्व छंदोग्रंथकार मद्रक हेंच वृत्तनाम देतात. अर्थात् या सर्वांच्या मतें मद्रक हाच पिंगलोक्त पाठ होय.

(११) चंडवृष्टिप्रयात या शब्दापेक्षां चंडवृष्टिप्रपात हा शब्द सकृद्दर्शनीं युक्त वाटतो. पण चंडवृष्टिप्रयात याचाही अर्थ चंडवृष्टीचा हल्ला, चंडवृष्टि कोसळणें, असा होतो. शिवाय जयदेव, हर्षट आणि केदारभट्ट यांनीं चंडवृष्टिप्रयात असेंच या दंडकाचें नांव दिलें आहे. अर्थात् त्यांस पिंगलाच्या छंदःशास्त्रांत 'प्रयात' असेंच पद आढळलें असलें पाहिजे हें स्पष्ट आहे. आणि वैदिकांच्या पठनांत तेंच येतें, म्हणून पिंगलोक्त नांव चंडवृष्टिप्रयात होय असें म्हणावयास प्रत्यवाय नाहीं.

(१२) वैदिकांच्या पठनांत 'त्रिपादनिष्ठमध्या पिपीलिकमध्या' असें सूत्र येतें. तीन पादांच्या छंदांत मधला पाद लघुतम असला तर त्या छंदास पिपीलिकमध्या म्हणावें असा या सूत्राचा अर्थ आहे. येथें अनिष्ठ या शब्दाचा 'सर्वांत लहान' असा अर्थ विवक्षित आहे. अणु शब्दापासून साधलेल्या अणिष्ठ शब्दाचा तसा अर्थ होतो म्हणून मुद्रित पुस्तकांत अनिष्ठ याचे ऐवजीं अणिष्ठ असाच पाठ योजिलेला आहे. अणिष्ठ याचेच अर्थाचा अनिष्ठ हा आर्ष प्रयोग होय असें येथें मानावें लागतें.

(१३) 'ततो ग्येकं जह्यात्' व 'ततोप्येकं जह्यात्' यांतील पिंगलोक्त पाठ कोणता ? प्रस्तारावरून त्याचा क्रमांक कसा ओळखावा हें ज्या दोन सूत्रांत सांगितलें आहे त्यांतील हें दुसरें सूत्र आहे. प्रस्तार लिहून त्यांतील उजवीकडील शेवटल्या लघूखालीं २ हा अंक लिहावा व तेथून डावीकडे अंक दुप्पट करून लिहीत जावे, असें पहिल्या सूत्रांत सांगितल्यानंतर पुढें हें सूत्र आलें आहे. गुरूखालीं अंक लिहावयाचा तो एक कमी करून लिहावा असें या सूत्रांत सांगितलें आहे. ततः म्हणजे प्रस्ताराखालीं अंक लिहिण्यास प्रारंभ केल्यानंतर गि म्हणजे गुरूखालीं अंक मांडतांना एकं जह्यात् म्हणजे त्यांतून एक टाकावा असा या सूत्राचा अर्थ आहे. यांत गि हें पद आवश्यक आहे म्हणून 'ततो ग्येकं जह्यात्' हाच पाठ पिंगलोक्त ठरतो.

येथवर पाठभेदांचा जो विचार केला त्यावरून स्पष्ट होतें कीं वैदिकांच्या पठनांत आहे तेंच पिंगलप्रणीत मूळ छन्दःशास्त्र होय. मुद्रित पुस्तकांत अनेक अपपाठ आहेत. ते सर्व अग्राह्य होत. अपपाठांप्रमाणेंच अनेक प्रक्षेपही मुद्रित पुस्तकांत आहेत हें या लेखाच्या पूर्वभागांत दाखविलेंच आहे. म्हणून पिंगलाचा आधार द्यावयाचा तर तो दोषपूर्ण अशा पुस्तकाचा न देतां वैदिकांच्या पठनांत येणाऱ्या छन्दःशास्त्राचाच म्हणजे पोथीचाच दिला पाहिजे. त्या पोथ्या छापीलही मिळतात. या पोथ्यांकडे व छन्दःशास्त्राच्या संशोधनाकडे विद्वज्जनांचें लक्ष वेधावें हाच माझ्या या लेखाचा उद्देश असून तो सफल होईल अशी मला आशा वाटते.

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नांदेडचें शेष घराणें

श्री. विश्वेश्वर अंबादास कानोले, नांदेड

महाराष्ट्रांत उदय पावून विद्वत्तेंत व शास्त्र उपासनेंत अखिल भारतीय महत्त्व पावलेल्या पट्टीच्या विद्वान् घराण्यांत शेष कुलाचें स्थान अग्रगण्य ठरेल. वेद व शास्त्र या विषयावरचा असा कोणताहि भाग आढळणार नाहीं कीं ज्यांत शेष पंडितांनीं ग्रंथरचना केली नसेल! पंडितपरंपरा एखाद्या घराण्यांत चार दोन पिढ्याच टिकली असेल; पण कांहीं शतकांनीं मोजतां येईल अशी अव्याहत पंडितपरंपरा शेषघराण्यांत प्रामुख्यानें आढळते. ही कीर्ति शेषांनीं काशीस जाऊन आपल्या विद्वत्तेचा झेंडा जेव्हां फडकावला तेव्हांपासून ते आजतागायत सर्वश्रुत अशी आहे. काशी हें धर्मपीठ खरें, पण व्याकरण शास्त्रावर महत्त्वाची ग्रंथरचना करून काशीस व्याकरणपीठाचा मान मिळवून देणारे शेष पंडितच होत. असें हें विद्यामंडित शेषकुल महाराष्ट्रांत कोठें उदय पावलें ही माहिती अद्याप तरी योग्य प्रकारें विद्वज्जनांपुढें आली आहे असें मला वाटत नाहीं. काशीच्या शेष शाखेंतील कृष्ण पंडितानें मुरारि विजय नाटकांत “ अस्तिकिल दाक्षिणात्यस्य गोदारोधो वास्तव्यस्य ”. आम्ही दक्षिणात्य असून गोदाकांठचे राहणारे आहोंत एवढेंच मोघम म्हटलें आहे. आपल्या मूळ वास्तव्यस्थानाचा स्पष्ट नामनिर्देश त्यानें केला नाहीं. काशीच्या शेषावर इंडियन अँटिक्वेरीमध्यें महत्त्वपूर्ण लेख लिहिणाऱ्या रंगनाथस्वामींनीं वरील माहितीच्या आधारें शेष हे गोदाकांठचे किंवा आंध्र असल्यास सप्त गोदावरी प्रांतांतले असावे असें अनुमान केलें आहे, तर इतिहासाचार्य राजवाडे यांनीं राधामाधवविलासचंपूच्या प्रस्तावनेंत “ महाराष्ट्रांत जेव्हां सर्वत्र यावनी माजली तेव्हां शालिवाहन शक १३०० च्या सुमारास पुणतांब्याहून पांच पट्टीचीं घराणीं आपलीं हजारों पोथ्या पुस्तकें घेऊन श्रीक्षेत्र वाराणसी येथें देशत्याग करून गेलीं, त्यांतलें हें शेषांचें घराणें होय ” असें लिहिलें आहे. या भिन्नभिन्न मतांवरून शेष पंडितांचें निश्चित ठावठिकाण कोणतें याचा स्पष्ट आणि निर्णायक उलगडा अद्याप झाला नाहीं असें दिसतें. वामन पंडित हे नांदेडच्या शेष घराण्यांतील होते या अनुरोधानें आम्हीं शेषांच्या माहितीसंबंधानें जें संशोधन केलें त्यावरूनच शेष हे मूळ नांदेडचे, ही बाब ठळकपणें प्रकाशांत आली. प्रस्तुत लेखांत महाराष्ट्रास किंवा अखिल भारतास गुरुस्थानीं असलेल्या शेष पंडितांच्या जन्मभूमीविषयीं आणि दक्षिणेंतील शेष पंडितांविषयीं जी शोध माहिती उपलब्ध होऊं शकली ती थोडक्यांत येथें संकलित करण्याचा प्रयत्न केला आहे.

“ सकळतीर्थ स्वरूप नंदीतट महास्थळस्थित. ”

गोदाकांठचें सुप्रसिद्ध तीर्थक्षेत्र आणि नाभिस्थान म्हणून प्रसिद्ध असलेलें नंदीतट किंवा हल्लींचें नांदेड शहर हेंच शेष घराण्याचें मूळ वास्तव्यस्थान होय. नांदेड हें प्राचीन तीर्थक्षेत्र म्हणून जसें प्रसिद्ध आहे तसेंच वेदविद्येबद्दल व शास्त्रउपासक अशा थोर पंडितांच्या परंपरेबद्दलहि नांदेडची ख्याति पैठणप्रमाणेंच जुनी आहे. नांदेडच्या जुन्या

बस्तींत सिद्धनाथपुरी नामक ब्राह्मण बस्तीचा एक जुनाट मोहल्ला आहे; तेथें शेषांची पांच पन्नास घरांची एक मोठी गढी पूर्वी होती. शेषांचा फार मोठा परिवार एके काळीं या ठिकाणीं नांदत होता. आतां शेषपंडित राहत असलेल्या गढीचा व घरांच्या विस्ताराचा भाग जमीनदोस्त झाला असून त्या भग्न व ओसाड जागेंत विद्वत्तेच्या क्षेत्रांत दीर्घकालपर्यंत चमकून गेलेल्या शेषांचे अवशेष दाखविणारें एक घर मात्र तेथें कायम आहे. शके १५२९ च्या एका पत्रांत "सकळतीर्थ स्वरूप नंदीतट महास्छळ स्छित" अशा अर्थानें सकळ शेषांची पितृभूमि असलेल्या नंदीतट[1] या महान् स्थलाचा गौरवपूर्ण निर्देश केला आहे. याच पत्राच्या शिरोभागीं "सिद्धेश्वरोजयति" लिहून सिद्धनाथपुरींतील शेषांच्या घराच्या मध्यभागीं असलेल्या प्राचीन सिद्धेश्वराचें स्मरण केलें आहे. शक १५०० च्या पुढचे नांदेडच्या शेषांचे बरेच कागदपत्र उपलब्ध होतात. नांदेड[2] व वसमत या दोन महालांतील मूळ वृत्ति व उत्पन्न शेषांकडे पूर्वापार चालत आलें असावें असें दिसतें. शेष घराण्याचा विस्तार जसा मोठा, तसेंच शेषांचीं घराणीं विभक्त होऊन महाराष्ट्र ते थेट काशीपर्यंत निरनिराळ्या ठिकाणीं कारणपरत्वें स्थाईक झालीं होतीं. त्यामुळें शेषांचे कागदपत्र व ग्रंथसंग्रह एकाच स्थलीं अबाधितपणें राहणें शक्य नव्हतें; या कारणानें नांदेडच्या शेषांची संगतवार हकीगत जुळविणें बरेंच जिकिरीचें काम आहे. नांदेड येथील शेषांच्या लहानमोठ्या कांहीं वंशावळी लिहून ठेवलेल्या उपलब्ध झाल्या आहेत. त्यांत शेंदोनशें शेष पुरुषांचीं नांवें आढळून येतात. शेषांचीं कागदपत्रें तपासलीं म्हणजे वंशावळींव्यतिरिक्त आणखी किती तरी नांवें आढळतात! त्यावरून शेषांच्या एकंदर वंशविस्ताराची कल्पना करतां येते. सारांश, शेष घराणें हें मूळ नांदेडचें हें सिद्ध करण्यास कांहीं पुरावा देण्याची जरूरी भासत नाहीं. त्यांचें येथील वास्तव्यस्थान, निरनिराळ्या वंशावळी, कागदोपत्रींचे शेंकडों पुरावे आणि आजतागायतचा पूर्वेतिहास हाच शेषांचें मूळ ठिकाण दर्शविणारा स्वयंसिद्ध असा पुरावा होय.

शेष हे आश्वलायनसूत्री देशस्थ ब्राह्मण असून त्यांचें गोत्र पाराशर आहे. वसिष्ठ, शक्ति व पाराशर असे प्रवर असून कुलदैवत देवी आहे. शेषांच्या शाखा नांदेडहून निरनिराळ्या ठिकाणीं पसरल्या तेव्हां स्थलपरत्वें व कालपरत्वें कोठें शेषांचें कुलदैवत देवी, कोठें लक्ष्मीनृसिंह किंवा अन्य देवताहि असूं शकतील. शेष अद्वैत सांप्रदायी असले तरी कोठें अन्य सांप्रदाय व कुलाचार, कुलधर्म यांत भिन्नभिन्न पर्यायहि असण्याचा संभव आहे. शेषांच्या ज्या मोठ्या व किरकोळ वंशावळी मिळाल्या आहेत त्यांत बहुतेकांनीं शेषांच्या मूळ पुरुषाचें नांव रामकृष्णपंत दिलें आहे. रामकृष्णाचा निपणतु नृसिंहपंत यांचा शके १४७० मधील जास्तींत जास्त जुना एक कागद पाहण्यांत आला, त्यावरून मूळ पुरुष रामकृष्ण याचा काल सुमारें १३ व्या शतकांतला धरतां येईल. शेषांच्या नांवाचा याहिपेक्षां जुना निर्देश हातीं

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१. आदौपुण्योदयं क्षेत्रं पश्चात् नंदीतटाभिधं. (नांदेड गोदावरी माहात्म्य.)

२. "शके १५२९ प्लवंग संवत्सरातंर्गत फाल्गुण वदिस......सकळ तीर्थस्वरूप नंदीतट महास्छळास्छित......बाळोपंतासि विठ्ठलपंती लिहून दिधले असे जे तुमचे पिते रंगोपंत गोसावी कटकासि......अवघ्या वृत्ति नांदेड व वसमती या दोहीं माहालाच्या नाना कष्ट करून सोडविल्या त्यामध्ये जे विद्यमान होते त्याच्या त्यांसि दिधल्या. पुरुषोत्तमपंताचा विस्वा कागदी लेहत होते परिवाणी देत नव्हते. अजतखानाचे वेळी फर्मान रंगोपंती आणिले.........या उपरि बाळोपंतासि विठ्ठलपंतासि वृत्ति संबंधे भांडण नाहीं........." (अप्रकाशित) पंक्ती २७.

यावयास पाहिजे. रामकृष्णपंतास तीन पुत्रः गणेशपंत, विठ्ठलपंत व बोपाजीपंत. यांपैकीं गणेश-पंताच्या एका शाखेचा नांदेडच्या विद्यमान शेषापर्यंत संबंध येऊन भिडतो. विठ्ठलपंताच्या शाखेंत महाराष्ट्रकवि वामनपंडित यांच्या वंशपरंपरेचा समावेश होतो. बोपाजीच्या वंशपरं-परेची माहिती मध्येंच तुटल्यासारखी दिसते. त्यांत एके ठिकाणीं 'विष्णुपंत'[१] हें परिचित नांव आढळतें. पण काशीस गेलेला विष्णुपंत हाच असावा कीं काय हें निश्चयात्मक सांगतां येत नाहीं. कारण समकालीन व सारखीं अशीं नावें एकाच घराण्यांत चारचौघांचींहि असूं शकतील. नांदेडहून काशीस गेलेल्या शेषांचा धागा समजून येण्याचे दृष्टीनें वंशावळ तितकीशी उपयुक्त वाटत नाहीं. त्या काळांतील दोन्ही शाखांच्या संबंधावर प्रकाश. पाडणाऱ्या अस्सल साधनांच्या शोधाकडे लेखकाचें तीव्र लक्ष आहे. वंशावळ लेखाच्या शेवटीं दिली आहे, तीवरून नांदेडच्या शेष नामावलीची कल्पना करतां येते. काशीचे विद्यमान शेषहि नांदेड हेंच आपलें मूळ वास्तव्यस्थान समजतात. दोन्ही शाखांचा संबंध कालप्रवाहांत दुरावत जाऊन दोनतीन शतकें लोटलीं असलीं तरी उभयतांना आपल्या पूर्वसंबंधाची स्मृति आजपर्यंत कायम आहे.

शेष उपनामाची मनोरंजक कुळकथा

या घराण्याचें शेष हें उपनाम कसें प्रचारांत आलें हें सांगणें येथें अप्रासंगिक ठरणार नाहीं. आख्यायिकेचें मूळ बरेंच प्राचीन व निराळें असावें, तथापि प्रचलित सांगितली जाते ती कथा अशीः—या कुळांत कोणा एका स्त्रीच्या पोटीं नाग जन्मला. तो आपला स्वभावधर्म टाकून मुलांमाणसांबरोबर खेळत असे व घरांतील मंडळीहि त्या नागावर अपत्यवत् प्रेम करीत. पुढें एके प्रसंगीं हा माणसाळलेला नाग याच घराण्यांतील एका मुलीच्या हयगयीनें फुंकाऱ्यांत पडून मृत्यु पावला. नागानें स्वप्नांत येऊन घडलेल्या प्रकाराचा दृष्टांत दिला आणि सांगितलें कीं, माझ्या स्मरणाखातर शेष असें कुलनाम यापुढें धारण करावें व पूजेमध्यें नागाची स्थापना करावी. ही घटना केव्हां तरी माघ वद्य पंचमीस घडून आली असल्यास न कळे! कारण या तिथीस नांदेडचे शेष हे नागाचे नांवानें श्राद्ध करून दोन ब्राह्मण जेवूं घालतात. यास खिरसातुरी पंचमी किंवा मुसळ पंचमी असें म्हणतात. खीर व तुरी याचा खिरसातुरी हा अपभ्रंश होय. म्हणजे तुरीच्या दाळीची खीर हें नागश्राद्धप्रसंगींचें मुख्य अन्न असतें. ब्राह्मण भोजनास बसण्यापूर्वी शेष हे हातांत मुसळ घेऊन वारुळाची पूजा करून येतात, म्हणून मुसळपंचमी असें दुसरें एक नांव प्रचारांत आलें आहे. याचें कारण काय असावें तें समजत नाहीं. बहुधा वारुळास पूजेकरतां जातांना अकस्मात् नागोबाची भेटगांठ झाल्यास स्वसंरक्षणार्थ एखादी यष्टी हातीं असावी म्हणून शेषाच्या कोण्यातरी पुरुषानें एखादे प्रसंगीं मुसळ हातीं घेतलें असावें, व तोच परिपाठ पुढें चालू झाला असावा. नागहत्या प्रत्यक्ष

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१. नांदेड वंशावळींत विष्णुपंताच्या नांवाच्या वर जवळच रामाजिपंत केशवपंत यांचें नांव उल्लेखिलेलें आढळतें. १००७ हिजरीच्या एका सनदेंत "बिदानंद शुहुर तिसोतिसैन तिसामेया रंगोपंडत बिन नरसिंह पंडित" यांच्या नांवाबरोबरच "रामाजि पंडित बिन केसा पंडित शेष विद्वास साकीन कसबे नांदेड" हा उल्लेख आढळतो. १००७ हिजरी म्हणजे साधारणतः शके १५२९।३० चा सुमार. विष्णुपंताचा हाच काल गृहीत धरल्यास तो अलीकडचा वाटतो. काशीस गेलेल्या मूळ पुरुष विष्णुपंताचा काल याहून बराच जुना असावा असें वाटतें.

मुलीच्या हातून घडल्यामुळें शेषाच्या मुली ज्या घराण्यांत दिल्या असतात तेथेंहि शापनिवृत्यर्थ नागाचें श्राद्ध वरील तिथीस करण्याचा प्रघात आहे. नागपंचमी, नागबली इत्यादि नागदेवतेचे सणहि बऱ्या प्रकारें साजरे करतात. व लग्नकार्यादि शुभमंगलप्रसंगीं नागाचे टांक व चांदीच्या प्रतिमा बनवून देवघरांत ठेवतात. हा कुलाचार नांदेडच्या शेष कुटुंबांत अद्यापहि चालू आहे. शेषकुलाच्या उपनांवाची ही मनोरंजक कथा जुनी व परंपरागत चालत आली आहे. परंतु शास्त्र व साहित्यपारंगत अशा शेष पंडितांपैकीं कोणाही ग्रंथकारानें ही शेष उपनामाची नवलपूर्ण आख्यायिका आपल्या ग्रंथांतून कां दिली नसावी याचें आश्चर्य वाटतें.[४]

नांदेडच्या शेषांसंबंधीं प्रत्यक्ष माहिती देतांना वंशावळ व कागदपत्रांतील आधार यांवरच मुख्य भर देऊन थोडीफार हकीकत जुळवितां येण्यासारखी आहे. पैकीं वंशावळ ही लेखाच्या शेवटीं दिली आहे आणि शेषांच्या माहितीचीं शक १५०० च्या पुढील काळाच्या तडाख्यांतून वांचून राहिलेलीं जीं थोडीं कागदपत्रें उपलब्ध होतात तीं प्रायः शेषांच्या वृत्ति-उत्पन्नादि बाबींवरच प्रकाश पाडणारीं आहेत. नांदेड हें शेषपंडितांचें मूळ वास्तव्यस्थान असूनहि येथें शेषविरचित ग्रंथ उपलब्ध होत नाहींत. नांदेडहून काशीस गेलेल्या शेषांनींच ग्रंथरचना केली असावी आणि येथील शेष त्या बाबतींत अनभिज्ञ असावेत हें फारसें संभवत नाहीं. न्याय, व्याकरण व साहित्य शास्त्रांवरील अनेक उत्तमोत्तम व दुर्मिळ ग्रंथ खुद्द शेषपंडितांनीं लिहिलेले त्यांच्या संग्रहांत पूर्वी असावे. पण शेषांचीं घराणीं जसजशीं कमी होत गेलीं तसतशीं त्या त्या घराण्यांतील कागदपत्रें व पोथीसंग्रह कालप्रवाहांत संपूर्णपणें नष्ट होत गेला व क्वचित् स्थलांतरिताहि झाला असावा. उद्धवशेष, मुद्गलशेष यांनीं शके १६५८ ते १६८२ च्या सुमारास स्वहस्तें प्रती करून ठेवलेले कांहीं संस्कृत ग्रन्थ अजूनहि आढळतात. नाहीं म्हणावयास नांदेडच्या शेषांचे निःसंदिग्धपणें म्हणतां येतील असे दोनच ग्रंथ उपलब्ध झाले आहेत. एक बालोपंडितात्मज रघुनाथ शेषनामक पंडितानें देवी उपासनेवर लिहिलेला "तंत्र-दर्पण" नामक द्वादशप्रकारणात्मक संस्कृत ग्रंथ आणि दुसरा वामनात्मज रघुनाथ पंडित शेषानें भागवत दशमस्कंधावर "कृष्णकौतुक" या नांवानें लिहिलेली मराठी श्लोकबद्ध टीका होय. दोघेहि रघुनाथच होत! पहिला मूळ पुरुष रामकृष्ण शेष याच्या, गणेशपंताच्या पिढींतला

४. नागहत्येमुळें शेष हें उपनाम पडल्याची आख्यायिका सत्याच्या कसोटीवर कितपत उतरेल अशी शंका विद्वानांच्या मनांत उत्पन्न होणें साहजिक आहे. पण याहिपेक्षां चमत्कारिक घटनेवरून व निरनिराळ्या कारणांवरून आडनांवें प्रचारांत आल्याचीं आपल्याकडे अनेक उदाहरणें आहेत. शेष नांव धारण करणारीं आणखी कांहीं भिन्न शाखांचीं व भिन्न गोत्रांचीं घराणीं असावीं असें वाटतें. उपनाम एकच पण तें अस्तित्वांत येण्याचीं कारणेंहि कोठेंकोठें निराळीं असूं शकतात. शेष म्हणजे ज्ञानी, सर्वज्ञ किंवा चहुं वेदांचा अर्थ जाणणारा सहस्रानन शेष अशा अर्थानें शेष हें उपनाम प्राचीन कालापासून चालत आलें असावें असें वाटतें. शेषावतार, शेषावतंस, शेष-वंशालंकार व अन्य अशींच गौरवपर विशेषणें शेष पंडितांनीं स्वतःस लावलेलीं आढळून येतात तीं मूळ याच अर्थानें होत. शेष या नांवास अन्वर्थक अशी एखादी नागहत्येची घटना पुढें या घराण्यांत घडून येऊन त्याचा संबंध मूळ शेष या नांवाशीं एकरूप झाला असल्यास न कळे! माघ वद्य पंचमीस नागाचे नांवानें श्राद्ध केलें जातें ही मात्र वस्तुस्थिति आहे. नागाचे कुलाचार किंवा ही श्राद्धपद्धति किती जुनी आहे तें सांगतां येत नाहीं.

तर दुसरा विठ्ठलपंताच्या शाखेंतला होय. दोन्ही शाखांत अनेक विद्वान पंडित होऊन गेले. ती माहिती पुढें योग्य स्थळीं येईलच. तत्पूर्वी कालदृष्टया ज्यास्तींत जास्त जुनी माहिती नांदेडहून काशीस प्रथम गेलेल्या विष्णुपंडित शेषासंबंधीं थोडीफार सांगतां येईल तीच आधीं येथें विचारार्थ घेऊं.

नांदेडहून काशीस गेलेला पहिला शेष–" विष्णुपंडित "

विष्णु पंडित हा नांदेडहून काशीस गेलेला पहिला शेष पंडित मानण्यांत येतो. विष्णुपंतासंबंधीं समकालीन असा लेखी पुरावा आढळत नाहीं. विष्णुपंताचें म्हणून संबोधिलें जाणारें एक घर सिद्धेश्वराच्या देवालयासन्निध अद्यापहि येथें दाखविलें जातें. व त्यांनीं ज्या ठिकाणीं सरस्वतीची आराधना केली ती भूमिगत जागा मात्र आतां दाखवितां येण्यासारखी राहिली नाहीं. " फणिभाषितभाष्यस्य तत्वं वेत्ति सरस्वती। शेषो वा शेषविष्णुर्वा नान्योस्ति धरणीतले " हें विष्णुपंताची स्मृति राखणारें एकच वाक्य येथील जुन्या शास्त्र्याच्या तोंडीं अद्यापि आहे. शेषानें लिहिलेलें भाष्य किंवा तत्व साक्षात् सरस्वती, भाष्यकार पतंजली किंवा विष्णु शेष हेच जाणूं शकतील, जगतीतलावर तें जाणण्यास दुसरा कोणीहि समर्थ नाहीं अशा अर्थाची विद्वत्प्रौढी यानें व्यक्त केली आहे. वेद व शास्त्रें या विषयांवर अनेक भाष्यें, स्फुट टिप्पण्या व टीका लिहिल्या असल्याचें तो महाभाष्यावरील आपल्या टीकेंत पुढीलप्रमाणें म्हणतो. यस्यान्यानि निबंधनानि बहुशो न्यायेऽथ वैशेषिके। मीमांसायुगुले श्रुतिस्मृतिपथे ब्रह्मार्कसिद्धांतयोः। नित्यं जैमिनि गौतमात्रिकणभुग्गर्गादिनामावली। यत्पर्यायतया दिशंति विदुषां श्रोत्रे प्रविश्य स्फुटम्॥" सारांश, विष्णुपंत शेष हा थोर नैय्यायिक, वैय्याकरणी व महान् पंडित होऊन गेला. काशीच्या शेषाचें इतिवृत्त लिहिणाऱ्या रंगनाथस्वामींनीं विष्णुपंडितासंबंधीं पुढील माहिती दिली आहे.

" Vishnu therefore is the first member of the Shesh family as yet known. He was a great scholar and author. This Vishnu must have been a very distinguished personage as he had attained proficiency in and wrote treatises on all the *shastras*. The most important of his works is an elaborate commentary on महाभाष्य. (Indian Antiquary Vol-XIV page 245.)

नांदेडहून काशीस गेलेल्या विष्णुपंत शेषासंबंधीं येथें एक जुनी आख्यायिका चालत आलेली आहे ती अशीः— विष्णुपंतांचें बालपणीं अभ्यासाकडे फारसें लक्ष नव्हतें. एके प्रसंगीं पंताची भावजय त्यांना फार टाकून बोलली. त्याचा विष्णुपंतांस फार विषाद वाटला. गोदाकांठीं शेषांच्या घराजवळच सरस्वतीचें एक जुनें देऊळ होतें. तेथें विष्णुपंतांनीं तपश्चर्या करून सरस्वतीस प्रसन्न करून घेतलें. विष्णुपंत घरीं परत आले तेव्हां त्यांचे वडील बंधु घरांत असून बाहेर ओटीवर कांहीं मुलें वेदपठण करीत बसलीं होतीं. पाठप्रसंगीं एक विवक्षित पदाचा उच्चार अशुद्ध होत असतांना विष्णुपंतांनीं मुलांना शुद्ध पाठ समजावून सांगितला. पंतांचा आवाज ऐकून वडील भाऊ बाहेर आले व त्यांनीं प्रेमभरानें आलिंगन देऊन पंतांच्या बुद्धिमत्तेचें कौतुक केलें. घरांतील आग्रहास न जुमानतां विष्णुपंत हे पुढील अध्ययनाकरतां काशीस गेले. अनभिज्ञ अशा विष्णुपंतांनीं काशींत एका ओसाड वाड्यांत–ज्यास ब्रह्मराक्षसाचा वाडा म्हणत–न कळत प्रवेश केला. तेथें पंतांनीं वेद व शास्त्रें यांचा गुरुजवळ अभ्यास केला.

संपूर्ण विद्या प्राप्त झाल्यानंतर गुरूनें अर्थात् ब्रह्मराक्षसानें आपली पूर्व कथा विष्णुपंतास निवेदन करून शिष्यास निरोप दिला. पंतांस गुरूची हकीकत ऐकून विस्मय व भयहि वाटलें. व तत्क्षणीं ते गुरूचा निरोप घेऊन बाहेर पडले. त्याच दिवशीं काशींत एक मोठी विद्वत् सभा होती; तीस पंत उपस्थित राहिले. विष्णुपंतांनीं शास्त्रचर्चेत भाग घेऊन सभा जिंकली. तेव्हांपासून पुढें काशीच्या शेषांना सभापति अशी बहुमानाची पदवी प्राप्त झाली. हा बहुमान काशीकर शेषांकडे अद्यापहि चालू आहे.

शेष काशीस गेल्याचा शके १५५१ चा पुरावा

सारांश, विष्णु पंडित शेष हा गोदातटाकहून काशीस गेलेला पहिला शेष पंडित होय. याबाबत एकमत होण्यासारखें आहे. पण विष्णुपंताच्या कालाचा व काशीगमनाचा काल निश्चित करण्याजोगा पुरावा अद्याप नाहीं. स्थूल मानानें विष्णुपंताच्या काशीगमनाचा काल शके १४०० चा प्रारंभ धरतां येईल. अगदीं सुरुवातीस शेष पंडितांचें नांदेडहून काशीस जाणें येणें चालू असावें व पुढें एक दोन पिढ्यांनंतर तिकडेच वृत्त्युपार्जन करून स्थायिक झाले असावेत. शक १५५१ च्या एका वांटपपत्रांत काशीकर उपनाम धारण केलेल्या वासुदेव पंत शेषाच्या एका घराचा उल्लेख आढळतो. हाच काय तो एक लेखी पुरावा शेष काशीस जाऊन स्थाईक झाल्याचा सांपडतो.

पत्र गांवकोशाबाहेर वाड्याचि वाटिनी

श्री लक्ष्मीनृसिंहाय नमः

“ शके १५५१ शुक्ल नाम संवत्सरांतर्गत आषाढ......... ते दिवशी शेष वासुदेव पंत काशीकर यांचें स्थळ सिद्धेश्वराच्या देवालयाच्या भिंतीस उत्तरभागी हस्त ३५ .... पूर्वपश्चिम हस्तलांब ४४ चवेचाळीस हे स्थळ याचे विभागी पुरुष त्रिवर्ग गणेशपंत शेष व विठ्ठलपंत शेष व बोपाजीपंत शेष यानी स्थलाचा विभाग केला ऐसाजे. उत्तरेचा विभाग हस्तबारा रुंदी व लांबी हस्त ४४ पूर्व पश्चिम हे गणेशपंताच्या संतानांनी घेतले. त्यास दक्षिणभागी मध्यस्थल......हे विठ्ठल पंताच्या वंशानीं घेतले असे. त्यास दक्षिण भागी हे बोपाजी पंताच्या संता (ना) नी घेतले असे ”. स्वहस्ते शेष नागनाथपंत संमत. तिमाजी पंत. शेष जगन्नाथपंत. रघुनाथपंत शेष. बाबाजी पंत शेष. पंतोजिपंत शेष.”

या पत्रावरून शक १५५१ च्या सुमारास नांदेडहून काशीस गेलेल्या शेषास “काशीकर” शेष म्हणून संबोधीत असत व मूळ शाखेपासून ते कालांतरानें व स्थलांतरानें बरेच दुरावले होते असें दिसून येतें. नांदेडच्या शेषवंशावळींतहि एके ठिकाणीं वामनात्मज रघुनाथ शेषाच्या नांवाखालीं “ याची संतती वाराणसींत आहे ” असें म्हटलें आहे; व एका नीळकंठशेषास “काशीकर” म्हणून संबोधिलें आहे.

काशीचे शेष पंडित

काशीच्या शेषांचें इतिवृत्त लिहिणारे रंगनाथ स्वामी यांनीं इंडियन[५] अँटिक्वेरीमधील

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५. काशीच्या शेषांवर On the Sheshas या मथळयाखालीं विजगापट्टमूचे S. P. V. रंगनाथस्वामी यांनीं पूर्वी १९१२ नोव्हेंबरच्या इंडियन अँटिक्वेरी मासिकांत व्हॉल्युम XIV मध्यें एक महत्त्वपूर्ण लेख लिहिलेला सुप्रसिद्ध आहे. या लेखाचें एक तात्पुरतें टांचण बरेच वर्षांखालीं मी

लेखांत विष्णु शेषांच्या नंतर कांहीं कालानें काशीच्या शेषशाखेंत नृसिंहपंडित शेष या थोर व विद्वान् पंडिताचा उल्लेख केला आहे. हा पूर्ववयांत गोदातटाकीं नांदेड येथेंच होता व त्यास दक्षिणेंतील विद्वानांनीं भट्टभट्टारक अशा बहुमानाच्या पदव्या दिल्या होत्या. यासंबंधीं नृसिंहपंडिताचा मुलगा व काशीशाखेतील प्रख्यात कृष्णपंडित शेष यानें 'मुरारी-विजय' नाटकांत असें म्हटलें आहे कीं मी हा ग्रंथ काशींत लिहीत असतांना माझा बाप हा गोदाकांठीं राहत असे. "अस्ति किल दाक्षिणत्यस्य गोदारोधोवास्तव्यस्य श्रीमद्विश्वरूप वंशवनमुक्तामणेरुधि विद्यानगरसंभवविविद्वद्वृंदवितीर्णभट्टभट्टारकापरनाम्ना भट्टनृसिंहस्यात्मजः कृष्णभट्टोनाम महान्विद्वत्कविः". पण नृसिंह पंडितानें गोविंदार्णव या धर्मशास्त्रावरील ग्रन्थांत असें म्हटलें आहे कीं मी तो ग्रन्थ काशीजवळील गोविंदचंद्रवास्तक तांडव या राजाच्या आज्ञेवरून लिहीत आहें. "त्रिभुवनकमनीयं वीक्ष्य रम्यत्वमत्र अधरसुकृतसारे तांडवं तेन नाम्ना, प्रमितिरिह पृथिव्यामस्ति ताण्डेति यस्य." यावरून नृसिंहपंडित हा उत्तर वयांत गोदाकांठ सोडून तांडव राजाच्या आश्रयास काशीस गेला असावा. काशीजवळील या गोविंदचंद्र श्रीवास्तक राजाचा काल रंगनाथस्वामींनीं इ. स. १६ व्या शतकाचा पूर्वार्ध ठरविला आहे. यावरून नांदेडहून काशीस जाणाऱ्या शेष पंडितांच्या कालनिर्णयावर आणखी थोडा प्रकाश पडण्यासारखा आहे.

या नृसिंहपंडिताचा पुत्र कृष्णपंडित हा काशी शाखेंतील सर्वांत नामांकित ग्रंथकार व जाडा पंडित होय. व्याकरण शास्त्रावर पाणिनीय सूत्राचे आधारें प्रक्रीयप्रकाश, पदचंद्रिका, प्राकृत-चंद्रिका, शब्दालंकार इत्यादि बरेच ग्रंथ त्यांनीं रचले असून शिवाय काव्य, नाटक, चंपू इत्यादि बहुविध विषयांवर याची ग्रंथरचना सर्वश्रुत आहे. काशीस संस्कृत व्याकरणाचें पीठ म्हणून मान मिळवून देणारे शेष पंडितच होत. सुप्रसिद्ध वैय्याकरणी व थोर ग्रन्थकार भट्टोजी दीक्षित हे याच कृष्णपंडितांचे शिष्य होत. कृष्णपंडिताचा भाऊ चिंतामणी हाहि चांगल्या-पैकीं ग्रन्थकार होऊन गेला. यांची रस मंजिरीपरिमल[६] आणि इतर बरीच ग्रन्थरचना आहे. कृष्ण-

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पुण्यास घेतलें होतें. प्रस्तुत लेख लिहितांना इंडियन अँटिक्वेरीचा वरील अंक मजजवळ नव्हता. घेतलेल्या अपूर्ण टांचणावरूनच जरूरीपुरता मीं या लेखास आधार घेतला. नांदेडच्या शेषां-संबंधीं माहिती देतांना मूळ व शाखा यांचा अन्योन्य संबंध दर्शविण्याचे दृष्टीनें अँटिक्वेरींतील काशीच्या शेषांबद्दलची थोडी माहिती या लेखांत समाविष्ट केली आहे त्याबद्दल साभार उल्लेख करीत आहें.

६. नृसिंह पंडिताचा पुत्र व कृष्ण पंडिताचा भाऊ चिंतामणी शेषानें रसमंजिरीपरिमल या ग्रंथाच्या शेवटीं आपलें निवासस्थान "अभ्रपुर" असें दर्शविलें आहे. "श्रीमच्छेषवंशालङ्कार-भूतविद्वज्जनवृंदचुडामणिमरीचिपिंजरितचरणयुगुलकलिशेषावतारश्रीमच्छेषश्रीनृसिंहतनयेन श्रीनृसिंह-चरणोपासिना '**अभ्रपुरनिवासिना**' श्रीशेषचिंतामणिना निर्मितो रसमंजिरीपरिमलः समाप्तः" अभ्र या शब्दाचे सूर्य आणि रूई असे अर्थ होतात. सूर्यपूर किंवा सुरपूर, रूईपूर असें गांव कोणतें असावें तें समजत नाहीं. अभ्रपुरास क्षेत्र, महास्थळ असें एखादें अभिधानहि दिलेलें आढळत नाहीं. शेष तर मूळ गोदातटाक नांदेडचे. शके १४०० च्या पासून शेष साकीन कसबे नांदेड किंवा नंदीतट महास्थळस्थित असेच कागदोपत्रीं उल्लेख सांपडतात. चिंतामणीचा भाऊ कृष्णपंडितहि "अस्तिकिल दाक्षिणात्यस्य गोदारोधोवास्तव्यस्य" म्हणतो. नांदेड व वसमत

पंडिताचा पुत्र विरेश्वर हा गंगालहरीकर्ता प्रसिद्ध जगन्नाथ पंडित याचा गुरु होता. कृष्णपंडिताचा दुसरा पुत्र शेष नारायण हा अलौकिक बुद्धीचा पंडित होता. वीरेश्वर पंडितानंतर पुरुषोत्तम चक्रपाणी, गोपीनाथ राम इत्यादि काशीच्या शेषशाखेंत बरेच विद्वान पंडित होऊन गेले.

इंडियन ॲंटिक्वेरीमधील लेखांत काशीच्या शेषांसंबंधीं बरीच माहिती दिली आहे. तिची मी येथें पुनरुक्ति करून जागा अडवीत नाहीं. नांदेडच्या शेषांसंबंधीं माहिती देतांना मूळ व शाखा यांचा परस्पर संबंध दर्शविण्यापुरताच येथें काशी शाखेचा उल्लेख केला आहे. नांदेडहून काशीस शेषांचें एकच कुटुंब गेलें असें नाहीं. निरनिराळया वेळीं व निरनिराळ्या काळीं शेष पंडित जात येत राहिले. इंडियन ॲंटिक्वेरीमधील काशीच्या शेष वंशावळींत नृसिंहपंडित, कृष्णपंडित, चिंतामणि, वीरेश्वर पंडित प्रभृतींची जी वंशावळ आहे ती एकाच कुटुंबांतील परंपरेची आहे. हल्लीं शेषांचीं जीं तीनचार घरें काशींत आहेत त्यांचे मूळ पुरुष व वंशावळी यांचा शोध व्हावयास पाहिजे. म्हणजे नांदेड वंशावळींतील कांहीं धागेदोरे नव्यानें प्रकाशांत येण्याचा संभव आहे. उदाहरणार्थ, वामनात्मज रघुनाथ पंडित शेष याच्या नांवाखालीं असें लिहिलें आहे कीं " यांची संतती वाराणसींत आहे." दोनतीन वंशावळींत हाच मजकूर लिहिला आहे. तत्रस्थ[७] शोधकांनीं काशीच्या शेषांवर आणखी नवा प्रकाश पाडावयास पाहिजे. इंडियन ॲंटिक्वेरीमधील माहिती आतां जुनी झाली आहे. काशीशिवाय उत्तरेस आणखी शेषपंडित कोठें कोठें स्थाईक झाले असावेत याचाहि शोध व्हावयास पाहिजे. नांदेड वंशावळींत एक घराणें उज्जनीस असल्याचें उल्लेखिलें आहे. जयपुरासहि थोडा संबंध लागण्याचा संभव आहे. परमानंदानें शिवभारतांत " शेषोपाख्य महादेवः काशिस्थाः पण्डिता अमी " म्हणून[८] एक महादेव पंडित शेषाचा उल्लेख केला आहे. हा महादेव पंडित औरंगजेब बादशाहाचा भाऊ दाराशुकोह याचा गुरु होता' असें सांगितलें जातें. आफ्रेक्ट सूचीमध्यें शेषपंडितांचीं नांवें व त्यांचे ग्रन्थ यांची बरीच माहिती आढळते. त्या माहितींतील सर्वच शेषपंडित काशी शाखेंतील नसावेत. दक्षिणेंतहि शेषपंडित निरनिराळ्या ठिकाणीं होतेच. या सर्व माहितीचा समन्वय लावण्यांत आला पाहिजे. व नांदेडच्या शेष वंशावळीवरून शेष पंडितांच्या माहितीवर विशेष प्रकाश पडल्यास ही वंशावळ उपयुक्त ठरेल यांत संशय नाहीं.

दक्षिणी शेषपंडित

नांदेडचे शेष काशीप्रमाणेंच दक्षिणेंतहि निरनिराळ्या राजवटींच्या आश्रयाखालीं होते असें दिसून येतें. रंगनाथ शेष, अनंत शेष, जगन्नाथ शेष इत्यादि शेषपंडितांना शहाजी

यांच्या परिसरांत हें गांव आढळत नाहीं. चिंतामणीनें उल्लेखिलेलें " ब्रह्मपुर " हें गांव कोणतें असावें तें समजत नाहीं. कदाचित् उत्तरेंतच काशीच्या परिसरांत " ब्रह्मपुर " असल्यास न कळे ! खरा शोध व्हावयास पाहिजे.

७. पूर्वी काशींत राहत असलेले व हल्लीं पुण्याच्या अखंड भारताचे संपादक श्री. रा. अं. जोशी यांनीं काशीच्या शेषांविषयीं कांहीं माहिती गोळा केली असल्याचें त्यांच्या बऱ्याच दिवसांपूर्वी आलेल्या एका पत्रावरून समजतें.

८. हंस. काशी विशेषांक १९३३ "काशीके महाराष्ट्र" पं. लक्ष्मण नारायण गर्दे यांचा लेख.

महाराजांचा आश्रय होता. असा जयराम पिंडयेकृत राधामाधव विलास चंपूमध्यें उल्लेख आढळतो. शेष रंगनाथ पंडिताच्या पुत्रानें या चंपूस एक छोटासा उपोद्घात अथवा प्रस्तावना लिहिल्याचा पुढीलप्रमाणें उल्लेख केला आहे. " राधामाधवलीलाख्यचंप्वा विद्वज्जनाश्रया व्याख्या रंगार्यपुत्रेण क्रियते शेषसूरिणा." याच चंपूंत अनंत पंडित, जगन्नाथ पंडित हे थोर अलंकारशास्त्रज्ञ होते असें म्हटलें आहे. " ततो शेषविद्यासनाथः शेषपंडितजगन्नाथा-स्तथाच अनंतशेषपंडिताः शृंगारपाथोधिमथनमधुसुदनस्य " .... इत्यादि. शहाजहान बादशाहाच्या दरबारीं जसा जगन्नाथ पंडित, तसा शहाजी महाराजांच्या दरबारांत जगन्नाथ शेष शोभत असे, असें चंपूंत म्हटलें आहे. रंगार्यपुत्र बहुधा बालो पंडित, रामाजी पंडित, किंवा शिवाजी पंडित या त्रिवर्ग बंधूंपैकीं कोणी तरी असावा. शक १५५१ च्या वाटपपत्रांत जगन्नाथ शेषाचें नांव आढळतें. हें पत्र शहाजीकालीन आहे. तेव्हां चंपूंत उल्लेखिलेला जगन्नाथ व नांदेडच्या वाटपपत्रांतील जगन्नाथ शेष ही एकच व्यक्ति असण्याचा संभव आहे. जगन्नाथ, अनंत, रंगनाथ व त्याचे पुत्र हीं नांवें नांदेडच्या शेष वंशावळींतीलच दिसतात.

विजापुरासहि कांहीं काल शेषांचें एखादें घराणें वास्तव्य करून असावें असें वाटतें. नांदेडच्या वामन अनंत[९] शेष या पंडिताचे ९७५ व ९८६ हिजरी (इ. स. १५६५) मधील दोन परवाने उपलब्ध झाले आहेत. त्यांत हा वामन अनंत विजापूरच्या पहिल्या अलि आदिलशाहाच्या वेळेस तेथील मेहल किताबखान्याचा व्यवस्थापक असून त्यास त्याबद्दल एक हजार होन वार्षिक मुशाहिरा होता, असा उल्लेख आहे. याच वामन अनंत शेषाचा नातु प्रसिद्ध महाराष्ट्र कवि वामन पंडित होय. राजाराम प्रासादीनें भक्तमंजिरींतील वामन पंडितांच्या चरित्रांत वामन शेष कुलोत्पन्न वासिष्ठ गोत्री व विजापूरचा[१०] होता असें जें म्हटलें आहे, त्यांत बरेंच तथ्य असावें असें वाटतें. वामन अनंत प्रभृति नांदेडचे कांहीं शेष पंडित त्या काळीं विजापूर दरबारीं मानमान्यतेस चढले असावे असें दिसतें.

नांदेडचे शेष पंडित

वामन अनंत शेषाचा किंवा कविवर्य वामन पंडितांच्या वास्तव्याचा विजापुराशीं थोडा संबंध लागत असला तरी त्यांच्या वृत्ति उत्पन्नासंबंधींचीं कागदपत्रें खास नांदेडशींच[११]

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९. " ताईन मुशाहिरा बइस्मे सेस वामन बिन अनंत हवाला महल किताबखाना हम रिकाब चाकर दिवान आला शुहूर सन खमस सबइन तिसामेया बमूजब दस्तके परवानगी बासाद मुबारक.........गुटे माहे सफर सन ९८३ हिजरी सालाना एक हजार होन."

१०. " विजापुरीं द्विजोदरीं । जन्मले वामन निर्धारीं । ज्ञान जयाचें वशिष्ठापरी । वाशिष्ठ्य गोत्री ते जाणा ॥ उपनाम म्हणती जन शेष......" (राजाराम-प्रासादि भक्त मंजिरीमाला. अध्याय ३९.)

११. वामन अनंत शेषास तिसो अनंत नामक एक बंधु होता. या उभयतांना इमादशाही राजे बडे इमादशाह व दुरया इमादशाह यांच्याकडून जमिनी व उत्पन्नें चालत आलीं होतीं.

" वामनपंत बिन अनंतपंत सेस जुनारदार साकीन कसबे नांदेड हुजुरु येऊनु मालुमु केले जे आपले बिराजर तिसो पंडित बिन अंतपंडित त्यासि ये इनामु कसबा व कर्याती व दर महाल जकाती बितपसील........तागाइत शुहूर सबा सितैन व तिसामेया [९६७ (इ. स. १५६७)] भोगवटा तसरूफातीं चालत होते हजरती दिवान बडे इमादस्या व दरिया इमादस्या व बाजे मुकासाइ दर

संबंधित आहेत. मूळ पुरुष रामकृष्णपंत शेषाच्या विठ्ठलपंत शाखेंतील बामन अनंत शेषाची परंपरा ही विद्वांसमालिकाच होय. कारण याच परंपरेंत प्रसिद्ध महाराष्ट्र कवि बामन पंडित व त्याचा पुत्र कवींद्र रघुपति शेष हा झाला. बामन पंडिताचें राहणें नांदेड, बिजापूर किंवा काशी यांपैकीं कोणत्या ठिकाणीं विशेष घडलें हें नक्की सांगतां येत नाहीं. तथापि त्यांच्या संबंधींचीं इनाम उत्पन्नबाबीचीं सर्व कागदपत्रें नांदेडशींच जास्त संबंधित आहेत. बामन पंडिताचे संस्कृत ग्रंथ व मराठी काव्य येथील शेषांच्या संग्रहांत योग्य प्रकारें जतन करून ठेवलें असावें याची मला खात्री झाली आहे. पण घरें पडलीं किंवा विकलीं गेलीं तेव्हां त्या दप्तरांची जी वासलात लागली असेल, त्याची कल्पना न केलेली बरी. शक १५८५ व १५८८ मधील वाटपपत्रांत बामन शेष या नांवानें बामनाची खास स्वाक्षरी आढळते. बामन पंडितांच्या पुत्रांपैकीं रघुनाथ ऊर्फ रघुपति शेष हा मराठी वाङ्मयांत फार चांगल्यापैकीं कवी होऊन गेला. वामनाच्या समकालीन देवदास कवीनें संत मालिकेंत यास " नांदेडकर शेष " असें म्हटलें आहे. तो उल्लेख असा: " नामी विनटला नांदेडकर शेष । प्रसन्न त्यासी झालासी ।। " नंतरच्या महिपतीनें भक्तिविजयांत " रघुपति शेष कृपादानीं । जयाचे कीर्तन ऐकूनीं कानीं । झाले ज्ञानी अतिमूढ ।। असा उल्लेख करून थोर कीर्तनकार, उपदेशक, व भगवद्भक्त म्हणून ह्याची वाखाणणी केली आहे. नैषव काव्याची एक पोथी स्वहस्तें रघुनाथ शेषानें लिहिली आहे तीवर " वामनात्मज रघुनाथ पंडित शेष " असा स्वतःचा नामनिर्देश केला आहे. अनेक सनदापत्रांत यास " फरजंद वामनपंडित " म्हटलें आहे. या रघुनाथ ऊर्फ रघुपति शेषानें दशम स्कंधावर कृष्णकौतुक नांवाची श्लोकबद्ध टीका लिहिली आहे. हा ग्रंथ अप्रसिद्ध आहे. थोडा त्रुटित मिळाला आहे. एकंदर १० सर्गांपैकीं आठ पूर्ण आहेत. पहिला व शेवटचा सर्ग अर्धवट मिळाला आहे. एकंदर एक हजारवर श्लोक उपलब्ध झाले आहेत. रघुपति शेषाची रचना थेट वामनी थाटाची आहे. रघुनाथ शेषाच्या कृष्णकौतुकांतील कांहीं लहान लहान उतारे नमुन्या करतां येथें देतों

कृष्णकौतुकलीलेच्या पहिल्या सर्गांत कृष्णजन्मवर्णनाचा कथाप्रसंग संपवितांना रघुनाथानें आपणांस कवीश्वर असें संबोधून आपल्या वाणीविलासाबद्दल पुढीलप्रमाणें कौतुकोद्गार काढले आहेत.

।। श्रीकृष्ण कौतुककथेंत मनोज्ञ लीला ।
जाणा असा प्रथम सर्ग समाप्त झाला ।
येथूनि शेष रघुनाथ कवीश्वराचा ।
वाणी विलास मिरवे बरवा रसाचा ।।

मुकासाइ भोगवट्याच्या मिसेलीं होतीया पुढे सुहुर समान कारणे मजलिसी . . . . अवघे इनामदार जाऊनी खुर्द खते घेउनु आले, त्याबरोबरी तिसोपंडित जाऊनु खुर्द खत महालासी आणणे इतु- कियामध्ये त्यासी मलालती होऊनी खुदाई जाली . . . , भोगवट्याचे कागद सोखतन जाले. . . . हाली परगने मजकुरू साहेबासी मुकासा अर्जानी जाला . . . . .तिसो पंडितासी जो भोगवटा सदरहू होता तो आपल्या भतीजा सिऊपंत बिन तिसोपंत यासी देववावया रजा देणे म्हणौनु मालुमु केले ते बितमाम खातीरसी आले. . . . . , तैरीख २६ माहे रजबु सला सबैन. " (मलिकंबर सनद शेष शिवु पंडिताच्या नांवाची)

चौथ्या सर्गाच्या शेवटीं "रघुपति शेष कवींद्र वाग्विलासी" असें स्वतःस म्हटलें आहे.

गोपक्रीडा

॥ करी वेणु वाहे शिरिं मोर पिच्छे। धरी खांदिये कांबळी जे विलासे ।।
जया देखतां पापही सर्व खंडे। वनामाजि ते सावळे ब्रह्म हिंडे ॥
गडी बोलती लागली भूक भारी। घडी येक तूं बैस येथें मुरारी ॥
घडी घातली बैसके कांबळ्याची। थडी शोभवावी कलिंदात्मजेची ॥
तवे बाळगोपाळ मीळोनि पाळा। बरे बैसले तो दिसे रम्य मेळा।
तया माजि तो सावळा भक्तिभोळा। असा साजिरा एक आश्चर्य मेळा ॥
सुसंबद्ध पंचांग पीतांबराची। शरीरीं बरीं दिप्तिका कांचनाची ।।
तयामाजि तो खोविला वेणुपोटीं। असे आडवा दीसतो दोनि कोटी ॥
मनोरम्य कक्षेसही श्रृंग काठी। शिरीं मोर पिच्छाचिया रम्य वेठी ॥
करी डावया भातगोळा दहेसी। वरी लोचणीं गोविली अंगुलीसी ॥
असा साजिरा नंद वेशात्मजाचा। तयासारखा गोवळाच्या मुलांचा ॥
अहो चोज माझ्या मनीं बिंबलेंसे। समस्तासि तो सन्मुखत्वेंचि दीसे ॥
कलिंदात्मजा दीर्घ वेणी बरेची। तये राखडी मंडळी गोवळांची ।।
तयामाजि तो कृष्णजी नील जेसा। मनी माझिया होतसे तर्क ऐसा ॥
दिसे गोपवेषें असे आत्मतोषें। जगामाजि सामर्थ्य दावी विशेषें ॥
अहो भक्तिभोळा श्रुतीचा जिव्हाळा। असा मानिला सर्व गोपाळबाळा ॥

—रघुपति शेष

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गोपीक्रीडा

॥ डाव्या करीं धरुनि अंचळ कामिनीचें। श्रृंगारमूर्ति मुरलीधर नाच नाचे।
घेऊनि दक्षिण करीं वरि तेचि वेगें। चक्रासमान फिरवी रचना प्रसंगें ॥
बाहीर अंग उमटे अति दाट ऐसी। चोळी घन स्तनतटीं जडली बरीशीं।
श्रीकृष्ण दृष्टि पडतांचि अपूर्व झालें। वेगें करूनि बिरडेंचि सुटूनि गेले ॥
मार्गा त्यजूनि भुजगाकृति एक बांधी। तो चंद्रयुक्त रजनींत विनोद साधी।
येता कुरंगनयना दचकेत जेव्हां। टाळी करी पिटितसे बहुसाल तेव्हां ॥
स्कंधावरी धरुनिया कर एकमेकें। दोघे समेत उभिया स्वशरीर झाके।
नीलोत्पलद्युति तनुप्रति हेमगौरी। बोले हरीस अवलोकित एक नारी ॥

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मथुरा नगरींतील श्रीकृष्णबलराम दर्शनोत्सुक स्त्रियांच्या उडालेल्या धांदलीचें वर्णन

॥ अहो या पुरीमाजि गोविंद आला। म्हणोनि मनामाजि संतोष झाला।
तवे सुंदरा रूप पाहावयाला। गवाक्षाकडे चालिल्या चारुशीला ॥
लगबगित पलंगापासुनी येक बाळी। सरस अळीतियाच्या पाउलासी निघाली।
उमटति ठसियांच्या दोनि चोळी विशाळा। अरुण कमळ माळा दीसती कीं रसाळा ॥

सुटत कुचडियेशी दो करी वेन आली। विखुरत सुमनाची वृष्टि मार्गांत केली।
मज गमत असे जे कामिनीचेनि मागे। तरुण जनमनाचे लागलें सैन्य वेगें ॥
हरिदर्शन मत्त मनें सखिये। उघडी दिससी तुज लाज नये।
वरि कांचन तंतु विचित्र नवा। दुपटा वरि पांघुर पां बरवा ॥
भुललीस कसी हृदयीं विकळे। श्रवणीहुनि काप गळे न कळे।
अझुनिया तरि घे उचलूनि निरा। हरि इष्ट कसा तुज येक सरा ॥
करुनि निबिड मेळा या परी सर्व बाळा।
वदत वचन माळा चालिती या रसाळा।
नवजळधर नीळा लाग लाऊनि डोळा।
अनुगम अनुवेळा घालिती प्रेममाळा ॥

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ऐसा लीलाविलासी नरनटपण हा साधला बलवासी।
आतां या यादवासी नवल नवल पें दाखवी निश्चयेसी।
याची क्रीडा सरेना गुणकथन सुखी धाव माझी पुरेना।
श्रोत्यातें राहवेना अनुभव रचना बोलतां बोलवेना ॥
श्रीकृष्ण कौतुक मनोहर काव्य लीला।
हा साजिरा नवम सर्ग समाप्त झाला।
आतां पुढें निगदिजे रघुनाथ शेषें।
हे आइकाल तरि सौख्य घडे विशेषें ॥

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तंत्रदर्पण कर्ता रघुनाथ शेष

नांदेडच्या शेष घराण्यांत आणखी एक रघुनाथ शेष नामक विद्वान् पंडित झाला आहे. हा बालोपंडितात्मज रघुनाथ शेष होय. यानें देवी उपासनेवर तंत्रदर्पण नामक एक संस्कृत ग्रंथ रचला आहे. नांदेडच्या शेष पंडितानें रचलेला हाच एक संस्कृत ग्रन्थ उपलब्ध झाला आहे. या ग्रन्थाचे एकंदर द्वादशबिंब किंवा बारा प्रकरणें आहेत.

ग्रंथांत एके ठिकाणीं नवनाथ म्हणून देवी उपासक नऊ मंत्रतंत्र विशारद अशा महान् अधिकारी व्यक्तींचा उल्लेख केला आहे.

॥ नवनाथान् स्मरेन्मूलपंकजे योनिमंडले ॥

त्यांचीं नांवें:—१. प्रकाशानंदनाथ २. विमर्शानंदनाथ ३. आनंदानंदनाथ ४. ज्ञानानंदनाथ ५. सत्यानंदनाथ ६. पूर्णानंदनाथ ७. भावानंदनाथ ८. प्रतिभानंदनाथ ९. सुभगानंदनाथ.

या नऊ नांवांपैकीं प्रतिभानंदनाथ ही व्यक्ति शेष घराण्यांतील एक थोर व प्रख्यात व्यक्ति असावी असें वाटतें. कारण शेषाच्या वंशावळींच्या शिरोभागीं "श्री प्रतिभानंद समर्थ" असा वंशावळ लेखकानें निर्देश केला आहे.

ग्रन्थाच्या ११५ व्या पानावर कोण्या नित्यानंदानें आपला गुरु श्री विद्यानंदनाथ याच्या गुरूचें पुढीलप्रमाणें स्तवन केलेलें आढळतें.

।। कार्याकारविचारसिद्धिजनकं काव्यानुबंधप्रदम् । कालव्यालविशालभीतिशमनं सर्वेश विशापकं । सच्छास्त्रार्थनिरूपकं श्रुद्धशतग्रंथानुसंधानदं । सर्वाराध्यपदार्पकं परगुरोः पादाब्ज युग्मं भजे ।।

।। श्री विद्यानंद नाथः परशिवसदृशो विश्वविख्यातकीर्ति। स्तच्छिष्येनात्मशक्त्या गुरुपदविभवस्तोत्रमेतद्वरिष्ठं । नित्यानंदेन भक्त्या पठति मनुदिनं निर्मितं यः प्रभाते । शिष्योधीतेह्नित्यंतै तदुपरिकरुणास्यात् गुरोः सर्वथैनः ।।

प्रत्येक बिंब किंवा प्रकरणाच्या शेवटीं ग्रंथकर्ता रघुनाथ शेषाच्या नांवाखालीं कोण्या सच्चिदानंद नामक एका थोर व्यक्तीचें नांव आढळतेंः—।। सच्चिदानंद नाथेन उन्मायानंद सेविना ।। तंत्र दर्पणे संशुद्धे द्वादशं बिंब मीरितं ।। वरील व्यक्तीनें हा ग्रंथ समक्ष अवलोकनाखालीं घालून संशुद्ध केला असावा. " सच्चिदानंद " हे नांव चिंतनीय आहे.

ग्रंथसमाप्तीच्या शेवटील उल्लेख

" इतिश्रीनंदीतट महास्थळस्थित शेष रंगनाथात्मज बालोपंडितसूनुना रघुनाथेन रचिते तंत्रदर्पणे द्वादशबिंबं समाप्तं ।। शके १६१९ ईश्वरनाम संवत्सरे श्रावण शुद्ध द्वितीया मंदवासरे युगाक्षरं दोकारः दिनाक्षरंवकारः उदयाक्षरं चकारः तद्दिने शेष वीरेश्वर पंडितात्मजः गोपाळेन इदं पुस्तकं लिखितं स्वार्थपरोपकारार्थंच "

शेष रंगनाथाचा मुलगा बालोपंडित याचा पुत्र रघुनाथ यानें हा ग्रन्थ रचला असून त्याची प्रत शके १६१९ मध्यें रघुनाथाचा नातु वीरेश्वर शेषाचा पुत्र गोपाळ पंडित यानें केली असल्याचें दिसतें. रघुनाथाच्या तंत्रदर्पणांतील रंगनाथ, बालोपंडितादि अनेक व्यक्ति सामान्यांपैकी नसून त्या वेळच्या नांवाजलेल्या व प्रसिद्ध अशा पंडितांचीं तीं नांवें आहेत, असें कागदपत्रांवरून दिसतें. शेषांचा मूळ पुरुष रामकृष्णपंतांच्या तीन पुत्रां (गणेशपंत, विठ्ठलपंत व बोपाजीपंत) पैकीं ज्येष्ठ पुत्र गणेशपंत याची बाळोपंडितात्मज रघुनाथ याच्या वंशपरंपरेंत मोडणारी शाखाच आज नांदेड येथें विद्यमान आहे. रामकृष्ण, गणेश, पारोपंत, मुधोपंत व नृसिंहपंत येथपर्यंत नुसतीं नांवेंच आढळतात. रंगोपंडित बिन नृसिंहपंडितापासूनचीं पत्रें उपलब्ध होतात. याच रंगनाथानें " अवघ्या वृत्ति नांदेड व वसमती या दोही माहालाच्या नाना कष्ट करून सोडविल्या " असा शके १५२९ च्या पत्रांत उल्लेख आहे. १००७ हिजरीच्या अलीमर्दानाच्या निस्फछापाच्या सनदेंत " रंगोपंडित बिन नृसिंहपंडित व रामाजी पंडित बिन केसोपंडित शेष याना " विद्वांस " साकीन कसबे नांदेड " असें म्हटलें आहे. बाळोपंडित, तंत्रदर्पणकर्ता रघुनाथ, वीरेश्वर, गोपाळपंडित यांच्या उत्पन्नबाबींचीं पत्रें बरींच आढळतात. गोपाळपंडिताचा मुलगा नागेशपंडित हाहि एक उल्लेखनीय शेषपंडित होऊन गेला. निजामुल्मुलकचीं खास फर्माने व परवाने याच नागेश पंडिताच्या नांवानें मिळालीं असून, जमीनी, गोनीस दंबडी, गल्ला तरकारी सवाई महसूल, तीर्थवृत्ति व सायरावरील मिळकत अशीं नाना प्रकारचीं उत्पन्नें शेषांना मिळालीं असल्याचें दिसून येतें. श्रीशृंगेरी व हंपी पीठांकडून सभापतित्व व धर्मविषयक निर्णयाचे अधिकार शेषपंडितांना देण्यांत आले होते. शृंगेरीपीठाशीं शेषांचा विशेषत्वानें संबंध असावा असें दिसतें. नांदेड येथें शृंगेरी पीठाचा एक मठ सिद्धनाथ पुरींत पूर्वी चांगल्या स्थितींत होता व तेथें या

परंपरेंतील[११] थोर यति वा शिष्य राहत असावे याविषयीं कागद पत्रें आढळतात. श्री शृंगेरी जगद्‌गुरु महासंस्थानचें एक आज्ञापत्रक या मठाची व्यवस्था ठेवण्याविषयीं त्र्यंबकपंत[१२] शेष यांच्या नांवाचें पाहण्यांत आलें. सिद्धनाथ पुरींतील या मठास हल्लींही शंकराचार्यांचा[१४] मठ म्हणतात. श्रीनरसिंह भारतीस्वामीचे मेघश्यामपंत शेषाच्या नांवाचें आणखी एक आज्ञापत्र पाहण्यांत येतें. सभापतित्व व पौरोहित्य, धर्माधिकारी सरदेही, नामकानुन व पुराणाबाबतचे निरनिराळे अधिकार व सन्मान धर्मपीठाकडून शेषपंडितांना प्राप्त झाले होते. गजाननपंत शेषाच्या पत्रांत " परगणे वसमत, अर्धापूर, मुदखेड, सारवाड, खंदार, मुधोळ, म्हैसा, आबंढा, उमरखेड, मनाठा, तामसा, सेवाळे, वाढवणे, परभणि, लोहगांव भोकर " इत्यादि परगण्याचे पौरोहित्य व सभापतित्व शेषाकडे होतें असा उल्लेख सांपडतो. शेष पंडितांनीं शास्त्रार्थ व शासनपत्रकें लिहिलेलींहि पाहण्यांत येतात. "विघ्नध्वांत विनाशक सुप्रभ मुखकमलं" अशी सुरुवात असलेली पंचायतन देवतेची एक आरती कोण्या शेषपंडितानें रचलेली इकडे मुखोद्गत आहे. तिच्या शेवटीं " विद्यामंडितदेहं पंडितकुलपालं। शेषरत्नामहमीडे सततं खलु कालं " असा उल्लेख आहे. यावरून शेषांच्या ' पंडित ' पदवीचा बोध होतो. शेषांची खाजगी संज्ञा " पंत " दिसते. नांदेड येथें सांप्रत शेषांचीं दोन घरें आहेत वे. राजेश्वर पंत शेष व वे. बाबा शेष हे येथील विद्यमान वंशज होत.

विद्यामंडित शेष घराण्याचा असा हा एकंदर उज्ज्वल इतिहास आहे. आतां तें शेषांचें विद्यावैभव मूळ जागीं राहिलें नाहीं. शेषांचें विद्याविभूषित कुळ ज्या ठिकाणीं पूर्वी दीर्घ काल नांदलें त्या नांदत्या जागेवरील हल्लीचा खिंडारमय भाग पाहिला म्हणजे मन विषण्ण होतें आणि मग डोळे मिटावे आणि त्या जुन्या काळांतील विद्यामंडित शेषांच्या परिवारांत जाऊन शेषांचें विद्यावैभव प्रत्यक्ष डोळ्यानीं पाहावें अशी इच्छा उत्पन्न झाल्याशिवाय राहात नाहीं.

नांदेडच्या शेष घराण्याचा व त्या अनुषंगानें मूळ व शाखा विस्ताराचा जुळवितां येईल तेवढा इतिहास साधार जुळविण्याचा यथामति प्रयत्न केला आहे. साधनाभावीं त्यांतील कांहीं वैगुण्येंहि दृष्टीआड करतां येणार नाहींत. तथापि या माहितीनें शेषांच्या संशोधनवृत्ताकडे अधिक जिज्ञासेनें पाहाण्याची शोध प्रवृत्ति निर्माण झाल्याशिवाय राहणार नाहीं. " घराण्यांचें सांप्रत होणारे इतिहास हा प्रारंभ आहे. आज तयार झालेले हे इतिहास म्हणजे पाया समजून त्यावर इमारत अजून उभारावयाची आहे हें सर्वांनीं लक्षांत ठेवावयास पाहिजे. "

१२. " आता असो अनुभव प्रकार। परंपरा सांगे निर्धार। शृंगेरी मठ साचार। तेथें अधिष्ठान सरस्वति॥ तोचि संप्रदाय माधव सरस्वति। वास गोदातीर नामीतीर्थी (नांदेड)। असतां अनुभव प्राप्ती। विठ्ठल सरस्वतीसी। मग तयाचा उपदेश। प्राप्त अंबिका सरस्वतीस। तयाचे अभय कर अमृतानंदासी॥ (अविनाशसंदेहहरण, अमृतरायकृत).

१३. सिद्धनाथ पुरींतील शंकराचार्यांच्या मठांतील मूर्ति तेथील व्यवस्था शिथिल झाल्यानंतर शेषांच्या घरीं पूजेंत आणून ठेवल्या. महादेवाची तांब्याची मूर्ति, सोमसूत्र व पार्वतीची मूर्ति सुंदर आहे.

१४. वर उल्लेखलेला शंकराचार्यांचा मठ व प्रस्तुत माधवसरस्वतीचा मठ एकच किंवा भिन्न असावा तें समजत नाहीं.

असे पृथक उद्गार गुरुवर्य महामहोपाध्याय पोतदार यांनी एका कुलेतिहासास लिहिलेल्या प्रस्तावनेंत काढले आहेत. ते लक्षांत ठेवूनच पुढील कार्याची पूर्ति करावयाची आहे एवढें सांगितलें म्हणजे पुरं.

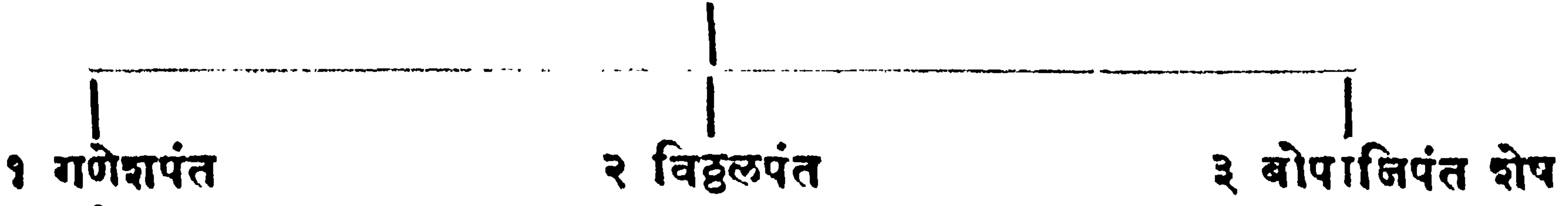
नांदेडच्या शेषांची वंशावळ

" श्रीप्रतिभानंदनाथ प्रसन्न "

(बाळोपंडितात्मज रघुनाथ शेषाच्या तंत्रदर्पणांत नवनाथ म्हणून ज्या देवीउपासक अशा नऊ महान् मंत्रविशारद अशा थोर व्यक्तींचा उल्लेख केला आहे त्यांत प्रतिभानंदनाथ हें नांव आढळतें. शेषांच्या वंशावळीच्या शिरोभागीं " श्रीप्रतिभानंदनाथ समर्थ " असें मुद्दाम लिहिलें आहे. त्या अर्थी शेष घराण्यांतील सर्वांना पूज्य व वंदनीय वाटत असलेली ही थोर व्यक्ति असावी.)

शेषांचा मूळ पुरुष

रामकृष्णपंत शेष



पैकीं गणेशपंताचा वंशविस्तार

गणेशपंत रामकृष्ण → पारोपंत, चिंतामणी.
पारोपंत → मुधोपंत, मालोपंत, गोविंदपंत.
मुधोपंत → नृसिंहपंत.
नृसिंहपंत → रंगोपंत.
रंगोपंत → बालोपंत, रामाजिपंत, शिवाजीपंत.
बालोपंत → रघुनाथपंत (तंत्रदर्पणकर्ता).
रघुनाथ → मानकेश्वर, यादोपंत, वीरेश्वर.
मानकेश्वर → रामाजिपंत, त्र्यंकाजिपंत.
त्र्यंकाजि → मुद्गलपंत
मुद्गल → कोणेर, मेघश्याम →
कोणेर → भोजराज.
भोजराज → शंकर, पूर्णानंद, मुनिवर, शिवाजी.
शिवाजी → मुरारपंत, रेणकोपंत.
मुरारपंत → नागोपंत, राजाराम.
राजाराम → सखाराम, माधव, शिवाजी.
माधव → मुरहर,
मुरहर → वामन.
वामन → बाबा शेष. (नांदेडचे विद्यमान शेष पुरुष).

१ मानकु
अबाजि
रामा भवानी तुळाजी
अंबाजि गोविंद

२ शंकरपंत
फणिवर
मुनिवर
विश्वेश्वर

गणेशपंताची दुसरी विद्यमान शाखा

बाळोपंडितात्मज रघुनाथ (तंत्रदर्पणकर्ता) → वीरेश्वरपंत → गोपाळ → नागोपंत → भुजंगपंत, लक्ष्मणपंत, व्यंकटेशपंत.

भुजंगपंत → त्र्यंबक, राजाराम.

राजाराम → त्र्यंबक → अंबादास → राजेश्वरपंत शेष (नांदेडचे विद्यमान शेष).

गणेशपंताची तिसरी शाखा

चिंतामणि गणेश → रामकृष्ण → गणेश → रघुनाथ, नृसिंह, जगन्नाथ.

जगन्नाथ → यादोपंत, सखोपंत..

सखोपंत → निळकंठ काशीकर.

गणेशपंताची चौथी शाखा

मालोपंत पारोपंत → नारायणपंत, गोपाळपंत.

नारायणपंत
|
पंतोजीपंत
|
गणेशपंत
|
अबाजिपंत

गोपाळपंत
|
रघुनाथ
|
नागोपंत

गणेशपंताची पांचवी शाखा

गोविंदपंत पारोपंत → १ रामकृष्ण, २ दत्तोपंत, ३ विठ्ठल → जगन्नाथ → सखोपंत → नीळोपंत.

रामकृष्ण → तिमाजीपंत.

तिमाजी → विश्वनाथ, महादपंत.

विश्वनाथ → रामाजि, नीळकंठ, विठोपंत.

रामाजि.
|
मानकोपंत
|
चांगलोपंत
|
विश्वनाथ
|
विठ्ठल
|
सुंदरपंत
|
नारायण-त्र्यंबक
|
विश्वनाथ
|
नरहरि

महादपंत → उद्धवपंत, यादोपंत

महादपंत → १ कान्होपंत (उज्जैनी), २ गोविंद, ३ जगन्नाथ

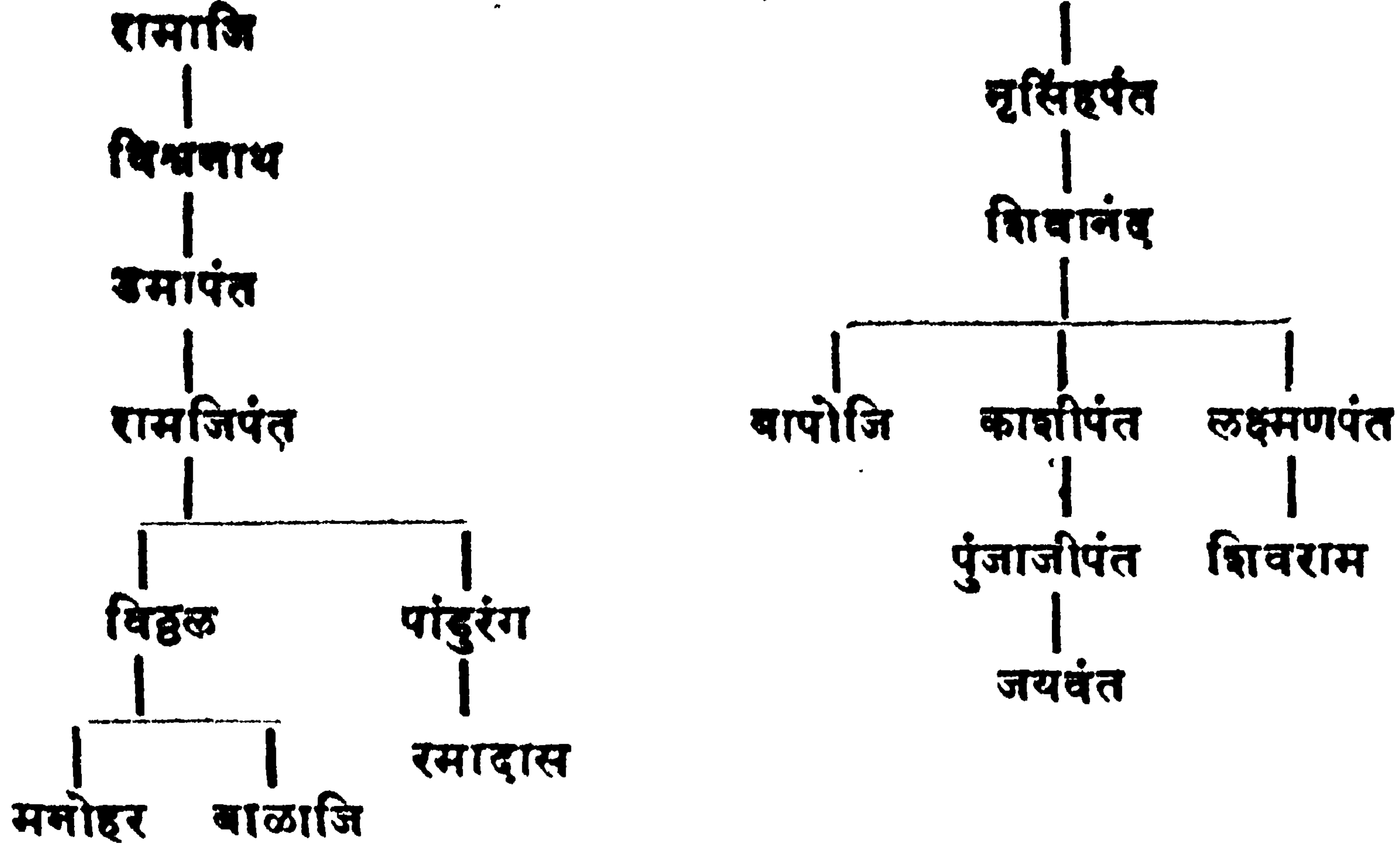
२ गोविंद
|
शामाजिपंत (औरंगाबाद)
|
ब्रह्मगिरी
|
धर्मपुरी

३ जगन्नाथ → उद्धव, गोपाळ

उद्धव
|
बाबा
|
सखाराम
भुजंग

गोपाळ
|
बाळोपंत
|
नागोराव
|
नरसोपंत

यादोपंत
|
शिवराम
|
जयराम
|
राजाराम



विठ्ठलपंताची शाखा

मूळ पुरुष रामकृष्णपंत शेष

गणेशपंत — विठ्ठलपंत — बोपाजिपंत

अनंत (गणेशपंत) — मेघनाथ (बोपाजिपंत)

वामन अनंत शेष (विजापुरी पंडित) — तिसो अनंत

तानाजीपंडित — शिवपंडित

वामनपंडित (सुप्रसिद्ध महाराष्ट्र कवि सुश्लोककार)

१ रघुनाथ ऊर्फ रघुपति शेष (कृष्ण कौतुककर्ता) संतति वाराणसींत — २ काळोपंत — ३ श्रीधर — ४ अनंत — ५ कोणेर — ६ त्र्यंबक

गणेश — नरहरि

अबाजि — तिमाजि

रेणुकोपंत

श्रीधर वामन — गोविंद

अनंत वामन — रामाजि

त्र्यंबक वामन — दामोदर, हरी, नारायण

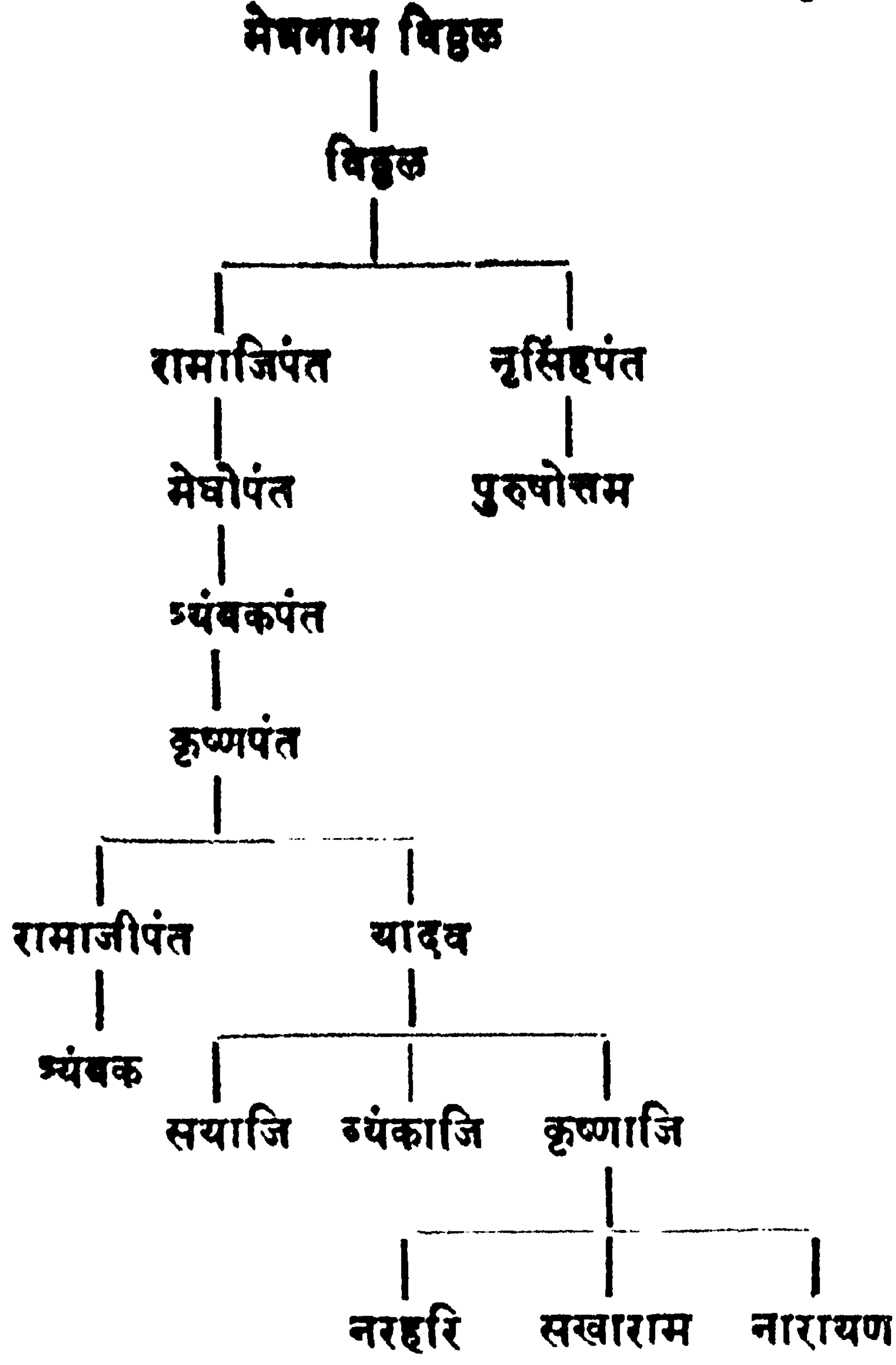
काळोपंत वामन

अन्नाजी

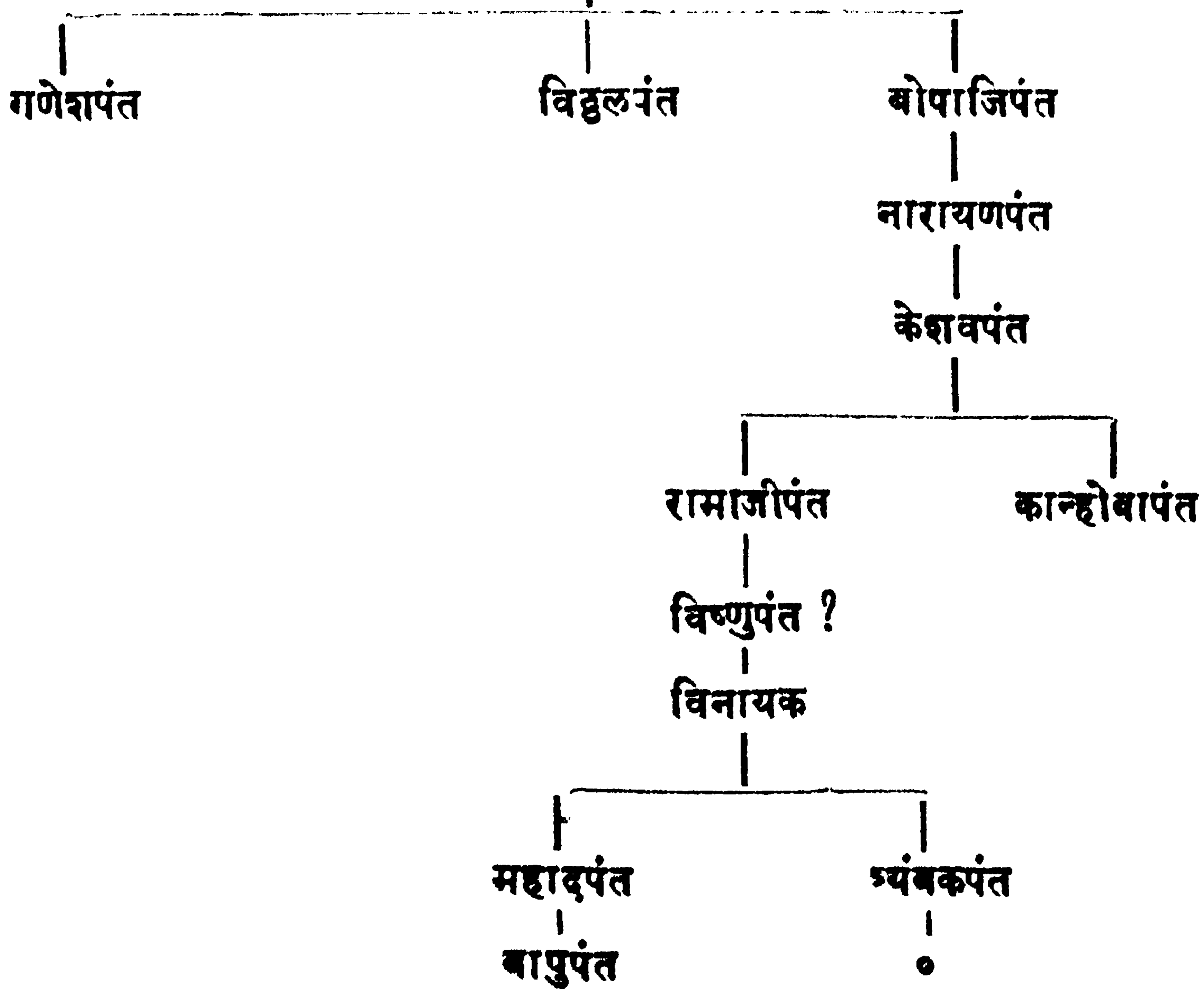
मानको — रामचंद्र

गंगाराम

विठ्ठलपंताची दुसरी शाखा



बोपाजिपंताची शाखा



— ८ —

शाहू छत्रपतीस दिल्लीच्या मोगल बादशाहाकडून मिळालेल्या सरदेशमुखीची सनद

(एका नूतन विश्वसनीय ऐतिहासिक साधनाची उपलब्धी)

श्री. भा. वा. भट, धुळें

औरंगजेबाच्या मरणोत्तर शाहू छत्रपतीस चौथाई, सरदेमुखी व स्वराज्य यांच्या सनदा मिळविण्याचे प्रयत्न इ. स. १७१० सालापासून सुरू झाले. या अस्सल सनदा यापुढें कधीं उपलब्ध होण्याचा संभव दिसत नाहीं. अशा परिस्थितींत अस्सल सनदांच्या अभावीं या सनदांविषयींचीं जीं अन्य प्रमाणें उपलब्ध झालीं आहेत, त्यांच्या आधारेंच या विषयींची विश्वसनीय माहिती देतां येणें शक्य आहे. ऐतिहासिक साधनांच्या प्रसिद्ध झालेल्या निरनिराळ्या ग्रंथांत या सनदांविषयीं माहिती दिलेली आढळते. ही माहिती कोणत्या प्रकारची आहे व तीवरून कोणत्या गोष्टी निष्पन्न होतात यांविषयीं कांहीं लेख मराठ्यांच्या इतिहासाचें संशोधन करणाऱ्या एक दोन गृहस्थांचे प्रसिद्ध झाले आहेत. डॉ. ए. जी. पवार यांनीं या सनदांविषयीं लिहिलेला विस्तृत लेख इंडियन हिस्टॉरिकल रेकार्ड्स कमिशनची बैठक बडोदा येथें सन १९४० सालांत भरली होती तींत वाचला. याशिवाय सन १९४५ सालांत दक्षिण हैद्राबाद येथें डेक्कन हिस्टरी कॉन्फरन्सची परिषद भरली होती, त्या परिषदेंत या सनदांविषयीं चर्चा करणारा एक लेख आम्हीं वाचला होता.

या सनदांचें ऐतिहासिक दृष्ट्या महत्त्व लक्षांत घेतां अस्सल सनदांच्या उपलब्धीच्या अभावीं या सनदेविषयीं विश्वसनीय प्रमाणें उपलब्ध होतील तितकीं प्रसिद्ध करणें युक्त आहे. नंदुरबार, जिल्हा पश्चिम खानदेश येथील देसाई व कानूगो घराणें अकबर बादशाहाचे काळापासून अस्तित्वांत असून या घराण्याकडे नंदुरबार परगण्याचें देसाई वतन असल्यानें या घराण्याच्या संग्रहीं त्या बादशाहाचे कारकिर्दीपासूनचे अनेक प्राचीन ऐतिहासिक लेख आहेत. त्यांपैकीं एक महत्त्वाचा लेख नुकताच उपलब्ध झाला आहे. आजपावेतों प्रसिद्ध झालेल्या अन्य साधनांवरून हा लेख पूर्णपणें विश्वसनीय आहे असें दिसून येईल. दिल्लीच्या मोगल बादशाहाच्या राज्यपद्धतीस अनुसरून एकाद्यास सनद दिल्यावर तिचा अंमल करण्याच्या दृष्टीनें ज्या प्रांतांतील मिळकतीचा संबंध सनदेंतील बादशाही देणगीशीं येतो, त्याबद्दलचा अंमल करण्याकरितां त्या प्रदेशांतील वतनदार सरकारी अधिकारी यांना बादशाहाकडून लेखी हुकूम पाठविण्यांत येत असे. या हुकुमास परवाना म्हणत. बादशाहानें सरदेशमुखीची सनद शाहूस दिल्यावर या सनदेंतील देणगीचा संबंध दक्षिणच्या सहा सुभ्यांत म्हणजे औरंगाबाद, खानदेश, वऱ्हाड, चांदा आणि देवगड यांसह महंमदाबाद (बेदर), दारुल जफर (विजापूर) कर्नाटकासह, फरकंदे बुनियाद (हैद्राबाद) या सुभ्यांनीं व्यक्त होणाऱ्या सर्व प्रदेशांत राहणारी प्रजा, निरनिराळ्या परगण्यांचे वतनदार व मोगल

बादशहाचे नोकर यांच्याशीं येत असल्यामुळें सरदेशमुखी सनदाअन्वयें सरकारी महसुलापैकीं १० टक्के महसूल शाहू छत्रपतीस देण्यांत यावा असा परवाना दिल्लीच्या मोगल बादशहानें नंदुरबारच्या देसाई वतनदार घराण्याच्या मुख्याकडे रवाना केला. या अस्सल परवान्याची नक्कल देसाई घराण्यांत त्या काळीं फिरून ठेवण्यांत आली. ही नक्कल उपलब्ध झाली असून या सनदेचें साल व त्यांतील माहिती पूर्ण विश्वसनीय असल्याचें अन्य साधनांवरून दिसून येणार आहे. हा उपलब्ध झालेला फारसी लेख प्रस्तुत स्थळीं सविस्तर देण्यापूर्वी वरील सनदा मिळविण्याबद्दल सन १७१० पासून शाहू छत्रपतीच्या पेशव्यांनीं व अन्य अधिकाऱ्यांनीं ज्या खटपटी केल्या व या खटपटींस अनुसरून जे हक्क छत्रपती शाहूस प्राप्त झाले त्यासंबंधाची त्रोटक माहिती आम्ही येथें प्रथम नमूद करतों.

औरंगजेबाच्या मरणानंतर त्याचा मुलगा अजमशाह व सेनापती झुलफिकारखान यांनीं दिल्लीकडे प्रयाण केलें. त्यांचे बरोबर त्यांच्या कैदेंत असलेले शाहू छत्रपती व अन्य माणसें यांना त्यांनीं बरोबर घेतलें. बऱ्हाणपूर येथें त्यांचा मुक्काम असतांना अजमशाह, झुलफिकारखान यांनीं शाहू छत्रपतीची कैदेंतून कांहीं शर्तींवर मुक्तता केली. औरंगजेबाची मुलगी झीनतुन्निसा हिनें शाहू छत्रपतीस तात्काळ दक्षिणेंत प्रयाण करण्यास व आपल्या राज्याचा मुलुख हस्तगत करण्यास सांगितलें. अशा प्रकारची हकीकत मराठी बखरकारांनीं दिली आहे. परंतु जयपूर दरबारच्या दप्तरखान्यांत अलीकडे उपलब्ध झालेल्या लेखांवरून शाहू छत्रपती अजमशाहाच्या कैदेंतून पळून गेला असें नमूद केलें आहे. याप्रमाणें शाहूच्या सुटकेविषयीं जरी भिन्न हकिकती पुढें आल्या असल्या, तथापि मराठी बखरींत शाहूच्या सुटकेविषयींच्या ज्या अटींस त्यानें मान्यता दिली त्या अटी व या सनदांसंबंधाचीं जीं अस्सल साधनें प्रसिद्ध झालीं आहेत त्यांत दिलेल्या अटी सारख्याच असल्याचें आढळून येतें. बखरींतील अटी शाहू छत्रपतीचे पहिले पेशवे बाळाजी विश्वनाथ यांनीं दिल्लीच्या बादशहाकडे सनदेची मागणी ज्या लेखान्वयें केली त्यांत नमूद आहेत.*

बाळाजी विश्वनाथांच्या वरील पत्रापूर्वी तीन दिवस अगोदर शंकराजी मल्हार यांनीं दिल्लीच्या बादशहास शाहू छत्रपतीतर्फे आपल्या मागण्यांची यादी तयार करविली व त्यांतील शर्तींन्वयें बादशहाबरोबर करार करण्याची इच्छा दर्शविली याप्रमाणें वरील सनदा मिळविण्याच्या खटपटीस प्रारंभ झाल्यावर बादशाही तक्तावर बहादुरशाह व जहांदारशाह हे दोन बादशाह एकामागून एक दिल्लीच्या तक्तावर बसले. यानंतर ता. १७ मार्च १७१३ रोजीं फरुखसियर दिल्लीच्या तक्तावर बसला व त्याची कारकीर्द १२ जानेवारी १७१९ ला संपली. त्याची कारकीर्द संपण्यापूर्वी चौथाई, सरदेशमुखी व स्वराज्याच्या सनदा त्याचेकडून शाहू छत्रपतीस मिळाल्या. सरदेशमुखीची अस्सल सनद ग्रँट डफनें जी पाहिली होती व ज्या सनदेंतील महत्त्वाच्या मजकुराचा त्यानें इंग्रजींत तर्जुमा केला (हल्लीं ब्रिटिश म्युझियममध्यें असलेला) तो डॉ. पवार यांच्या उपरोक्त लेखांत आला आहे.

* टीपः—चौथाई, सरदेशमुखी व स्वराज्याच्या सनदा ग्रँट डफनें मराठ्यांचा इतिहास लिहिला ते वेळीं स्वतः पाहिल्या होत्या व त्यांतील महत्त्वाच्या मजकुराचें इंग्रजींत भाषांतर करून घेतलें होतें. हीं त्यानें केलेलीं भाषांतरें प्रस्तुत ब्रिटिश म्युझियममध्यें आहेत. परंतु वरील पत्राचें भाषांतर तेथें आढळत नाहीं. पारसनीस यांनीं प्रसिद्ध केलेल्या भारतवर्ष पत्रें यादी १-४० या मासिकांत हें पत्र छापलें आहे.

याप्रमाणें सरदेशमुखीची सनद शाहू छत्रपतीस बादशाहाकडून देण्यांत आल्यावर दाक्षिणाच्या सहा सुभ्यांतील सर्व परगण्यांचे देशमुख, देशपांडे, वतनदार, बादशाही नोकर व रयत, यांना ही गोष्ट जाहीर करून सनदान्वयें अंमल करण्यास्तव तत्कालीन दरबारच्या रिवाजाप्रमाणें खानदेश सुभ्यांतील नंदूरबार परगण्याचे देसाई यांचेकडे ता. १९ माहे रबीउल-अव्वल सन ७ जुलुसचा परवाना पाठविण्यांत आला. या परवान्याची नक्कल तत्कालीन देसाई घराण्याच्या मुख्यांनीं करून आपल्या दप्तरीं ठेवली. सदर परवान्याची नक्कल खालीं दिल्याप्रमाणें:—

نقل الهی بادشاهی

نواب امیرالامراء بهادرفیروز جنگ سپه سردار (سالار)

بمهرشریعت و فضیلت پناه قاضی محمد شفیع قاضی دارالسرور از قرار بتاریخ نوزدهم شهر .... پروانه بمهر عمدة الملک و سیادت و وزارت مرتبت خان والاشان .... درینولا خدمت سردیسمکهی صوبجات دکهن بموجب سابقه بمهر عمدالخلافت...... رکن السلطنت العظمی موتمن الدوله الیه (؟) معتمد السلطنه العالیه .... عظام رفیع المکان سلاله خوانین کرام عظیم الشان مواد الی .... عنایات بےپایان حضرت ظل المخصوص بمبرید (؟) لطف والاحتشام...........نورالفضل والاشان عمدة الملک بخشی الممالک امیرالامراء........جنگ سپه سردار (سالار) حسب الضمن بقبولیت یک کرور و هفده .... هزار و سیصد و نود روپیه و دوازده آنه پیشکش سرکار جهاندار..........چهارم حصه نقد بعد عطای فرمان والاشان داخل خزانه نماید و تتمه باقساط.............. عاید سازند برسوم نیز صد ده روپیه من ابتدای ربیع به بسالت مرتبت راجه .... مقررگشته که بلوازم و مراسم آن .... پرداخته در کثرت آبادانی و دولت خواهی سرکار والا بتنبیه و اخراج مقاهیر بواقعی کوشد اگر احیاناً مال کسی بغارت آورد مال بمالک و دزدان را بسزا رساند و از زرنقد جواب گوید و همیشه باجمعیت شایسته درکارها لوازم جانفشانی بظهور رساند و وجه پیشکش را موافق اقساط عاید خزانه عامره می نموده باشد و سوای رسوم مقرری دامی و درمی از کسی طمع وتوقع ننماید باید که دیسمکهان و دیسپاندیان و مقدمان و رعایا و مزارعان و صوبجات مذکور لوازم و موافق سردیسمکهی بمشارالیه متعلق شناسند

مقررہ شرح ضمن خدمت سردیسمکھی صوبجات دکھن بموجب سابقہ عمدۃ الملک بخشی الممالک امیرالامراء بہادر فیروز جنگ سپہ سردار (سالار) کہ شرح آن مخزن بقلم آمدہ بقبولیت یک کرورو ھفدہ لک و نوزدہ ھزار و سیصد و نود روپیہ و دوازدہ آنہ پیشکش سرکار والا ازآن جملہ چہارم حصہ نقد بعد عطاۓ فرمان والاشان وتتمہ باقساط برسوم .... بہ راجہ ساھواز ربیع ایت پیل مقرر و مفوض گشتہ .... مچلکہ گرفتہ سند بدھند

.... براجہ ساھو صادر .... مرقوم ۱۶ ربیع الاول سنہ ۷ آنکہ وکیل راجہ ساھو .... ملک دکھن بنابر دست برد مقاھیر از مدت .... ویران گردید اگرخدمت سردیسمکھی صوبجات دکھن .... معہ رسوم نیزصد دہ روپیہ بموکل مقرر شود باقبال شاھی استیفادہ .... نمودہ دیہات ویران آباد سازند و مفسدان کہ در ملک ھرجا اقامت گرفتہ باعث اضرار رعایا شود اخراج کند و .... بندوبست نماید کہ مسافران و قروران و تاجران بخاطر جمع آمد و رفت می نمودہ باشند اگر مال کسی بدزدی بغارت آوردہ مال بمالک و دزدان را بسزا رساند و از زرنقد جواب کند با جمعیت شایستہ ھمراہ ناظم درکارھای بادشاھی لوازم بندگی و جانفشانی رساند چون ملک بسبار کم حاصل و ویران شدہ چند ھم وصول ندارد

اجرای پیشکش موافق ضابطہ کہ جمع کامل مي شود......... لہذا یک کرورو ھفدہ لک و نوزدہ ھزار و سیصد ونود روپیہ دوازدہ آنہ پیشکش سردیسمکھی قبول دارد مچلکہ میدھد کہ چہارم حصہ نقد وبعد عطای فرمان والاشان تتمہ باقساط داخل خزانہ والا نماید امیدوار است کہ سند مرحمت شود پیشکش سرکار والا موافق ضابطہ بر جمع کامل صوبجات دکھن می شود

صوبہ خجستہ بنیاد	صوبہ برار	مصدرہ سے صوبہ جمع
یک کرور ھفدہ لک	یک کرور پنجدہ لک	
نوزدہ ھزار سیصد ونود	بیست و سی ھزار	
دوازدہ آنہ	پنج صد و ھشت	

यांचें भाषांतर पुढीलप्रमाणें :—

नबाब अमीरुल-उमरा बहादुर फीरोज-जंग सिपाह सरदार नक्कल :—

काजी महंमद शफी यांच्या मोहरेचा परवाना ता. १९ माहे रब्बीउल-अव्वल सन ७ असा कीं बादशाही हुकमाच्या आधारें व बक्षी उल्मुल्क व......यांच्या हुकमाच्या आधारें दक्षिण सुभ्यांची सरदेशमुखी एक कोटी सतरा लक्ष एकोणीस हजार तीनशें नव्वद रुपये बारा आणे ह्या रकमेच्या कौलानें राजे शाहू यांना दिली आहे. ह्या सरकारी वसूलाचा एक चतुर्थांश बादशाही हुकुम मिळतांच सरकारी खजिन्यांत जमा करावा व बाकीची रक्कम हप्त्यांनीं दाखल करावी. राजे शाहू ह्यांना रुसूम म्हणून शंभरास दहा नेमला आहे. त्यांनीं आपल्या हक्कांचा उपयोग करून घ्यावा. लोकवस्ती वाढवावी. सरकारचें हित साधावें. प्रजेवर अत्याचार करणाऱ्यांचा नाश करावा. जर कोणाचा माल लुटला गेला असेल तर तो माल मालकास देववावा व चोरांस शिक्षा करावी. नेहमीं उत्तम सैन्यानिशीं सुसज्ज राहावें व आपल्या कामगिरींत निमग्न असावें. सरकारी रक्कम हप्त्याप्रमाणें सरकारी खजिन्यांत जमा करावी. व ह्या ठराविक रकमेखेरीज कोणापासूनहि जास्त घेण्याची इच्छा ठेवूं नये. दक्षिण सुभ्यांच्या सर्व देशमुख व देशपांडे व मुकादम, शेतकरी, नागरिक वगैरे सर्व लोकांनीं यांना सरदेशमुखीचे हक्क द्यावेत.

अमीरुल-उमरा फीरोज-जंग बहादूर सिपाह सालार याचा शेरा असा कीं रक्कम रुपये एक कोटी सतरा लक्ष एकोणीस हजार तीनशें नव्वद बारा आणे सरकारी ठराव झाला आहे. याचा एक चतुर्थांश बादशाही सनद मिळतांच रोख व बाकी रक्कम हप्त्यांनीं व रुसूम दर शेंकडा दहा राजे शाहू यांना रब्बीच्या हंगामापासून देण्यांत यावी व असा करारनामा करून घेण्यांत यावा :—

राजे शाहू यांचे वकील यांचा करारनामा ता. १६ रब्बीवल सन ७ असा कीं दक्षिण प्रांतांत फार दिवसांपासून जुलूम होत आहे. देश ओस पडला आहे म्हणून दक्षिणच्या सुभ्यांची सरदेशमुखीची सनद व शेंकडा दहाचा रुसूम राजे शाहू यांच्या नांवें देण्यांत यावा. जर बादशाहानें ही सनद दिली तर देशांत शांतता होईल, गांवें आबाद होतील, चोर व फसवे यांचा बंदोबस्त होऊन प्रजेस सुख मिळेल म्हणून.........त्यांनीं देशांत बंदोबस्त करावा. प्रवासी, व्यापारी व इतर लोकांना विश्वासानें प्रवास करतां यावा. जर कोणाचा माल लुटला गेला असेल तर त्यास तो परत मिळावा, चोरांना शिक्षा व्हावी, सरकारी वसुलाबद्दल जबाबदार असावें, उत्तम सैन्यानिशीं सुसज्ज असावें, बादशाही कामांत तत्पर असावें, देशाचा वसूल फार घटला आहे म्हणून थोडें देखील जास्त वसूल करूं नये, सरकारी पैसा नियमाप्रमाणें वसूल करावा. म्हणून एक कोटी सतरा लक्ष एकोणीस हजार तीनशें नव्वद रुपये बारा आणे भरण्याचा सरकारी करार आहे. सरदेशमुखी कबूल असल्याचा करारनामा करून द्यावा. एक चतुर्थांश रक्कम बादशाही हुकूम मिळतांच व बाकी तीन-चतुर्थांश हप्त्यांनीं सरकारी खजिन्यांत जमा करावी. सनद देण्याची कृपा व्हावी. सरकारी रक्कम दक्षिण सुभ्याच्या हिशेबांत जमा करूं.

सुभा खुजस्ता बुनियाद (बीजापूर)	सुभा वऱ्हाड
एक कोटी, सतरा लक्ष	एक कोटी पंधरा लक्ष
एकोणीस हजार तीनशें	तेवीस हजार
नव्वद रुपये बारा आणे	पांचशें आठ

सुभे एकूण जमा

१८ कोटी ५ लक्ष १८ हजार २९४ रुपये पांच आणे

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या परवान्यांतील मजकूर वरील बाळाजी विश्वनाथ व शंकराजी मल्हार यांच्या लेखांतील मजकुराशीं पूर्णपणें जुळणारा असून अस्सल सनदेच्या अभावीं या परवान्याचे नकलेंतील मजकुरावरून शाहू छत्रपतीस दिल्लीच्या बादशाहाकडून सरदेशमुखीची सनद काय कारणांकरितां देण्यांत आली हें स्पष्ट दिसून येतें. औरंगजेबानें दक्षिणेवर स्वारी सन १६८० सालांत केली तेव्हांपासून त्याचे निधनाच्या सालापावेतों सर्व महाराष्ट्रांत व दक्षिणेच्या सुभ्यांतील अन्य प्रदेशांत युद्धामुळें अनिश्चित परिस्थिति व शांततेचा अभाव सर्वत्र होता. यामुळें या प्रदेशांतील जमिनीची लागवड योग्य प्रकारें करून तिच्यांतून जास्त उत्पन्न काढण्याच्या प्रयत्नाकडे रयतेचें लक्ष नव्हतें. कारण अशा तऱ्हेचे प्रयत्न करून शेतीचें उत्पन्न निश्चितपणें हातीं येईल असा रयतेपैकीं कोणासच भरंवसा वाटत नसे. यामुळें दक्षिणच्या सहा सुभ्यांचें राज्य करण्यांत दिल्लीच्या बादशहास कांहींच फायदा राहिला नाहीं. यामुळें शाहू छत्रपतीस सरदेशमुखीच्या सनदा दिल्यास मुलुखाची आबादी होईल असें वाटून सरदेशमुखीची सनद शाहू छत्रपतीस बादशाहानें दिली असली पाहिजे, असें अनुमान करणें युक्त होईल. याशिवाय ही सनद शाहू छत्रपतीस देण्याचें याही कारणापेक्षां दुसरें एक जबरदस्त कारण असें होतें कीं, मराठ्यांच्या सैन्याचा व शक्तीचा त्या काळीं इतका दरारा होता कीं, अशा प्रकारच्या सैन्याचा उत्तरेकडील बादशाही राजकारणास उपयोग होण्यासारखा असल्यामुळें शाहू छत्रपतीस सरदेशमुखीची सनद दिल्यानें बादशाही सत्तेचा कर्ता डोलारा सावरून धरण्यास्तव वरीलप्रमाणें सनद देणें दिल्लीचा बादशहा व त्याचे सल्लागार यांना इष्ट वाटलें असावें. फारशी परवान्यांत दक्षिणच्या सहा सुभ्यांचीं नांवें दिलीं असून त्यांच्या उत्पन्नांचे आंकडे दिले आहेत. कदाचित् नकल करणारानें बाकीच्या सुभ्यांचीं नांवें व त्यांच्या उत्पन्नाचे आंकडे नमूद न करतां एकंदर उत्पन्नाची बेरीज दिली असावी.‡

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‡ श्री. भट यांच्या लेखांत तीन इंग्रजी उतारे व त्यांविषयीं थोडें विवेचन होतें. पण तो अंश इंडियन हिस्टॉरिकल रेकॉर्ड्स कमिशनच्या बडोदे बैठकीच्या (इ. १९४० पृ. २०६-०८) वृत्तांत डॉ. ए. जी. पवार यांच्या लेखांत आला असल्यानें गाळला आहे. तह व करारमदार (पृ. २-४) व प्रभात मासिक श. १८२९ यांतही हाच विषय अधिक पूर्णत्वानें आला आहे. मूळ परवाना कसा असेल याची कांहींशी कल्पना त्रुटित फार्सी पाठावरून येत आहे म्हणून तो येथें छापला आहे. —सं.

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दौलताबादचा यशस्वी (?) वेढा (इ. स. १७६०)

श्री. वि. सि. चितळे, एम्.ए., बी.टी., टी.डी., पुणें

ता. ३-२-१७६० रोजीं उदगीरची लढाई फत्ते करून सदाशिवरावभाऊनें निजामास जबरदस्त चोप दिला, निजामाशीं 'नेटी लावून जाबसाल केला व येकूण साठ लक्ष(जागिरीचा) करार' केला (पे. द. १।८३). नगर, दौलताबाद, अशीरगड, बऱ्हाणपूर वगैरे महत्त्वाचीं ठिकाणें पेशव्यास मिळावयाचीं असें त्या वेळच्या तहानें ठरलें. तह ठरत होता त्या वेळीं निजामाचा पाताळयंत्री दिवाण विठ्ठल सुंदर परशरामी सदाशिवरावाचीं अजीजी करून त्यास सुप्रसन्न करण्याकरितां सांगत होता कीं 'सर्व प्रकारें पदरचा आहे, कृपा करावी. चाकरी करून दाखवीन. पुढें सर्व प्रकारें निष्ठेनें वर्तणूक करीन' (पे. द. १।८३). आपण दिलेला शब्द न पाळण्याचा आपल्या धन्याचा गुण त्यानें चांगलाच आत्मसात् केला होता हें यापुढील इतिहास साक्ष देतच आहे. तह ठरल्यावर भाऊनें पेशव्यास कळविलें, "दौलताबाद किला घेतला...... किलेदाराची सनद मागाहून पाठवितो. तूर्त इनायेतनामा (कृपापत्र) पाठविला आहे. हा पुढें पाठवावा. दौलताबाद किला नबाबाकडून करार करून घेऊन किलेदारास पत्र नबाबाचे मोहोरेनिसी घेतलें तेंच पत्र सेवेसी पाठविले आहे. घ्यावे आणि गोपाळरायासारखा शाहाणा माणूस लोक देऊन पाठवावे. किलेदारास परवाना द्यावा आणि लोक किल्यावर चढवावे." (पे. द. १।८३). सर्व गोष्टी सुसूत्र झालेल्या असल्यानें दौलताबाद आपल्या सहज हातीं येईल अशी भाऊची कल्पना होती! कागदोपत्रीं ठरलेल्या कराराची अंमलबजावणी करण्यासाठीं जर तो दक्षिणेंतच असता तर दौलताबाद मराठ्यांच्या सहजासहजीं स्वाधीन झाला नसता हें त्याच्याही अनुभवास आलें असतें. कदाचित् कागदोपत्रीं झालेला करार शब्दशः पाळण्याइतका निजाम व त्याचे अधिकारी मूर्ख नव्हते हेंही त्याला पटलें असतें! पण त्या तहानंतर त्याची अंमलबजावणी कशी करावयाची यासंबंधीं थोडी निरवानिरव करून दत्ताजी शिंद्याच्या वधाचा सूड घेण्याकरितां सदाशिवराव जो उत्तरेकडे मोठ्या तांतडीनें निघून गेला, तो दक्षिणेंत पुन्हा आलाच नाहीं!

त्या वेळीं पेशवा नानासाहेब नगरला दहा हजार सैन्यासह होता. भाऊच्या सूचनेप्रमाणें त्यानें गोपाळराव पटवर्धनास दौलताबादच्या किल्ल्याचा ताबा घेण्याकरितां पाठवून दिलें. त्याप्रमाणें गोपाळराव तिकडे रवाना झाला. (रा. खंड ३।५०४). ता २० फेब्रु. १७६० रोजीं गोपाळराव पटवर्धन तेथें पोचला. तावडतोब त्यानें दौलताबादच्या किल्लेदारास पत्रें पाठवून सदाशिवरावभाऊनें दिलेला परवानाही दाखविला. दरगाह कुलीखान हा दौलताबादचा किल्लेदार साधासुधा मनुष्य नव्हता. तो पक्का कायदेबाज होता. गोपाळरावानें आणलेला, निजामाची मोहोर असलेला, परवाना त्यानें पाहिला. आणि "उपरांतिक बोलले जे तुम्ही परवाना आणिला, खराच आहे. परंतु आपणास काही आजपावेतों पत्र आलें नाहीं. आपणास परवाना वेगळा आलियाउपरी उजूर (सबब) नाहीं." (पे. द. २५।२८७). त्याचें हें उत्तर ऐकतांच गोपाळराव सर्दच झाला व मुखामुखीं दौलताबाद आपल्या हातीं

येत नाहीं याबद्दल त्याची खात्री पटली. तेव्हां त्यानें पेशव्याकडे तक्रार केली, "नबाबानी किल्ला तहात दिल्हा, परवाने सरकारांत दिल्हे, येसे असतां किल्लेदारास आजीपावेतो परस्पर पत्र नाहीं याचा अर्थ काय ? तरी स्वामीनी नबाबाचा परवाना किल्लेदारास एक व सेवकाकडे येक दोन याप्रो पाठवावे." (किता). परंतु ही गोष्ट अगदींच अशक्य नसली तरी लौकर व तातडीनें होणारी नव्हती. कारण तह झाल्याबरोबर निजाम हैदराबादेस निघून गेला व पेशवा पुण्याची वाट चालूं लागला होता. तेव्हां अशा स्थितींत गोपाळरावाची स्थिति थोडी अडचणीची झाली. किल्लेदार किल्ला देईना, तेव्हां त्याला दोनच मार्ग होते. एक शक्तीनें किल्ला लढून घेणें किंवा दुसरें म्हणजे राजकारण करून किल्लेदारास वश करून घेऊन किल्ल्याचा ताबा मिळविणें. यांपैकीं पहिली गोष्ट त्याला शक्य वाटली नाहीं; कारण त्याच्याजवळ दौलताबादचा किल्ला लढाईनें जिंकण्याइतकें मोठें सैन्य नव्हतें. तेव्हां दुसऱ्या मार्गाचा अवलंब करण्याचें त्यानें ठरविलें. त्यासंबंधीं त्यानें ता. २५-२-१७६० रोजीं नानासाहेब पेशव्यास पत्रानें कळविलें कीं, "अंताजी आपाजी कमाविसदार गांडापूरकर यांची व अपाजीपंत किल्ल्यांत आहेत त्यांचा स्नेह. यास्तव मारनिलेस गांडापुरीहून बलावून आणून त्यांचे पत्र आपाजीपंतास पाठविले. त्याचाही जाबसाल त्याणी लिहिला. त्यांतही आपणास परवाना आला नाही, विना परवाना होत नाही म्हणून उत्तर दिल्हे. इकडे तो वर्तमान जे नबाब कुच करून दर मजल भागानगराकडे गेले. श्रीमंतही कूच करून दोन.........
किलेदार तूर्त तो परवानेयाचा उजूर दाखवितात परंतु परवाने आल्या उपर.........
बोलू लागतील." (अप्रकाशित लेखांक १). इतकें असून गोपाळरावाला अजूनही आशा वाटत होती कीं निजामाकडून परवाने येतील व मग किल्लेदार किल्ला आपल्या ताब्यांत देईल. मात्र परवानगी आल्याशिवाय किल्ला हस्तगत होत नाहीं व पेशव्यांकडून कांहीं जागीर उपटल्याशिवाय किल्लेदार उगाच किल्ला देणार नाहीं याची त्याला पूर्ण कल्पना आलेली दिसते. कारण तो पेशव्यास लिहितो "किलेदारानें किला उगाच काही न बोलतां दिल्हा तरी उत्तम जाले. कदाचित परवाना आल्याउपर सिबंदीची व खास जागिरीची अड घालतील. यास्तव विनंती लिहिली असे." (पे. द. २५।२९६).

परवान्याची वाट पाहून गोपाळराव थकला. पेशव्याची तर त्याला एकसारखी निकड लागलेली. किल्लेदार किल्ला न देतां 'मला इतका पैसा द्या व इतकी जागीर द्या म्हणजे मी किल्ला तुमच्या स्वाधीन करीन' असें बोलूं लागला. त्यामुळें गोपाळरावासही बरें वाटून त्याला 'किती रकम पाहिजे व किती जागीर पाहिजे' याबद्दल मध्यस्थांतर्फे तो विचारणा करूं लागला. बोटचेपें काम झालेलें पाहतांच किल्लेदाराच्या मागण्याही दर दिवशीं एकापेक्षां एक जास्त होऊं लागल्या व अखेर 'पाऊण लाख रुपये व पन्नासांची जागीर द्यावी' या थरावर गोष्टी आल्या. गोपाळरावानें या बाबतींत पेशव्याची सल्ला विचारून त्याजकडून जास्त सैन्यही मागविलें. त्याला उत्तर म्हणून पेशव्यानें त्याला ता. १८-३-१७६० रोजीं लिहून कळविलें, "काम थोर म्हणून तुम्ही प्रथमपासून नरम होऊन जाबसाल करीत गेला. परंतु तें लहान माणूस चढीं लागत चाललें. कांहीं सख्ती पोचल्यावर डोळे उघडतील. शहरकरांशीं सलूख राखणें, अप्पाजीपंत व किल्लेदार आपले विचारांत आहेत म्हणून लिहितां, परंतु हें जर तुमचे लोक एखादे दरवाजियानें आंत घेतील तर खरें. नाहींतर हेच लबाडी करतात, यांत संशय नाहीं. गोड बोलून आपला मतलब ठीक राखावा यासाठीं तुम्हांशी गोड बोलतात.

यास इतकें देणेंच योग्य नाहीं. तुम्ही वारंवार लिहिलें यास्तव निकृष्ट पक्ष कबूल केलें होतें. उगेच पाऊण लाख रुपये व पन्नासांची जागीर जवळची कां गमवतां ? आतां तरी रगडून करणें." (रा. खंड ३।५२६). या पत्राचा गोपाळरावाच्या मनावर परिणाम झालेला असो किंवा मध्यस्थांची लबाडी त्याला कळली असो, त्यानें दौलताबादेचा किल्ला लढवून घेण्याचा विचार केला. पेशव्यानें पाठविलेली कुमकही त्याला मिळाली असावी. कारण यापुढें त्यानें किल्ल्यावर तोफा डागण्यास सुरुवात केली व लढाईस आरंभ झाला. त्या वेळीं पेशव्यानें नेवाशाचा कमाविसदार नारो बाबाजी नगरकर यास ता. २३-३-१७६० ला लिहिलें कीं, "दौलताबाद सलुखानें येत नाहीं, कजिया लागला, याजकरितां अंतूरचे किल्लेदारानें भील जमा करून मुलखांत उपद्रव देतो, याजकरितां कजिया फैसल होईतोंपर्यंत तूर्त दोनशें माणूस ठेवणें." (बा. बा. रोजनिशी १।१०१, पान ७४). याच वेळीं "तोफा उडतात. अद्याप (किल्ला) हस्तगत होत नाहीं. पुढें किती दिवस लागतात तें पहावें." (खरे १। १४) असाही उल्लेख आहे. या दोन्ही नोंदींवरून गोपाळरावानें लढाई सुरू करून सक्तीनें किल्ला हस्तगत करण्याची कारवाई सुरू केली यांत शंका नाहीं. या उपायानें किल्ला हस्तगत होईलच अशी त्याची खात्री नव्हती. पेशव्यानेंही त्यास लिहिलें "निग्रह करून बाहेरील कोट घेऊन चौक्या बसविणें अगर मातबर जमातदाराचे विद्यमानें राजकारण लागोन थोडेंबहुतानें कार्य होईल तरी करावें तें होत नसेल तरी तुम्ही निकर्ष दाखविल्या सहजच टाकोन स्थळ देतील." (अप्रसिद्ध ले. ४).

नानासाहेब पेशव्याचें हें पत्र वाचून गोपाळरावाला आनंद झाला असावा. मनांतून त्याला युद्ध नकोच होतें व धाकदपटशा दाखविण्यापुरतें युद्धाचें सोंग आणावयाचें व आंतून मसलत करून राजकारणानें किल्ला हस्तगत करावयाचा असा त्यानें बेत केला. दरगाहकुली-खानाचा वासुदेव दीक्षित पाटणकर याजवर पूर्ण भरंवसा असावा. कायगांवकर नारायण दीक्षित पाटणकर यांचा तो सुपुत्र. त्या वासुदेव दीक्षिताच्या कृपेनेंच दरगाह कुलीखानाचा एके काळीं फायदा झालेला होता. मशारनिल्हे खान 'एकवचनी प्रामाणिक आहेत, जे बोलतील त्याप्रमाणें करतील' (खंड ३।४१६) अशा तऱ्हेची त्यानें मागें एकदां पेशव्याजवळ शिफारस केली होती. त्यामुळें या वेळीं त्या खानास वासुदेव दीक्षिताची आठवण होणें साहजिकच होतें. दौलताबादेजवळ कायगांवास वासुदेव दीक्षिताचा मुक्काम होता. गोपाळरावानें किल्ल्यावर तोफा डागून निग्रह करण्यास सुरवात केलेली पाहून तो जरा पोटांत वरमला असावा. म्हणून त्यानें आपला हस्तक आपाजीपंत यास दीक्षिताकडे पाठवून बोलावून आणलें व त्यास मध्यस्थी करण्याची विनंती केली. त्यानें ती मान्य केली व अप्पाजीपंतासह वासुदेव दीक्षित गोपाळरावास भेटला. त्या वेळीं जो ठराव झाला तो असा. आपाजीपंतानें 'येक दोघे जमात-दाराचा गुंता आहे त्यास अजी उद्यांत करार करून लोक तुमचे आंत घेतो. ते जमातदार आमच्या सांगितल्यात न येत असा पदार्थ दिसोन आला तरी आम्ही आमचे लोक आहेत तितका मानसी येक दरवाजा बळावून आंत तुमचे पाचसातसे लोक क्षेपानिक्षेप आंत घेतो.' असें मान्य केलें व 'वे।। दीक्षितांचे पायावर हात ठेऊन शफतपुरस्कर बोलोन गेले.' (अप्रसिद्ध ले. ४). या कराराप्रमाणें ता. २३-३-१७६० रोजीं होणारा गोपाळरावाचा हल्ला वे।। दीक्षित व नारो बाबाजी नगरकर यांनीं थांबविला व उतावीळ न करतां करारा-प्रमाणें सर्व गोष्टी होतात किंवा नाहीं तें पाहण्यास सांगितलें. तेव्हां गोपाळरावानें पेशव्यास

ता. ३०-३-१७६० रोजीं लिहिलें, " (त्यांचा सांगण्यावरून) हल्ला राहविली. हेलीचे साहित्य सिढ्या आदि करून सिद्धच आहे. लोक त्यांचे अंमलांत आले तरी उत्तमच जाले. सर्वांचे अनुमतेच आंत लोक घेतील. ते न येत तरी आपाजीपंताचे लोक बलावून आंत लोक घालून कार्य करितो. करारापो घडोन आल्यास उत्तम. न ही येत तरी निग्रह करोन शहरपन्हा घेतो. " (किता)

गोपाळराव पटवर्धनानें हल्ला तहकूब करून, स्थळें दुर्घट असल्यानें, विचारें कार्यसिद्धि सुरू केली. आपाजीपंताबरोबर त्यानें राजकारण केलें परंतु तें लौकर सिद्ध होईल असें चिन्ह दिसेना. या सर्व गोष्टी पेशव्यास कळल्या तेव्हां त्यानें गोपाळरावास एक खरमरित पत्र लिहून त्याची चांगलीच हजेरी घेतली. ता. १-४-१७६० च्या त्या पत्रांत पेशवा लिहितो, " हें राजकारण प्रथम नरम धरिलेत, रस्त बंद न केली, ये गोष्टीची तारीफ चिरंजीव भाऊ वगैरे सर्व शहाणे तुमची तारीफ करितात ! तुम्हास स्थळें दुर्घट वाटतात परंतु श्रीकृपेनें तृणप्राय आहेत. तुम्ही सख्त जलद शिपाई असें जाणून मीं तुम्हांस पाठविलें होतें. तुम्हीच विचार लिहिणार, इतकें कळलें असतें तर एखादें लहानसहान पथके पाठविले असते. तो प्रथम दिवशींच रस्त बंद करिता; कांहींच द्यावयाचें न बोलता, म्हणजे काम जाहलें असतें. तुम्ही मातबर. तुम्हांस आज्ञा करतों तें तुम्ही करत नाहीं, ये गोष्टीस इलाज कोणता करावा ? गोपाळरावजी ! हे दौलताबाद तुम्हांस दुर्घट वाटल्ये, परंतु दो महिन्यांत सख्तीनें वेढा घालून एक रुपया न देतां घेऊं ! कां कीं त्याची कुमक कोणी करीत नाहीं. मोंगलानें कुमक केली तर पुनरपि श्रीकृपेनें पन्नास हजार फौज जमा करून अगदीं मोगल दक्षिणेंत होता कीं नव्हतासा करूं ! हें मोगल समजले आहेत, तुम्ही समजत नाहीं, यास इलाज काय करावा ? तुम्हांस बहुत दुरंदेशी समजते. रागें भरून लिहिले म्हणोन तुम्हांस राग येईल. परंतु तुम्ही वारंवार आम्हांस विचार लिहितां यास्तव लिहिणें प्राप्त जाहलें. या पत्रापूर्वी कार्य जाहले असेल तर उत्तम आहे. नाहींतर परिच्छिन्न शहरपन्हा घेऊन वेढा बसविणें. जों जों तुम्ही राजकारणें करतां तों तों काम नासतें ! या उपर या पत्रावरून जितका राग येईल तितका त्याजवर काढणें. " (खरे, १।१५). या जरबीच्या व खडसावून लिहिलेल्या पत्राचा गोपाळरावाच्या मानी मनावर परिणाम झाल्याशिवाय कसा राहील ? त्यालाही पेशव्याच्या लिहिण्याचा राग आला. तोहि लेखणीचा खंबीर गडी होता. त्याला टोचून अगर लावून लिहितां येत नव्हतें असें नाहीं. परंतु आपली सेवकाची भूमिका लक्षांत घेऊन त्यानें पेशव्यास ता. ४-४-१७६० रोजीं लिहिलें, " कांहीं दिवस चांगले नव्हते. चतुर्थपंचम दिवस टाकावा यास्तव दोन च्यार दिवस लागले. सामदामभेद तीन पक्ष जाले. न च होय ते पक्षीं दंडाचा प्रकार होऊन मंगळवारी हला केली. निकड करावयाची तितकी करून सिणेजारीनें (जबरदस्तीनें) सिड्या लाऊन फत्ते केली, महाकोट राहिला आहे तोही .... फत्ते होईल. दौलताबादेवर पांच-हजार माणसानसी हला कदापि कोणाच्यानें करवणार नाहीं, ... येथें आलो असतां रस्तरस्त कांहीं न केली हेच स्वामीनी तहकीकांत करावे. दुसरी गोष्ट देण्याचे कांहींच न बोलता .... दौलताबाद स्थळ जसे मी लिहित होतो तसे आहे अगर नाहीं हा विचार स्वामीनी पुर्ता केलाच असेल. तिसरा मर्दुमीचा प्रकार. तरी मी ब्राह्मण, पदरचा, यास्तव स्वामीनी सिपाई ठरविलें परंतु पुरता अजमास न पाहतां ठरविले आणि मजवरच शब्द ठेविला. ये गोष्टीस सेवकाचा इलाज काये ? तथापि मर्दुमीच करून हला माझे अंडीच

हजार फौजेनें करून मर्दुमी करून अपेश घ्यावे ते मात्र न घेतले. अश्या स्छलास उतावली करून अविचारें हला करून येश येतेच; कांकीं स्वामी पुण्यवंत, प्रतापि. कदाचित् सेवकाचे अदृष्टयोगानुसार हला न होती माघारी फिरती तरी जे लोक हला न केली, गाफीलपण केलें, नामर्दी केली असे जे म्हणतात तेच लोक बेवकूफ म्हणते. .... याज उपरी ज्यास पाठवावयाचे असेल त्यास पाठवून बंदोबस्त करावा. मोगल बुडविल्याची साक्ष मजला लिहिली व मर्द जाणून तुम्हास पाठविले म्हणून त्यास श्रीमंतांची (आऊची) साक्ष सेवकास कशास पाहिजे ! .... मुख्य नावडतीचे मीठ आळणी हें मागेंच कलोन आले व कांहीं संशय हो (ता) तोही प्रस्तुत निवृती जाली. .... पत्र पाहून राग आला. त्याजला मी उत्तर लिहिले. स्वामीनी सर्व प्रकारें क्षमा करावी. .... सेवा करावी तेंव्हां केवळ सदोदित येशच येतें असे नाही. कोणे समई कांहीं कोणे समई कांहीं ते वेलेस असे फजित केल्यानें कसा तरुणोपाये ! " (अप्रकाशित लेखांक ५).

ता. ४-४-१७६० रोजीं किल्ल्यावरील लोकांकडून गोपाळरावास कळविण्यांत आलें कीं ' मागें जो करार ठरला होता, त्याप्रमाणें होत असेल तर तुमचे लोक आंत घेतो. ' तेंव्हां त्यानें पेशव्यास पुन्हा ता. ५-४-१७६० रोजीं पत्रानें कळविलें कीं, " मागे करार होत होता त्याची याद पेशजीही लिहिली होती व हालीही मागती पाठविली आहे, येविसी जसी आज्ञा तसी वर्तणूक घडेल; व आम्ही विचार लिहावा तरी आमची दुरंदेशीची व विचाराची तारीफ पहिलीच जाली आहे. (आंतील लोक) सा चार महिने काढितील. नाहक फौज शहास गुंतवावी (हा) विचार मजलाच कळतो (असें नाहीं). सरकार किफायत यास्तव लिहितो. " (अप्रकाशित ले. ७). गोपाळरावाचें हें पत्र वाचून पेशव्यास आश्चर्य वाटलें. विशेषत: त्या पत्राच्या सोबत गोपाळरावानें ज्या अटी कळविल्या होत्या त्या पाहून त्याचें आश्चर्य दुणावलें. तेंव्हां त्यानें गोपाळरावास उलट विचारलें कीं " पसतीस हजाराची जागीर व पांचसष्ट (हजार) रुपये पहिले करार जाले असतां आतां येक लक्ष पंधरा हजार कसे जाले ! यांत तोडमोड तुम्ही करणें. " त्याला गोपाळरावानें उत्तर दिलें कीं, " आम्ही तोडमोड करतो. बेगमीस तीस हजाराची देविली व अपाजीपंत लालापंत यांची मिलोन येकतीस हजारांची ठरविली व नझरमध्यें सतावन होते ते सारे मिलोन येक लक्ष पंधरासे रुपये दरसालचे .... स्वामींनी येकसष्टीची जागीर करार केली. त्यापैकीं आमी येकतिसाची त्यास साऱ्यास द्यावयाचा करार केला. तीस हजाराची कसोसीमुळे देविली. त्याचे येवजी जाजती रुपये कबूल केले होते. राजश्री नारो बाबाजी व दीक्षितबाबाचे मते याद ठराविली होती ते आता कसे कमी होतील ! फौज हजार व गाडदी हशम मिलोन तीन हजार इतकीयांचे मोर्चे राखवत नाहीं. खंदकावर मोर्चे पहिलेच दिवसी गेल आहेत. बाण दारू आंतील खर्च करितील. तें नुकसान सरकारचेच आहे. यास्तव सर्वांचें (मत) पहिला आम्ही करार केल्याप्रोच दे (ववून) किला हस्तगत करावा असें आहे." (अप्रकाशित ले. ८). अशा अर्थाचें पत्र गोपाळरावानें पेशव्यास पुन्हा लिहिलें (पे. द. २५।३००) व कळविलें कीं ' मोर्चे मागें आणिल्यानें आब रहात नाहीं. ' याच सुमारास मल्हार विश्वनाथ पेठे यानें पेशव्यास लिहिलें कीं " सरकारचे मातबर लोक आपल्याकडून प्रेत्नास अंतर करीत नाहींत. परंतु दुःख विप्राचाच खेल आहे. सरडासारखे रंग करतो. परंतु स्वामीच्या पुण्यप्रतापापुढें सेवटीं फजीत होऊन येईल. " (अप्रकाशित ले. २).

अखेर गोपाळरावानें सुचविलेल्या अटी पेशव्यानें मान्य करून दौलताबाद किल्ला हस्तगत करून घेण्यास सांगितलें व त्याप्रमाणें ता. ७-४-१७६० रोजीं गोपाळरावाचे लोक दौलताबाद किल्ल्याच्या माहाकोट दरवाजांत घुसले व दुसऱ्या दिवशीं त्यांनीं सर्व किल्ला आपल्या ताब्यांत घेतला. (पे. द. १।८२). यासंबंधीं तुळसाजी नाईक व मल्हार बापूराव (बर्वे) यांनीं पेशव्यास कळविलें कीं, " दौलताबादेंत गोपाळराव समये जमयेतनसी दाखल जाहाले. निशान चढविले. किलेदार भेटला. त्यानच आंत घेतल. दीक्षितबाबा मध्येस्ती होते त्याच्याच मारफतीने काम जाहाले. " (अप्रकाशित ले. ३) याच अर्थाचें पत्र नारो बाबाजीनें पेशव्यास लिहिलें. (पे. द. २५।३०१). आपल्या मुलाचें कौतुक करण्याच्या हेतूनें गोविंद हरीनें दौलताबाद घेतल्यांची बातमी आपल्या स्नेह्यांस कळवितांना लिहिलें, "संतोषाचें वर्तमान कीं, छ. २० साबानीं (ता. ७-४-१७६० रोजीं) दौलताबादेवर चिरंजिवाचें निशाण चढलें. फत्ते जाली. महद्यश आलें. पहिले दिवशीं काळा कोट शहर याजवर हल्ला केली. त्यांनीं ही फार मार दिला. लोक जखमी झाले ते कोण कोण ते ठीक कळलें नाहीं. मागाहून लिहिलीं येतील तेव्हां कळेल परंतु यांनीं फार मार सोसून निकड करून काळा कोट शहर घेतलें. घेतांच किल्ल्यावर होतें त्यांचीं अवसानें जाऊन बेहिंमत होऊन राजकारण लावून किल्ला दिला. निशाण वरतें चढलें. चिरंजिवास श्रीनें मोठेंसें यश दिलें. हें वर्तमान ऐकून परम संतोष पावलों. " (खरे १।१८). बापाला आपल्या चिरंजिवाच्या महद्यशानें संतोष व्हावा हें ठीकच आहे. परंतु प्रश्न असा कीं किल्ल्यावर असलेल्यांचीं अवसानें जाऊन ते जर बेहिंमत झाले होते तर गोपाळरावानें 'राजकारण करोन किल्लेदारास पसतीस हजारांची जहागीर व नक्त एक लक्ष पंधरा हजार' (खरे १।१७) रुपये देण्याचा करार कां केला !

सारांश, गोपाळरावानें दौलताबादचा किल्ला घेतला परंतु तो मोठ्या मर्दुमीनें घेतला असें सिद्ध होत नाहीं. एक पैही खर्च न होतां किल्लेदारास निजामाकडचा स्वतंत्र परवाना न घेतल्यानें, गोपाळरावाच्या राजकारणानें, पसतीस हजारांची जागीर व नक्त एक लक्ष पंधरा हजार रुपये द्यावे लागले ! शिवाय मध्यस्ती केल्याबद्दल वासुदेव दीक्षितांस पांच हजारांचा एक गांव इनाम द्यावा लागला तो निराळाच ! (बा. बा. रोजनिशी, भाग २, पृ. १०८ व नारायण दीक्षित पाटणकर चरित्र पान, १०२).

[मागील लेखांत ज्या अस्सल व अप्रसिद्ध पत्रांचा उल्लेख केला आहे तीं पत्रें मला डॉ. मो. गं. दीक्षित यांच्या कृपेनें मिळालीं. तीं खालीं दिलीं आहेत. तेव्हां त्यांचा मी येथें साभार उल्लेख करीत आहे. प्रत्येक लेखांकाचें प्राप्तिस्थल दिलेंच आहे.]

लेखांक १

डे. कॉ. पारसनीस संग्रह] श्रीगणराज { फाल्गुन शु॥ ९ शके १६८२ ता. २५ फेब्रुवारी, १७६०

पौ छ ८ रजब सितेन (ता. २६-२-१७६०)

सेवेसी गोपाल गोविंद कृतानेक साष्टांग नमस्कार विज्ञापना येथील क्षेम ता छ ७

रजव स्वामीचे कृपेकरून शेवकाचे वर्तमान येयास्छित असे विशेष दौलताबादेस मिर्जा कामील बेग व नारो महादेव पाठविले होते त्यासी किलेदारासी जावसाल जाल्याचे वृत्त शुक्रवारी (ता. २२-२-१७६०) जासुदाव|| सेवेसी लिहिलेच आहे त्यावरून विदित जालेच असेल त्या उपरी अंताजी व अपाजी कमाविसदार गांडापुरकर यांची व अपाजीपंत किल्ल्यांत आहेत त्यांचा श्रेह यास्तव मारनिलेस गांडापुरीहून बलाऊन आणून त्यांचे पत्र आपाजीपंतास पाठविले त्याचाही जावसाल त्याणी लिहिला त्यातही आपणास परवाना आला नाही विना परवाना होत नाही म्हणून उत्तर दिल्हे इकडे तो वर्तमान जे नवाब कुच करून दर मजली भागानगराकडे गेले श्रीमंतही कुच करून दोन म .... नवाब कुच करून गेले असिले तरी .... रास येईतों पावेतो त्यांचा ....: ठेवून घेतला आहे किंवा नाही जर ठेवून घेतला नसला तरी दिकत करतील किलेदार तूर्त तो परवानेयाचा उजूर दाखवितात परंतु परवाने आल्याउपर कांहीं सिबंदीचा व खास जागीराचा वगैरे आहेत त्याचे कांही बोलु लागतील यास्तव विनंति लिहिली असे दोनसे रुपये येते समयी दिल्हे होते त्यास अजी बारा तेरा दिवस होत आले व पागेसही रोजमरा पाहिजे याची आज्ञा करावी हुसमी लोकही खर्चास नाही म्हणतात येविसी आज्ञा करावी परवाने आले असिले तरी पाठवावयाची आज्ञा करावी आम्हीही सांडणीस्वार श्रीमंत राजश्री भाऊसाहेबाकडे पाठविला आहे परंतु नवाब कुच करून गेले परवाने हातास यावयास दिरंग लागेल सेवेसी विदित व्हावे हे विज्ञापना

लेखांक २

पेशवे दप्तर] श्रीगणेशप्रसन्न { चैत्र शु|| १३ शके १६८२
नानासाहेब { ता. २९ मार्च, १७६०

श्रीमंत षड्गुणवर्य कृपासागर
राजेश्री स्वामीराजाचे सेवेसी

छ १९ साबान सन सितेन (ता. ७ एप्रिल, १७६०)

सेवकांतरगत मल्हार विश्वनाथ (पेठे) साष्टांग नमस्कार विनंती उपरि स्वामीराजाच्या पुण्यप्रतापे येथील क्षेम जाणौन निजानंद लेखण लेखकास आज्ञा केली पाहिजे विशेष पूर्वी संभाजी गाडे व हरजी जाधव याजबरोबर विनंतीपत्र हुजुर पाठविले ते पावोन अभिप्राये विदित जाला असल सरकारचे मातबर लोक आपल्याकडू (न) तो प्रेत्नास अंतर करीत नाहीत परंतु दुरःस्थ विप्राचाच खेल आहे सरडासारखे रंग करतो परंतु स्वामीच्या पुण्यप्रतापापुढे सेवटी फजीत होऊन येईल आज छ ११ रोजी वेदशास्त्रसंपन्न दीक्षित स्वामी गोपालरायाच्या लशकरास गेले आहेत पहावे कार्ये वारून येतात जर सत्वर जाली तर उत्तम नाहीतर हुजुर येऊन यांचे कितीक परयाये आहेत ते विनंती करून तजवीज केली जाईल की सत्वर कार्येसिधी होये बहुत काये लिहिणे हे विनंति

लेखांक ३

पेशवे दप्तर] श्री { चैत्र व|| ७ शके १६८२
{ ता. ७ एप्रिल, १७६०

श्रीमंत नानासाहेबांचे सेवेसी विनंती सेवक तुळसाजी नाईक व मल्हार बाबूराऊ

(वर्वे) विज्ञापना येसीजे पहले पत्र पाठविले ते पावलेच असेल याउपरी छ २० रोज सोमवार संध्याकाळीं किले दौलताबादेंत गोपाळराव बमये जमयेतनशी दाखल जाहाले निशान चढविले किलेदार भेटला त्यानच आंत घेतले दीक्षितबाबा मध्येस्ती होते त्यांच्याच मारफतीनें काम जाहाले शाहारचा मजकूर तर दरगाहकुलीखा सेद आलीखा जुनबीच्या येथे गेले होते कांहीं खलवत करून आपले घरास आले सेवेसी श्रुत्य होये रवाना पत्र छ २० रो शाबान दोन प्रहर रात्र मागील रा॥ हाली मु॥ गंधली प्रा॥ सातारा बार सोमवार हे विज्ञापना

लेखांक ४

डे. कॉ. पारसनीस संग्रह] श्रीगणराज { चैत्र शु॥ १४ शके १६८२ ता. ३० मार्च, १७६०

छ. १४ साबान (१-४-१७६०)

सेवेसी सेवक गोपाल गोविंद कृतानेक साष्टांग नमस्कार विनंति येथील कुशल ता॥ छ १२ साबान पावेतो स्वामीचे कृपेकरून सेवकाचे येथास्थित असे विशेष स्वामीनी आज्ञापत्र पाठविले ते पावोन परम समाधान जाहाले पत्री सेवकास आज्ञा जे की निग्रह करून बाहेरील कोट घेऊन चौक्या बसविणें अगर मातबर जमातदाराचे विद्यमाने राजकारण लागोन थोडे बहुताने कार्य होईल तरी करावे ते होत नसेल तरी तुम्ही निकर्ष दाखविल्या सहजच टाकोन स्थल देतील म्हणोन आज्ञा त्यास राजश्री आपाजीपंत याणी वेदशास्त्रसंपन्न राजश्री दीक्षित यास बोलाऊ पाठवून येथे आणविले काल दीक्षित महाबाड्यांत गेले तेथे राजश्री आपाजीपंतासी बोलोन आपाजीपंतास आम्हाजवळ घेऊन आले आपाजीपंतासी आम्ही करारमदार बोलावयाचे पेशजी बोलली होतो त्याप्रमाणें बोलणें ठीक केले येथील येक दोघे जमातदाराचा गुंता आहे त्यास आजी उद्यात करार करून लोक तुमचे आंत घेतो ते जमातदार आमच्या सांगितल्यात न येत असा पदार्थ दिसोन आला तरी आम्ही आमचे लोक आहेत तितका मानसी येक दरवाजा बलाऊन आंत तुमचे पाचसातशे लोक क्षेपनिक्षेप आत घेतो त्याजवरून त्यास निरोप दिल्हा रविवारी हलेचा निश्चय केला .... बोली लागली येक दोन दिवसावर आले .... (ना) रो बाबाजी आणि दीक्षित याणी राहविले चार आठ (वड्या) वर आले.असता उतावली करू नये यास्तव हल्ला राहविली हेलीचे साहित्य सिड्या आदी करून सिद्धच आहे आपाजीपंतहीं बे॥ दीक्षितांचे पायावर हात ठेऊन शफतपुरस्कर बोलोन गेले आहेत लोक त्यांचे अमलात आले तरी उत्तमच जाले सर्वांचे अनुमतेच आत लोक घेतील ते न येत तरी आपाजीपंताचे लोक बलाऊन आंत लोक घालून कार्य करितो करारापो॥ घडोन आल्यास उत्तम न ही येत तरी निग्रह करोन शहरपन्हा घेतो सेवेसी विदित होये हे विज्ञापना

लेखांक ५

डे. कॉ. पारसनीस संग्रह] श्रीगणराज { चैत्र व॥ ४ शके १६८२ ता. ४ एप्रिल, १७६०

पौ छ २ रमजान खितैन वैशाख

सेवेसी गोपाल गोविंद कृतानेक साष्टांग नमस्कार विज्ञापना ता॥ छ १७ शाबान मो

किले दौलताबाद मोर्च्यांत समस्त मंडलीसुद्धा मुलरूप असो विशेष स्वामींनी आज्ञापत्र किंतेक आमच्या गाफीलपणाचे रस्त बंद न केली याविषी व मनसबे विचारांचे लिहिले याविषी व नामर्दी करून हला करीत नाही याविषी कितेक प्रकारे शद्ब लाऊन व रागे भरोन लिहिले येशास आम्ही सेवक लोक आमचे शहाणपण ते किती व मर्दुमी ते किती दोन्ही गोष्टी नसता मागती गाफीलपण असे निदर्शनास आले असता स्वामींनी कृपा करून शेवकास महदयेश यावे म्हणून पाठविले म्यां येथे येऊन पहिलेच रस्त बंद न केली म्हणून स्वामी......विचार लिहितात त्यावरून स्वामी(नी) (से)वकास बहुतच प्रकारे लिहिले येशास सेवक ईश्वरापासी मागतो व निष्ठाही त्याचप्रमाणे माझी आहे व...लिहिल्याप्रमाणे सेवेची परीक्षा कालोचित होईल हा मला माझा भला भरवसा आहे यास्तव मी जितका विचार करावयाचा (तितका) केला आहे तेव्हा फौजेविसी स्वामीस लिहिले फौज येईतो पावेतो विचार केला आल्यावरही विचार दोन-चार दिवस विचार केला व कांहीं दिवसही चांगले नव्हते चतुर्थ पंचम चंद्र टाकावा यास्तव दोनच्यार दिवस लागले सामदामभेद तीन पक्ष जाले नच होये ते पक्षी दंडाचा प्रकार होऊन मंगळवारी रात्रौ उजाडता बुधवार हला केली निकड करावयाची तितकी करून सिणेजारीनें सिड्या लाऊन फते केली माहाकोट राहिला आहे तोही स्वामीचे पुण्ये करून फते होईल दौलताबादेवर पांचहजार माणसानसी हला कदापि कोणाच्याने करवणार नाही मुख्य स्वामीचे पुण्य व तेजप्रभाव याजमुळे शहरपन्हा आला न आला असता तरी अधिक लिहिण्याने हर-तऱ्हेने......येथे आलो असता रस्त रस्त काही न केली हेच स्वामींनी तहकीकात करावे दुसरी गोष्टी देण्याचे कांहींच न बोलता तरी "आजीपावेतो काम होऊन गेले असते ते न केलेत याजमुले लोक तुमची तारीफ व श्रीमंत भाऊसाहेबाची करितात" म्हणून आज्ञा येश्यास दौलताबाद स्थल जसे मी लिहित होतो तसेच आहे अगर नाही हा विचार स्वामींनी पुर्ता केलाच असेल तिसरा मर्दुमीचा प्रकार तरी मी ब्राह्मण पदरिचा यास्तव स्वामींनी सिपाई ठरविले परंतु पुरता अजमास न पाहाता ठरविले आणि भजखर्च शद्ब ठेविला ये गोष्टीस सेवकाचा इलाज काये तथापि मर्दुमीच करून हला माझे अडीच हजार फौजेने करून मर्दुमी करून अपेश घ्यावे ते मात्र न घेतले येथील विचार पाहून बोलीनच.........होताच फौज पाठवावयास लिहिले ते फौज पाठवावयासी दिवसगत लागली रा त्रिंबक खंडेराव यास येऊन आजी आठ दिवस जाले उभो विरेश्वर व त्रिंबकराव सिवदेव यांस येऊन पाच दिवस सा दिवस जाले सिड्यास लाकडे इतकी लांब न मिलेते तलास करून आणविली सरंजाम सिध केला मातबर नामी स्थल पातशाही वेढे पांच पांच च्यार चार वे(ले)स बसले होते अश्या स्थलास उतावली करून अविचारे हला करून येश येतेच कांकीं स्वामी पुण्यवंत प्रतापि कदाचित सेवकाचे अदृष्ट योगानुसार हला न होती माघारी फिरती तरी जे लोक हला न केली गाफीलपण केले नामर्दी केली असे जे म्हणतात तेच लोक बेवकूफ म्हणते फार सिपाईगिरी करितील तरी बाराशे तैनात करावी दत्ताजी शिंद्यानें केवल सिपायेगिरी केली त्यास लोक बक्षीस देतात त्याचप्रमाणे काम न होता हला फिरती तरी त्याजपेक्षा मजलाही होते परंतु स्वामीचे (दैव)च विचित्र मी सेवकाही खामका.येकनिष्ठेनें सेवा करावी हेच वारंवार...... प्राणनाश करून......मुख्य स्वामीचे पुण्य शेवकाचे पदरी यास्तव ईश्वरे पाये पहावयाचा योग घडविला स्वामीचे पुण्ये करून येशाचे गाजर मजलाही मिलाले याजउपरी ज्यास पाठ-वावयाचे त्यास पाठवून बंदोबस्त करावा मोगल बुडविल्याची साक्ष मजला लिहिली व मर्द

जाणून तुम्हास पाठविले म्हणून त्यास श्रीमंतांची साक्ष सेवकास कश्यास पाहिजे जितकी अंतरे मजवर स्थापिली तितकी येथार्थच परंतु किलेदार नामुराद भक्षावयास नाही याजमुले पदर नाही तर अंतस्थ देऊन मन न घातले असेही होते व जालेही असते असो मुख्य नावडतीचे मीठ अळणी हें मार्गेच मजला कलोन गेले व कांहीं संशये हो(ता) तोही प्रस्तुत निवृती जाली स्वामी सर्वजाण आहेत जसा मी लेकरु म्हणून कोणास न कलत बुद्धिवाद लिहिला तसाच मी सेवक तरी......तर परंतु पत्र पाहून राग आला.........त्याजला मी उत्त(र) लिहिले स्वामीनी सर्व प्रकारे क्षमा करावी सेवकाचीही उमेद शेवा करावयाची राहिली नाहीं शेवा करावी तेव्हा केवल सदोदित येशच येते असे नाही कोणे समई काहीं कोणे समई कांहीं ते वेलेस असे फजित केल्यानें कसा तरुणोपाये असो ते उमेदच स्वामीनी ठेविली नाही व सेवकाचीही राहिली नाही मग तो पर्याय कशास लिहावा हली मोर्चे याचे बंदोबस्तीस कोणास पाठवावयाचे त्यास पाठऊन मजला आज्ञा कर्तव्य ते करावी अजी पासोन मजला कळले जे जासुदी चाकरी आज्ञेप्रमाणे करावी विचार लिहू नये त्यास पुढे जे वर्तणुक घडेल ते मर्जीप्रमाणे होऊन येईल फार लांब लिहिले म्हणून राग न करावा सेवेसी विदित होये हे विज्ञापना

लेखांक ६

डे. कॉ. पारसनीस संग्रह] श्रीगणराज { चैत्र व॥ ४ शके १६८२ ता. ४ एप्रिल, १७६०

पौ छ २ रमजान सितेन वैशाख (ता. १९-४-१७६०)

सेवेसी विज्ञापना आजीपावेतो विचार केला तो केला परतु(त) शहरपन्हा घेतल्या उपरी कदाचित बोलुचालू लागले तरी बोलावे किंवा निग्रह करावा ते आज्ञा पाहिजे. याउपर विना आज्ञा कांहीं करीत नाही व माहाकोट केवल हलेने येणार नाही व या फौजेने हलाही होणार नाही महिनियांत दो महिनियांत हात जोडून येतील हे यथार्थच आहे यात जसी मर्जी असेल तसी आज्ञा करावी अगर दुसरा कोणी जलदीने आला तरी उत्तम तो जाणो मजला पत्र येईल ते समई येईन आज्ञेप्रमाणे कार्य जाले तथापि विना आज्ञा येता न ये यास्तव राहिलो सेवेसी होये हे विज्ञापना

लेखांक ७

डे. कॉ. पारसनीस संग्रह] श्रीगणराज { चैत्र व॥ ५ शके १६८२ ता. ५ एप्रिल, १७६०

पौ छ २० शाबान (ता. ७-४-१७६०)

सेवेसी गोपाल गोविंद कृतानेक साष्टांग नमस्कार विज्ञापना ता। छ १८ शाबान प्रहर रात्र प्रथम मंदवार स्वामीचे कृपेकरून शेवकाचे वर्तमान येथास्थित असे विशेष कालीपासोन दौलताबादकर बोलूं लागले त्यास त्यांचे विचारे जे जो करार पेशजी ठरला होता त्या प्रो होत असेल तरी उदैक लोक आपण लोक रविवारी आंत घेतो त्यास विना आज्ञा बोलता न ये मागे करार होत होता त्याची याद पेसजीही लिहिली होती व हालीही मागती पाठविली आहे येविसी जसी आज्ञा तशी वर्तणुक घडेल व आम्ही विचार लिहावा तरी आमची दुरं-

देशीची व विचारांची तारीफ पहिलीच जाली आहे तथापि बहुता दिवसाचे शेवक जे गोष्टीत सरकार किफायेत ते स्वामीस लिहावी स्वामीच्या चित्तास न ये तरी कांहीं आग्रह नाहीं भक्षावया......आत असल्याने व हिमतीचा मा......ल्याने सा चार महिने काढितील नाहक फौज शहास गुंतवावी (हा) विचार मलाच कलतो व दुरंदेशी फार कलते याची तारीफ श्रीमंत भाऊसाहेबानी व दरबारचे शहाणे जितके आहेत त्याणी तारीफ केली असता लज्या मनात न आणता सरकार किफाईत यास्तव लिहितो त्रिवर्गास येथे राहाणारास पत्रे आली त्यास सर्वांस एकत्र करून शंकराजीपंतास हुजूर पाठवितो सेवेसी विदित होय माझी त......आज्ञापत्रावर आहे स्वामीस रुपयास कमी नाही त्यांत जशी मर्जी तेच आज्ञा करावी हे विज्ञापना

लेखांक ८

डे. कॉ. पारसनीस संग्रह] श्रीगणराज { चैत्र व॥ ६ शके १६८२ / ता. ६ एप्रिल, १७६० }

पौ छ २० साबान सितेन चैत्रमास (ता. ७ एप्रिल, १७६०)

सेवेसी गोपाल गोविंद कृतानेक साष्टांग नमस्कार विज्ञापना ताा छ १९ शाबान प्रहर-रात्र प्रथमी स्वामीचे कृपेकरून शेवकाचे वर्तमान येथास्थित असे विशेष स्वामीस सांडणी-स्वारासमागमे पत्र पाठविले होते त्याचे उत्तर स्वामीनी लिहिले की पसतीस हजाराची जागीर व पाचसष्ट (हजार) रुपये पहिले करार जाले असता आता एक लक्ष पंधरा हजार कसे जाले यांत तोडमोड तुम्ही करणे

[या पुढील धंदाचा एक तुकडा फाटून गेला आहे. ह्याच बंदाचे पाठीवरील मजकूर]

त्यास आम्ही तोडमोड करतो बेगमीस तीस हजाराची देविला हजार व आपाजीपंत (क) (ला) लापंत यांची मिलोन येकतीस हजारांची ठराविली व नजरमध्यें सतावन होते ते सारे मिलोन येक लक्ष पंधरासे रुपये दरसालचे आपाजीपंत व (क) (ला) लापंत सात हजार येणेप्रमाणे करार केले दरसाल येकसष्ट हजारांची जागीर द्यावी त्यास त्यांत ताडामोड करून येकतीस हजारांची त्याचे येवजी......(जा) जती कबूल केले याद हुजूर पाठविली आहे मुख्य गोष्टी स्थल अप्रतिम नामांकित यास हे फार नाही स्वामीनी लिहिल्याप्रमाणे होत नाही मी आज्ञेप्रमाणे या पत्राचे उत्तर येतांच येतो आणि मर्जीस आले तरी आज्ञा करावी या उपर कांहीं उत्तम दिसत नाही यांत मर्जी प्रमाण राजश्री शंकराजीपंत नि॥ त्रिंबकराव सिवदेव यास पाठविले आहेत उदेक सेवेसी येतील काली पत्र पाठविले जे त्रिवर्ग दौलताबादेस राहाणार यास येकत्र करून कोणेप्रकारे तरतूद करितात ते शंकराजीपंतास माहीत करून शंकराजपिंतास पाठवून देणे त्यावरून त्रिवर्गास येकत्र करून विचार पुसिला स्वामीनी लिहिले प्रमाणे फौजेचे जे स्थळ रक्षण होत नाही मग स्वामीनी ठेवले तर चाकर आहेत राबतील स्वामीनी मात्र विचार करून आ (ज्ञा) (क) रावी पत्राचे उत्तर सत्वर पाठ......स्वामीनी तो याच पत्री येणे म्हणून लिहिले आहे परंतु दुसरे पत्राची मार्गप्रतिक्षा करतो सेवेसी लिहिलेप्रमाणे मर्जीस येऊन आज्ञा आली तरी लागलाच किला पाहून स्वामीनी जावे याहून विशेष काय लिहू सेवेसी विदित होय हे विज्ञापना स्वामीनी येकसष्टीची जागीर करार केली

त्यापैकी आमी येकतिसाची त्यास सान्यास द्यावयाचा करार केला तीस हजाराची कसोसीमुळे देविली त्याचे येवजी जाजती रुपये कबूल केले होते राजश्री नारो बाबाजी व दीक्षितबाबाचे मते याद ठराविली होती ते आता कसे कमी होतील फौज हजार व गारदी हशम मिळोन तीन हजार इतकीयांचे मोर्चे राखवत नाही खं(द)कावर मोर्चे पहिलेच दिवसी गेले आहेत बाण दारू आंतील खर्च करितील ते नुकसान सरकारचेच आहे यास्तव सर्वांचे (मत) पहिला आम्ही करार केल्याप्रमाणेंच दे (वून) किला हस्तगत करावा असे आहे यास्तव (विनंती) लिहिली असे सरकार किफाइतीस सेवक अंतर करणार नाही सेवेसी विदित होये हे विज्ञापना

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पठाण व मोगली अंमलांत ओढिसाची दुर्दशा !

श्री. बा. ना. सहस्रबुद्धे, गोंदिया (मध्यप्रांत)

सोळाव्या शतकाच्या उत्तरार्धापासून अठराव्या शतकाच्या मध्यापर्यंतच्या २०० वर्षांच्या कालखंडांत पठाण-मोगलांच्या आक्रमणामुळें ओढिसाची जी धूळधाण झाली तिचें कारण एतद्देशीय हिंदु राजांच्या जवळ पठाण-मोगलांच्या बरोबरीनें युद्धतंत्रांतील मुख्यतः तोफा व दारुगोळ्यांचा अभाव हें होय. असा हा उद्ध्वस्त ओढिसा इ. स. १७५१ मध्यें नबाब अलिवर्दीखानाकडून नागपूरच्या पहिल्या रघूजी भोसल्याच्या हातीं आल्यामुळें त्याची पुढील धूळधाण वांचली ! या एके काळीं मराठी अमलांत असलेल्या ओढिसाच्या पूर्वेतिहासाची ओळख मराठी वाचकांना फारशी नाहीं ती असावी म्हणून येथें थोडक्यांत देतों.

ओढिसाचा जुना इतिहास

बंगाल उपसागराच्या वायव्य किनाऱ्याच्या प्रांतास पूर्वी उत्कल व अलीकडे ओढिसा म्हणतात. बंगाल उपसागराच्या उपसर्गामुळें वादळें, अतिवृष्टि, अनावृष्टि व तदंगभूत ओल्या कोरड्या दुष्काळासारख्या दैवी आपत्ति हिंदुस्थानच्या इतर समुद्रकांठच्या प्रांतापेक्षां या प्रांतांत जास्त कोसळतात; तरी पण या प्रांताच्या २५० मैल पट्टींतून महानदी, कडजुडी, कुवाखाई, ब्राह्मणी, बैतर्णी, सुवर्णरेखा, बारावलंग, कोसाई अशा १०।१५ लहान मोठ्या नद्या वाहत येऊन बंगाल उपसागराला मिळतात. त्यामुळें हा प्रदेश निसर्गतः सुपीक म्हटला जातो.

हा प्रदेश पूर्वी अशोकाच्या राज्यांत मोडत असल्यानें बुद्ध धर्माचें वर्चस्व इकडे होतें. परंतु इ. सनाच्या ६ व्या शतकांत सोमवंशी क्षत्रीय " केशरी " घराण्यांतील राजांनीं आपलें वर्चस्व स्थापल्यानें बुद्ध धर्माचें प्रस्थ कमी होत गेलें. या राजवंशाच्या पुढील ४५०।५०० वर्षांच्या राजवटीच्या शांततेचा लाभ या देशाच्या लोकांना लाभला म्हणून जाजपूर, कटक, भुवनेश्वर, कोनारक, जगन्नाथपुरी येथील प्रचंड मंदिरें, ३६ फूट उंच एकसंधी दगडी शुभ-स्तंभ, २५ फूट उंच मूर्ति, २४ फूट लांब व ४ फूट औरसचौरस दगडी तुळई, अशा वस्तु अस्तित्वांत आल्या. यांपैकीं सध्यांचे अवशेष लक्षांत घेतले तरच मुसलमानी अंमलांत (१५६८–१७५१) हा देश उद्ध्वस्त होण्यापूर्वी येथील राजांचें वैभव, लोकांचें कला-कौशल्य, पाषाणशिल्प व स्थापत्य शास्त्रांतील नैपुण्य व एकंदर त्या देशाची तत्कालीन भर-भराट यांची कल्पना येईल.

केशरी वंशाची कामगिरी

आपल्या वैदिक धर्माचें प्राबल्य प्रस्थापित करण्याकरितां तत्कालीन राजे यज्ञयागादि कर्में मोठ्या प्रमाणांत व गाजावाजा करून पार पाडीत. या घराण्यांतील प्रसिद्ध राजा जयाति केशरीनें (इसवी सनाच्या सहाव्या शतकाचा मध्यकाल) अश्वमेध यज्ञ करण्याचा पुकारा केला. या प्रांतांत वैदिक ब्राह्मणांचा तुटवडा भासल्यानें त्यानें अयोध्या प्रांतांतून दहा हजार वैदिक

ब्राह्मण आणून त्यांजकरवीं ह्या अश्वमेध यज्ञ त्याची राजधानी (यज्ञपूर) जाजपूर येथें थाटानें पूर्ण केला! त्या ब्राह्मणांना जमिनी देऊन त्यांची वस्ति त्याच प्रांतांत करविली. जाजपूर येथें विजयस्तंभ उभारला; वैतर्णीकांठीं दशाश्वमेध नांवाचा दगडी घाट बांधला. या तीर्थांत स्नान केल्यास भागीरथींत स्नान केल्याचें पुण्य लाभतें असें इकडील लोक समजतात.

या उत्कल देशांत बुद्धधर्मीय केंद्र "एगांवरी कानन" जंगलाजवळ होतें. सध्यांहि या भागांत खंडगिरी, उदयगिरी, रत्नगिरी, ललितगिरी पर्वतश्रेणींतून बुद्ध भिक्षूंचे अवशेष गुहा, ओह्र्या, मठ, अशा स्वरूपांत दिसतात. या जंगलाजवळच राजा ययाति केशरीनें एक प्रचंड शिवमंदिर बांधण्यास सुरुवात करून त्यास "लिंगराज" असें नांव दिलें; हेंच तें भुवनेश्वराचें प्रसिद्ध मंदिर होय. ह्या मंदिराच्या परिसरांत ४ एकर जमीन अडली आहे. हें मंदिर ललितेंद्र केशरी राजानें सन ६६६ मध्यें पुरें केलें व पुरीच्या मंदिराची सुरुवातहि यानेंच केली असें म्हणतात. ललितेंद्र केशरीनें आपली राजधानी भुवनेश्वर येथें आणली. कुंडल केशरीनें पुरीचें मार्कंडेय मंदिर व मार्कंडेय तलाव बांधला.

केशरी राजवटीच्या दीर्घ कालांत या देशाची भरभराट व लोकांच्या कलाकौशल्याची इतकी वाढ झाली होती कीं, कलाकौशल्यावर, शिल्पकलेवर, स्थापत्यशास्त्रावर ग्रंथही लिहिले गेले होते. बुद्धधर्मीय "बुद्धावतंसक सूत्र" नांवाचा ताडपत्रावर कोरून लिहिलेला ग्रन्थ सुभाकर केशरीकडून चीनचा राजा शिटांग यानें मागून नेला (इ.स. ७९५).

राजा नृपकेशरीनें (इ. स. ९२०-इ. स. ९५१) महानदी व तिचा फाटा कडजुडी यांच्या बेचकेंत मार्‍याच्या दृष्टीनें जागा पसंत करून त्या ठिकाणीं आपली राजधानी वसविली. पूर्वी या जागेस 'वाराणशी' क्षेत्र असें नांव होतें. हें सध्यांचें कटक शहर होय. राजा मत्स्यकेशरीनें (इ. स. ९७५-९९५) महानदी व कडजुटी यांच्या पाण्यापासून राजधानीचा बचाव करण्याकरितां गांवच्या दोन्ही बाजूंस भक्कम दगडी धक्के बांधले. महानदी बाजूचा धक्का बुजला असला तरी बंधार्‍याजवळ (अनिकट जवळ) धक्क्याची उंची ७५ फूट आहे. कडजुडी नदी उथळ असल्यानें या बाजूचा धक्का संपूर्ण उघडा असून सध्यां २८ फूट उंच आहे. राजा मत्स्य केशरीनें महानदी व कडजुडी यांच्या दुबेळक्याच्या तोंडावर राजधानीच्या संरक्षणार्थ "बाराबटी" नांवाचा किल्ला बांधला[१] (१ बटी=१ बिघा). ओढिसाच्या पुढील इतिहासांत या किल्ल्याचें बरेंच महत्त्व आहे.

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१. बाराबटी किल्ल्याभोंवतीं कमींत कमी ३५ फूट व जास्तींत जास्त १३५ फूट रुंद व सर्वत्र २० फूट खोल खंदक चौफेर पक्क्या दगडांनीं बांधलेला आहे. यावरून किल्ल्यावर जाण्यास एकच निमूळता पूल होता. दुसरी वाट नव्हती. त्याच्या आंत दोन दरवाजे होते. पैकीं एक नाहींसा झाला असून एक पडक्या स्थितींत आहे. आंतील ९ मजली राजवाडा इंग्रजी अमलांत पाडून ह्याच दगडांनीं कटकचा मोठा दवाखाना व इतर इमारती बांधल्या. पावसाळ्यांत मातीच्या ढिगार्‍यावर उभे राहून पश्चिम बाजूस पाहिल्यास महानदीचें पूर्ण पात्र, कडजुडीचें पूर्ण पात्र व कुवाखाईचें पूर्ण पात्र असें ३-३॥ मैल पाणीच पाणी दिसतें. किल्ल्यापासून कटक शहर १॥ मैल आग्नेयेस आहे. या भागांत मैदानें, उद्यानें बरींच आहेत. याच भागांत कटकचें पुरातन कटकचंडीचें मंदिर आहे. कडजुडी तीरावरील शहर भागास लाल बाग असें म्हणतात. तो भोसल्यांचा ओढिसाचा सुभेदार शिवभट साठे यानें वसविला. हल्लीं या भागांत कोर्टकचेर्‍या आहेत.

गंग वंश

केशरी राजवंशाकडून गंगवंशाकडे सन १०४२ मध्यें राज्य गेलें तें १४३५ पर्यंत त्याकडे टिकलें. केशरी वंशाप्रमाणेंच गंग वंशाच्या ४०० वर्षांच्या दीर्घ राजवटींत त्या प्रत्येक राजानें आपआपल्यापरी देश भरभराटीस आणला. पैकीं पांचवा राजा कामान्नव यानें त्रिकलिंग म्हणजे सध्याचा तेलंगण मुलुख जिंकला. चोडगंगदेवराजानें ७० वर्षे राज्य केलें. या वंशातील प्रसिद्ध राजा दुसरा अनंगभीमदेवानें (११९४-११९८) पुरीच्या जगन्नाथ मंदिराची पुष्कळ सुधारणा व वाढ केली. कटकच्या बाराबटी किल्ल्यांत दगडी गोलाकार (खालच्यापेक्षां वरचा मजला लहान) नऊ मजली राजवाडा बांधला. याच्या वेळीं उत्तरेकडून पठाणांच्या स्वाऱ्या बंगालवर येऊं लागल्या व पठाणांच्या बरोबरीमें युद्धसाहित्य हातीं नसल्यानें बंगालचा शेवटचा स्वतंत्र हिंदुराजा लक्ष्मणसेन यानें तिसऱ्या अनंगभीमदेवाजवळ मदत मागितली. परंतु त्याच्याजवळही पठाणांच्या बरोबरीचें युद्धसाहित्य नसल्यानें मदतीचा कांहीं उपयोग न होऊन राजा लक्ष्मणसेनास अनंगभीमदेवानें जगन्नाथपुरीस आणून आपल्या संरक्षणाखालीं ठेवलें. त्याचमुळें पठाणांचा डोळा अनंगभीमदेवाकडे व त्याच्या सुसंपन्न देशाकडे गेला. बंगालचा सुलतान गयासुद्दीन यानें ओडिसावर १२१२ त पहिली स्वारी केली, परंतु अनंगभीमदेवानें ती मोठ्या शौर्यानें परतविली. त्याच्या वंशजांनींही अशा कांहीं स्वाऱ्या परतविल्या व बरींच वर्षे जिवापाड लढून ओडिसाचें संरक्षण केलें. या घराण्यांतील राजा चांगुळा नरसिंगदेव (१२३८-६४) यानें जगन्नाथपुरीपासून २२ मैल उत्तरेस समुद्रकिनारीं स्थापत्य व पाषाण शिल्पाची परमावधी असलेलें जगविख्यात असें प्रचंड कोनारकचें सूर्यमंदिर बांधलें. प्राचीन काळीं येथें मैत्रेय ऋषीचा आश्रम होता असें म्हणतात. यांस सूर्यक्षेत्र म्हणत. येथें चंद्रभागा नांवाचें पवित्र तीर्थ आहे. हें मुख्य मंदिर २३० फूट उंच होतें. १२०० शिल्पकार कित्येक वर्षे खपत होते. त्यास बारा कोट रुपये खर्च लागला म्हणतात ! (दरवर्षी माघ शुद्ध सप्तमी—रथ सप्तमीस या ठिकाणाहून उगवत्या सूर्यनारायणाचें दर्शन घेण्याकरितां फार मोठी यात्रा जमते.)

सूर्य वंश

गंग वंशाचें राज्य १४३५ मध्यें जाऊन सूर्यवंशाकडे आलें, तें १५३५ पर्यंत एक शतक टिकलें. प्रतापरुद्र राजाचे वेळीं (१५११) बंगाल सुलतानानें ओडिसाचा कांहीं भाग जिंकला, मंदिरें भ्रष्ट करून उद्ध्वस्त केलीं. पूर्वीची राजधानी जाजपूर येथील एकसंधी दगडी ३६ फूट उंच शुभ्रस्तंभ हत्ती लावून व तोफा डागून पाडण्याचा प्रयत्न केला पण तो पडला नाहीं. या स्तंभाच्या माथ्यावर कलाकुसरीचें अप्रतीम खोदीव काम केलेला सुंदर गरुड होता तो मात्र पाडला. (हा गरुड स्तंभापासून अर्ध्या मैलावर एका छपरीवजा मंदिरांत आहे.) पुरीचें मंदिरही पाडण्याचा प्रयत्न झाला तेव्हां राजे व पंडे लोकांनीं तेथील जगन्नाथ, बळिभद्र व सुभद्रा या काष्ठमूर्ति पळवून चिलका सरोवराजवळील डोंगरांत लपवून ठेवल्या. कपिलेंद्र देवाच्या वेळीं बंगाल सुलतान नासिरुद्दीन यानें ओडिसावर स्वारी केली होती पण ती कपिलेंद्रानें पराक्रमानें परतविली.

सन १५३५–१५६८ पर्यंत गोविंददेव व मुकुंददेव यांनीं कटक येथें राज्य केलें. शेवटच्या दहा वर्षांत अफगाण सुलतानांचा अंमल होता पण तो टिकला नाहीं.

या प्रकारें सहाव्या शतकापासून सोळाव्या शतकापर्यंत केशरी वंश, गंग वंश, सूर्य वंशांतील हिंदु राजांनीं आपआपल्यापरी देश उन्नतावस्थेस व भरभराटीस आणण्याचा प्रयत्न केला; परंतु पठाण मोंगलांचे हल्ले सुरू झाल्यावर तत्कालीन अद्यावत् युद्धसाहित्याच्या अभावीं एतद्देशीय लोकांचें नुसतें शौर्य, धैर्य व नुसत्या तरवारी बेकाम ठरल्या. यापुढील २०० वर्षाच्या कालांत या देशावर मुसलमानी अंमल होता. त्याची हकीकत पुढें दिली आहे.

काला पहाड–पठाणी हल्ल्याची सुरुवात

पठाणी हल्ल्याची जोराची सुरुवात बंगाल सुलतान करराणी याचा जांवई काला पहाड ओढीसावर चालून आला तेव्हांपासून झाली (१५६७). हा काला पहाड मूळचा कालचंद्र नांवाचा गौड ब्राह्मण, सुलतानाची तत्कालीन बंगालची राजधानी गौड, येथें फौजदार होता. तो धष्टपुष्ट, गौरवर्णी, सुंदर व देखणा होता. रोज सकाळीं पंचा लावून स्तोत्र पाठ करीत राजवाड्या-वरून गंगेवर स्नानास जाई व पाठ म्हणत परत घरीं येई. सुलतानची तरुण मुलगी बेगम दुलाली हिचें लक्ष त्याकडे वेधून ती त्याच्या जाण्यायेण्याच्या वेळीं त्याची वाट पाहत तिष्ठत बसे. शेवटीं तिचें मन त्यावर बसून त्याच्याशींच लग्न लावण्याचा हट्ट धरून ती बसली ! तिच्या आईनें व सुलतानानें काफिराशीं लग्न लावण्याचा हट्ट सोडण्यास परोपरीनें सांगून पाहिलें पण ती ऐकेना. हा हाताखालचा फौजदार पण दुलालीशीं लग्न करण्याबद्दल मध्यस्थाकडून व स्वतः विनवण्या करून पाहिल्या. त्याचें लग्न झालें होतें, व या मुलीकरितां स्वधर्मत्याग करून मुसलमान बनण्यास तो कबूल होईना व फौजदारीवर लाथ मारून सोडून जाण्यास तयार झाला. सुलतानानें त्याला अटकेंत ठेवून धाकदपटशा व मारहाण करण्याच्या धमक्या दिल्या, बेगम दुलालीनेंही प्रयत्न केला. त्याच्या धर्माकरितां तो म्हणेल त्या रीतिरिवाजानें राहण्यावागण्यास कबूल झाली, पण तोच तयार होईना. शेवटीं ठार मारण्याची धमकी दिली तेव्हां जिवाच्या भयानें बेगमशीं लग्न लावण्यास त्यास तयार व्हावें लागलें ! लग्नसमारंभ झाल्यावर जावयाचें प्रस्थ सुलतानच्या दरबारीं वाढून तो सेनापती बनला व सुलतानानें ओडिसा काबीज करण्याचें काम त्यावर सोंपविलें.

ओडिसांत शिरल्यावर जाजपूर, कटक, भुवनेश्वर, पुरी, कोनारक या क्षेत्रांतील प्रचंड हिंदु मंदिरें, विजयस्तंभ, मूर्ति लाखो भाविक यात्रेकरूंचे मेळे व यात्रा पाहून जबरदस्तीनें मुसलमान बनलेल्या त्या कालचंद्रास उपरति होऊन तो पुरीच्या जगन्नाथाच्या दर्शनार्थ उत्सुक होत्साता त्या मंदिरांत शिरून ब्राह्मण पंड्यांची परोपरीनें स्वतःस हिंदुधर्मांत घेण्याबद्दल विनंति करीत धरणेंच धरून बसला. परंतु हिंदुधर्माच्या त्या तत्कालीन करड्या परिस्थितींत त्याच्या मनःस्थितीची कोणासच कल्पना न येऊन हिंदूंनीं–त्या सोवळ्या ब्राह्मण पंड्यांनीं–त्यास बाटगा म्हणून नुसता धुत्कारूनच नव्हे तर मारहाण करून त्याच्या बेगम दुलालीचा उपमर्द करून हाकलून लावला ! अशा उद्वेगावस्थेंत मनःस्वास्थ्य न राहून सूडाच्या भावनेनें त्यानें हाताखालील मुसलमान अधिकाऱ्यांच्या सैन्यबळावर दिसेल ती देवमूर्ति व मंदिर मोडून तोडून हजारों हिंदूंना भ्रष्ट करण्याचा सपाटा लावला. शिल्पकलेची परमावधि असलेलें कोनारकचें तें प्रचंड सूर्य मंदिर त्यानें मोडून तोडून छिन्नविछिन्न केलें ![२] कटकच्या बाराबटी

२. कोनारकचें हें २३० फूट उंच मंदिर विजेनें पडलें असा एक प्रवाद आहे, पण एवढें प्रचंड मंदिर एवढ्या सर्व विजेनें पडलें असेल असें वाटत नाहीं. तें प्रत्यक्ष पाहणारास तेथें मानवी अत्याचाराचा भरपूर पुरावा मिळतो.

किल्ल्यांतील तो सुंदर नऊ मजली प्रासादहि मोडण्यास हा तेथें गेला; परंतु राजा मुकुंद देवाच्या राणीनें जडजवाहिरानें भरलेलीं सोन्याचीं ताटें त्याच्या पुढें आणून स्वतः ठेवलीं व तो राजप्रासाद न पाडण्याबद्दल राणीनें स्वतः हात जोडून विनंति केल्यामुळें तो वाडा बचावला अशी आख्यायिका आहे. (काला पहाडाच्या अनन्वित कृत्यावर ओदिया भाषेंत लोकगीतें व कवनें आहेत.)

अशा प्रकारें काला पहाडानें ओढिसांत केलेलीं दुष्कृत्यें अंगावर शहारे आणणारीं आहेत. क्रोडो रुपये खर्चून शेकडों वर्षें हजारों कारागीर लावून मोठ्या परिश्रमानें स्थापत्य-शास्त्रांतील पाषाण शिल्पांतील उच्च प्रतीचीं कामें करून बांधलेलीं तीं सुंदर सुंदर व प्रचंड मंदिरें त्या काला पहाडानें चुटकीसारखीं धुळीस मिळविलीं. त्याच्या या भीषण कृत्यांनीं ओढिसांत हाहाःकार उडवून दिला ! काला पहाडाच्या सैन्याच्या लोंढ्यापुढें व युद्ध-साहित्यापुढें प्रत्येक राजा स्वसंरक्षणांत गढून गेला व संघटनेच्या अभावीं व विशेषतः अद्यावत् युद्धसाहित्याच्या अभावीं काला पहाडाचा प्रतिकार होऊं शकला नाहीं. उलट रामचंद्र भंजासारखा देशद्रोही राजा स्वतःच्या बचावाकरितां काला पहाडास मिळून मदत करण्यास गेला; परंतु काला पहाडाचीं वरील कृत्यें पाहून त्यानें मदतीचा हात आंखडलेला पाहिल्याबरोबर काला पहाडानें त्यास ठार मारलें व मग तो बंगालकडे परत गेला.

पठाण—मोगल झगड्यांत ओढिसाची दुर्दशा

त्या वेळीं मोगल साम्राज्याची वाढ बंगालकडे होत होती. बंगालच्या पठाण सुलता-नांना मोगल हे जबरदस्त शत्रु भेटले. हा पठाण-मोगल झगडा ३० वर्षें आणीबाणीनें चालू होता. यास तीव्र स्वरूप सन १५७२ नंतर आलें. मोगलांच्या फौजेंत रजपूत सेनापती व सरदारच पठाणांशीं लढत असत. शेवटीं राजमहालच्या लढाईत १५७६ मध्यें मोगल सेनेचा जोर व त्यांच्या सरस युद्धसाहित्यामुळें दाऊदखानाचा सपशेल पराजय होऊन बंगालमध्यें मोगल बादशाही अंमल सुरू झाला. तरी पण पठाण अफगाणांचा पूर्ण बंदोबस्त मोगलांना करतां आला नाहीं.

ओढिसांतही पठाण-मोगल झगडा सुरू होऊन मोगलच विजयी झाले, पण या दोन युद्धयमान जमातींच्या झगड्यांत बिचारा ओढिसा देश उद्‌ध्वस्त झाला व रयत धुळीस मिळाली. या वेळींही ओढिसांत प्रथम रजपूत सरदारच अधिकारावर येत पण त्यांनाही त्या जुन्या बूड धरून बसलेल्या पठाण—अफगाणांचा बंदोबस्त करतां येईना. हे पठाण अफगाण टोळ्याटोळ्यांनीं रयतेस त्रस्त करून लुबाडीत व मग बाटवीत. सन १५८२ मध्यें राजा तोडरमल यास ओढिसांत शांतता स्थापून जमाबंदी करण्यास पाठविला. त्यानें जमाबंदीचें काम पूर्ण केलें, पण पठाण अफगाणांचा बंदोबस्त त्यास करतां आला नाहीं. तेव्हां राजा मानसिंगास १५९२ मध्यें पाठविलें. त्यानें अत्याचारी व अनधिकारी पठाण अफ-गाणांना हाकलण्याचा प्रयत्न केला. ही सोळाव्या शतकाची अखेर होय. अकबर बादशाहानें मानसिंगास दोनदां ओढिसांत पाठविलें. त्याचा मुलगा जगतसिंग यासही ओढिसांत पाठविलें. अशा प्रकारें काला पहाडानंतर ३० वर्षांत मधून मधून हिंदु अधिकारी ओढिसांत येत, तरीही त्या अवधींत या देशांत शेंकडा २५ लोक मुसलमान बनले; किंवा बनले म्हणण्या-पेक्षां बनवले गेले. यावरून त्या काळींहि मुसलमानी धार्मिक आक्रमणाचा जोर किती

होता हें दिसेल. नंतरच्या उत्तम समजल्या जाणाऱ्या मोगली राजवटींतही हिंदूंवर, त्यांच्या मंदिरांवर काय अत्याचार होत असतील याची थोडी कल्पना यावी म्हणून पुरीच्या प्रत्यक्ष जगन्नाथ, बलिभद्र व सुभद्रा या काष्ठ मूर्ति सुरक्षित ठेवण्याकरिता पंडे लोकांना त्या किती वेळा दडवून ठेवाव्या लागल्या ती हकीगत देतों.

जगन्नाथाच्या मूर्ति सहा वेळ दडवून ठेवाव्या लागल्या!

(१) ओडिसांत पहिला जबरदस्त पठाणी हल्ला १५११ सालीं प्रताप रुद्राच्या वेळीं आला त्या वेळीं जगन्नाथाच्या मूर्ति चिलका सरोवराजवळ डोंगरांत प्रथम लपविल्या. (२) काला पहाडाच्या वेळीं (१५६७–६८) त्या दुसऱ्यांदा दडवून ठेविल्या होत्या. (३) जहांगीरच्या कारकीर्दींत तारीख २७ सप्टेंबर १६०७ रोजीं मोगलांनीं जगन्नाथ पुरी क्षेत्र काबीज केलें. हुसेन खानास पहिला सुभेदार नेमला त्या वेळीं तिसऱ्यांदा मूर्ति दडवाव्या लागल्या.

औरंगजेबाचा हिंदुद्वेष

(४) औरंगजेब बादशाह १६८५–८६ मध्यें विजापूर गोवळकोंडा काबीज करण्यांत गुंतला असतांनाही व जगन्नाथाच्या यात्रेकरूंपासून त्यास १०।१२ लाख उत्पन्नही मिळत असून त्या जगन्नथाच्या मूर्ति स्वतः पाहण्याकरितां विजापुरास नेण्याचा त्यानें हुकूम सोडला. त्या वेळीं त्या मूर्ति दडविण्याचा चवथ्यांदा प्रयत्न झाला. पण बादशाहाच्या करड्या हुकुमामुळें त्या मूर्ति पकडल्या जाऊन मीर सय्यद महंमदनें जबरीनें सैन्याच्या जोरावर बादशाहाकडे नेल्या. (५) बादशाही सैन्याचा लोंढा गेल्यावर फिरून काष्ठ मूर्तींची स्थापना होऊन यात्रा चालू होत असत. तेव्हां जगन्नाथाचें मंदिरच जमिनदोस्त केल्यास यात्रा आपोआप थांबतील असें वाटून शेवटीं बादशाहानें इक्रामखानास पाठविलें. तो तारीख १७ मार्च १६९७ रोजीं जगन्नाथ मंदिरांत सैन्यासह घुसला व त्यानें मंदिराचा कांहीं भाग पाडण्यास सुरुवात केली. या आणीबाणीच्या वेळीं पंड्यांनीं जिवाची तमा न धरितां गाभाऱ्यांतून त्या मूर्ति पळवून पांचव्यांदा दडवून ठेवल्या! मुसलमानी व विशेषतः स्वतःच्या सुनी पंथाच्या प्रसारापुढें परधर्माची क्षिति अथवा लाखो रुपये उत्पन्नाची पर्वा न करितां बादशाहानें तें प्रचंड मंदिरच जमीनदोस्त करण्याचा प्रयत्न केला. कटकजवळ ३० मैलांवरील केंद्रापाडा येथें व मिदनापूरजवळ तिळकुटी येथें कोणीं नवीन मंदिरें बांधल्याचा त्यास सुगावा लागल्याबरोबर तीं जमीनदोस्त करण्याचा त्यानें हुकूम सोडला. केंद्रापाडाच्या मंदिराची मशीद बनली! परंतु सर्वच मुसलमान अधिकारी औरंगजेबाइतके धर्मद्वेष्टे नव्हते. शिवाय "द्रव्येण सर्वे वशाः" या नीतीनें राजेरजवाड्यांनीं लाखो रुपये सरदार-सुभेदारांना चारून ओडिसांतील नुसतें जगन्नाथाचेंच नव्हे तर भुवनेश्वर व इतर पुष्कळ मंदिरें तगविलीं. (६) औरंगजेबानंतरही धर्मद्वेषानें यात्रा बंद करण्याचा अगर मंदिरें पाडण्याचा उपद्व्याप एखादा अधिकारी करी. सुजाउद्दीनसारख्या चांगल्या स्वभावाच्या नवाबाचा मुलगा ताकीखान यानें असा प्रयत्न केला तेव्हां सहाव्यांदा जगन्नाथाच्या मूर्ति दडवाव्या लागल्या. ताकीखान १७२८ मध्यें मेल्यावर सुजाउद्दीनचा जांवई रुस्तुमजंग ऊर्फ मूरशिद कुलीखान दुसरा हा कटकचा नायब सुभेदार झाला (१७२८-१७३९). या वेळीं मंदिरांत मूर्ति नव्हत्या म्हणून यात्रा बंद होत्या व यात्रा बंद म्हणून वार्षिक १०।१२ लाख उत्पन्न बंद.

परंतु सरकारच्या या नुकसानीपेक्षां ओढिशांतील गरीब रयतेचें भयंकर नुकसान या यात्राबंदीमुळें होत राही. परप्रांतांतून लाखो यात्रेकरूंची ये जा रात्रंदिवस व तीही वर्षानुवर्षे चाले. या यात्रेकरूंवर ओढिशांतील गांवोगांवच्या लोकांचें जीवित बहुतेक अवलंबून असे. त्यावर त्यांचा अर्धाअधिक योगक्षेम चाले, परंतु यात्राच बंद केल्यानें हे लोक अन्नास मोताद झाले व देशोधडीस लागले ! तेव्हां राजा दंडादेवानें मुरशिद कुली दुसरा याचा हस्तक मीर हबीब (ज्यानें पुढें रघूजीस मदत केली तो) यास मनमुराद पैसे चारून जगन्नाथाच्या मूर्तीची फिरून स्थापना करून यात्रा सुरू केल्या.

राजेरजवाड्यांनीं विशेष बंदोबस्तांत ठेवलेल्या जगन्नाथासारख्या जगप्रसिद्ध मंदिराची व त्यांतील मूर्तीची ही दुर्दशा पठाणी व मोंगली अंमलांत एकदां नव्हे दोनदां नव्हे तर सहा वेळ झाली, तर लहानसहान गांवांतील व क्षेत्रांतील देवस्थानांची व त्याबरोबर तेथील हिंदु रयतेची काय दुर्दशा झाली असेल याची कल्पनाच करणें बरें.

सन १५६८ ते १७५१ पर्यंतच्या १८३ वर्षांच्या अवधींत राजा तोडरमल, त्याचा मुलगा कल्याणसिंग रावरतन हाडा, मानसिंग दोनदां व त्याचा मुलगा जगतसिंग असे थोडे हिंदु अधिकारी सोडले तर एकामागून एक असे २५।३० पठाण अफगाण मोगल असे कडवे मुसलमान सुभेदार, नायब सुभेदार ओढिशास आले. त्यांच्या अत्याचारांचे अवशेष आज इतर बाबतींत दिसणें शक्य नसलें तरी गांवोगांवीं भग्न मंदिरें व मूर्तिरूपांत अस्तित्वांत आहेत.

जाजपूर क्षेत्रीं वैतर्णी कांठीं दशाश्वमेध घाटावर एका मंदिरांत नाक, कान, हात, पाय भंगलेल्या मूर्तीची एक रांगच्या रांग आहे, अशा मूर्तीचीही तेथील भाविक लोक पूजा, अर्चा, नैवेद्य वगैरे विधि करतात ! तेथील तहशील कचेरीच्या आवारांत अशाच तुटक्या व विद्रूप केलेल्या पूर्ण ६।७ फूट उंचीच्या व आकाराच्या मूर्ति ठेवल्या आहेत. त्यांत २५ फूट उंच विष्णूची पाय भंगलेली मूर्ति जमिनीवर आडवी पडली आहे. येथील एकसंधी ३६ फूट उंच दगडी शुभस्तंभ व त्यावरील फुटक्या गरुडाची हकीगत मागें दिलीच आहे. कटक, भुवनेश्वर, पुरी, कोनारक येथें अत्याचारांचा कडेलोट झाला. कोनारकच्या मंदिरांतील हत्तीएवढ्या एक एक दगडाचे ते हत्ती, सिंह, घोडे, २४ फूट लांब व ४ फूट जाडीची तुळई, तीवरील कोरीव नवग्रहांच्या मूर्ति, आजही अस्तित्वांत असलेलें १२० फूट उंच भोगमंदिर (यांत तें पडेल म्हणून वाळू भरून ठेवली आहे) व इतर अवशेष "वास्तु संरक्षण" खात्याच्या संरक्षणखालीं ठेवले आहेत म्हणूनच त्या अत्याचारांची कल्पना तरी करतां येते. हे अवशेष संरक्षित नसते तर ते अत्याचार कालाच्या उदरांत गडप होऊन त्यांची आठवण व नांवनिशाणीही आज राहती ना !

उद्ध्वस्त ओढिसा रघूजीनें कां घेतला ?

सरते शेवटीं हा ओढिसा देश लढाईच्या खर्चाच्या २५ लक्ष रुपये बाकींत अलिवर्दीखानानें १७५१ च्या तहानें रघूजीस दिला! केवळ उत्पन्नाच्या दृष्टीनें रघूजीनें हा प्रांत घेतला नव्हता खास. उलट या कंगाल व उद्ध्वस्त ओढिसाच्या संरक्षणाचा बोजाच त्यानें शिरावर घेतला तेव्हां तो घेण्यांत त्याचा एक हेतु हा कीं, १० वर्षे लढून त्यानें जी १२ लाख चौथाई बंगाल प्रांताची मिळविली ती वसूल करण्यास नागपूर–छत्तिसगडास जोडणारा व

बंगालच्या हद्दीस भिडलेला हा ओढिसा हातीं असणें त्यास अवश्य वाटलें. दुसरा उद्देश म्हणजे मराठ्यांनीं मिळविलेल्या हिंदवी स्वराज्यांत हिंदुमंदिरें, देवस्थानें, धर्मक्षेत्रें मुसलमानांच्या हातून मुक्त करून मिळविणें हा उद्देश इतर मराठे सरदारांप्रमाणेंच रघूजीनेंही प्रत्यक्षांत आणला. त्यानें व त्याच्या वंशजांनीं शक्य तीं मंदिरें दुरुस्त केलीं, त्यांना तटबंद्या केल्या, देणग्या दिल्या. मोठमोठ्या देवस्थानांचा पूजा, अर्चा, भोग वगैरे खर्च चालविण्यास जमिनी तोडून दिल्या. जगन्नाथाच्या पूजाअर्चा वगैरे खर्च अव्याहत चालण्यास खुर्दा हद्दींतील कोथर परगण्यांतील ३० गांवच्या जमिनी तोडून दिल्याचा उल्लेख आहे. भुवनेश्वर मंदिरासही १० गांवच्या जमिनी दिल्या होत्या.

अव्वल इंग्रजी अंमल

भोसल्यांच्या ओढिसांतील ५२ वर्षांच्या राजवटींत उद्ध्वस्त ओढिसाची पुष्कळच सुधारणा झाली. पण ता. १४ आक्टोबर १८०३ मध्यें इंग्रजांनीं ओढिसा काबीज केल्यावर पुढील ५० वर्षांच्या अव्वल इंग्रजी अमलांत फिरून या देशाची व येथील रयतेची दुरवस्था झाली.

इंग्रजी अंमलांत कित्येक वर्षेपर्यंत ओढिया भाषेच्या शाळाच नव्हत्या, बंगाली अगर उर्दू शिकून मॅट्रिक व्हावें लागे. शेवटीं १९ व्या शतकाच्या उत्तरार्धांत आपल्याकडील रानडे, टिळकांप्रमाणें ओढिसांत फकीर मोहन सेनापति व मधुसूदनराव (हे भोसले अंमलांतील मराठी घराण्यांपैकीं होते) यांनीं जी राष्ट्रीय शिक्षणादि चळवळ सुरू केली तिची वाढ हरिहर पंडा प्रभृति मंडळींनीं पुढें चालविली व याचाच परिणाम म्हणजे ओढिसाचा पुनर्जन्म झाला.

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श्रीनरसिंह सरस्वती यांचा काल आणि कार्य

कै. प्रभाकर हरि खाडिलकर, शाळा-प्रमुख, श्रीहरि विद्यालय, उगार

श्री गुरुचरित्रांत मुख्यतः श्री नरसिंह सरस्वतींचें चरित्र आहे. श्री नरसिंह सरस्वती हे श्रीपाद वल्लभ यांचे अवतार मानले आहेत आणि उभयताहि श्री गुरु दत्तात्रेय यांचे अवतार मानले जातात. म्हणून श्री गुरुचरित्रांत श्री दत्तात्रेय आणि श्रीपाद वल्लभ यांचें चरित्र पूर्वानुसंधान म्हणून थोडक्यांत देण्यांत आलें आहे. श्री गुरुचरित्र हें सरस्वती गंगाधरांनीं श्री नरसिंह सरस्वतींच्या निजानंद कालानंतर साठ पाऊणशें वर्षांनीं लिहिलें आहे. श्री गुरुचरित्रांत प्राचीन गोष्टी प्रसंगानें सांगण्यांत आल्या आहेत. अशा रीतीनें श्री गुरु दत्तात्रय आणि प्राचीन गोष्टींचा काल, श्रीपाद वल्लभ यांचा काल, श्री नरसिंह सरस्वतींचा काळ आणि सरस्वती गंगाधरांचा काल अशा चार कालांचें वर्णन श्रीगुरुचरित्रांत आलें आहे. सरस्वती गंगाधरांनीं आपल्या काळाला अनुरूप अशी चरित्रग्रंथाची रचना केली आहे. त्या दृष्टीनें त्यांच्या कालाचें स्वरूप श्रीगुरुचरित्रांत काय दिसतें हा विवेचनाचा स्वतंत्र विषय होतो. श्रीपाद श्रीवल्लभ यांचा काल निश्चित नाहीं. तो तसा ठरविणें हाहि एक स्वतंत्र विषय आहे. श्रीगुरु दत्तात्रेय व त्यांचा प्राचीन कथांचा काल, श्रीपाद श्रीवल्लभांचा काल, आणि सरस्वती गंगाधरांचा काल, हे विषय वगळून प्रस्तुत लेखांत फक्त श्रीनरसिंह सरस्वती यांचा काल आणि त्यांचें कार्य यांबद्दलचा थोडासा विचार केला आहे.

सांप्रदायिक दृष्ट्या श्रीनरसिंह सरस्वतींचा काल अनादि आणि अनंत म्हणावा लागतो. पण ऐतिहासिक दृष्ट्या श्रीपाद श्रीवल्लभ यांचा अवतार हा सांप्रदायाचा आदि म्हटला पाहिजे. अक्कलकोटचे श्रीस्वामी महाराज हे खुद्द श्रीनरसिंह सरस्वतीच होत, अशी सांप्रदायिकांची श्रद्धा आहे. 'नूतन संत चरित्र' ह्या ओवीबद्ध ग्रंथांत सन १८८५ मध्यें आळंदीस समाधिस्थ झालेले नरसिंह स्वामी हेहि श्रीनरसिंह सरस्वतीच होत असें म्हटलें आहे. ही चिरंजीवत्वाची सांप्रदायिक दृष्टि सोडली तरी अगदीं आतांपर्यंत प्रयागचे माधव सरस्वती, श्रीगुरुचरित्र सांगणारे सिद्ध, देवगिरीचे जनार्दनस्वामी व अंबेजोगाईचे दासोपंत हे जुने व अलीकडचे गोपाळ स्वामी, नारायण स्वामी, टेंभे स्वामी, काशीकर स्वामी, पंढरपूरचे ब्रह्मानंद स्वामी, कारंजाचे ब्रह्मानंद स्वामी आणि नरसिंहवाडी येथील दीक्षित स्वामी अशी श्रीगुरूंची ठळक शिष्यपरंपरा चालू आहे. औदुंबर, नरसिंहवाडी आणि गाणगापूर येथें श्रीनरसिंह सरस्वतींचें असाध्य रोग–आणि पिशाच्च बाधा–निवारण सामर्थ्य आजकालहि भक्तजनांच्या अनुभवास येतें. शिवाय श्रीनरसिंह सरस्वतींचा कृपाप्रसाद झालेल्या कुटुंबांची परंपरा अद्यावत् आढळते.

औरवाड येथें ज्या कुलकर्ण्यांच्या घरांतील शेवग्याचा वेल उपटून त्याला श्रीनरसिंह सरस्वतींनीं संतती संपत्ति दिली, त्या घराण्याची अखंड सुस्थिति असून वेल उपटलेली जागा

देवघर करून राखलेली पाहावयास मिळते. शिरोळास ज्या कुलकर्ण्यांच्या घरीं श्रीनरसिंह सरस्वतींनीं दगडावर कण्या खाल्ल्या आणि त्याचें दारिद्र्य दूर केलें, त्या घराण्याची परंपराहि शिरोळास अखंड चालू असून, श्रीनरसिंह सरस्वतींचें 'भोजनपात्र' झालेल्या त्या पुण्यवान् शिलेची पूजाअर्चा आजहि गुरुपादुकांच्याप्रमाणें होत असते. श्रीनरसिंह सरस्वतींच्या कृपेनें ज्या भास्कर ब्राह्मणानें मोटलीभर शिध्यांतून ब्राह्मणभोजन व गांवजेवण घातलें, त्या भास्कर ब्राह्मणाचे वंशज गाणगापुरास श्रीगुरुपादुकांची पूजाअर्चा करीत आहेत. श्रीगुरुचरित्रकार सरस्वती गंगाधरांचें घराणेंहि आज कडगंचीस आहे. तथापि श्रीगुरुचरित्रावरून श्रीनरसिंह सरस्वतींचा काल निःसंदिग्ध रीतीनें सांगतां येत नाहीं.

महाराष्ट्र सारस्वतकार कै. भावे, महाराष्ट्र भाषेच्या इतिहासाचे खंड लिहिणारे कै. पांगारकर आणि केसरीकार श्री. ज. स. करंदीकर या सर्वांच्या मतें परंपरेनें चालत आलेला शक १३८० हा निर्णीत निजानंदकाल समजावा असें आहे. पण श्री. रामचंद्र कृष्ण कामत चंदगडकर यांनीं संपादिलेल्या श्रीगुरुचरित्राचे पुरस्कार लेखक, नागपूरचे प्रख्यात विद्वान् 'अप्रबुद्ध' यांच्या मतें शके १३८० हा निजानंदकाल नसून तो श्रीनरसिंह सरस्वतींचा जन्मकाल आहे. श्रीगुरुचरित्राचे खुद्द संपादक श्री. कामत यांना श्रीगुरुचरित्रांतील विदूरनगर विजापूर असावें आणि श्रीपाद श्रीवल्लभांच्या आशीर्वादाप्रमाणें राजा झालेला रजक हा विजापूरचा इब्राहिम आदिलशाहा जगत्‌गुरु असावा असें वाटतें. या कल्पनेस नरसिंहवाडी वर्णन ह्या शिलाछापावर छापलेल्या पुस्तकाच्या लेखकाचा पाठिंबा मिळतो. ह्या कल्पनेचा मुख्य आधार म्हणजे औरवाड आणि गौरवाड हीं गांवें परंपरागत माहितीप्रमाणें विजापूरच्या बादशाहानें नरसोबाच्या वाडीस इनाम दिलीं आहेत. आणि दुसरें, विजापूरच्या पडकोटांत बादशाहानें नित्य दर्शनासाठीं बांधलेलें श्रीगुरुपादुकांचें देवालयहि शाबूत आहे.

संभाव्य काल

अली आदिलशाहाची कारकीर्द इ. स. १५५८ ते १५७८ आहे. कुरवपूर येथें कृष्णा नदींतील त्याच्या जलविहाराचें राजवैभव पाहून रजकाला राजा होण्याची इच्छा झाली आणि तो श्रीपाद श्रीवल्लभ यांच्या आशीर्वादानें आदिलशाहाच्या पोटीं इब्राहिम जगत्‌गुरु म्हणून जन्माला आला, असें जुन्या वाडी वर्णनांत म्हटलें आहे. या दुसऱ्या इब्राहिमची कारकीर्द सन १५७८ ते १६२६ अशी आहे. पण ह्याला व्रणाचें दुखणें नव्हतें. शिवाय श्रीनरसिंह सरस्वतींचा निजानंद काल सन १६२६ असा धरावा लागेल. त्यानंतर ६० ते ७५ वर्षांनीं गुरुचरित्र लिहिलें असें धरलें तर श्रीगुरुचरित्र लेखनाचा काल सन १६९० ते ९५ असा येईल. श्रीगुरुचरित्राच्या ३९ व्या अध्यायांत ६० वर्षांच्या वंध्या सतीला मुलगी व मुलगा असा अपत्यलाभ झाला. ह्या मुलीचा पति दीक्षित या नांवानें प्रसिद्ध होईल. आणि त्याला दक्षिण देशचा राजा भेटायला येईल, असें श्रीनरसिंह सरस्वतींच्या तोंडीं वचन आहे. चिदंबर दीक्षित यांचा समाधि काल सन १६८६ असा सांपडतो. तेव्हां कदाचित् एवढीच गोष्ट सन १६२६ च्या निजानंदकालाशीं जमणारी दिसते. चिदंबर दीक्षित यांचें चरित्र पाहावयाला न मिळाल्यामुळें त्यांचा संबंध श्रीगुरुचरित्रांतील या नांवाशीं येतो कीं नाहीं आणि दक्षिण देशचा राजा म्हणजे तंजावरचे व्यंकोजी राजे कीं काय हें निश्चित सांगतां येत नाहीं. याखेरीज श्रीगुरुचरित्रांतील इतर गोष्टी या कल्पनेस जमण्याजोग्या नाहींत.

श्री ' अप्रबुद्ध ' यांच्या मताप्रमाणें इ. स. १४५८ हा नरसिंह सरस्वतींचा जन्मकाल मानला तर त्यांच्या हिशोबाप्रमाणें इ. स. १५०८ हा निजानंद-काल ठरतो. इ. स. १५१० मध्यें विजापूरचा संस्थापक युसफ आदिलशाहा मरण पावला. त्याला व्रण - झालेला नव्हता. बेदरचा महमदशाहा इ. स. १५१८ मध्यें कालवश झाला. तेव्हां बेदर किंवा विजापूरचा बादशाहा यांचा या कालांत रजकाच्या गोष्टीशीं संबंध जमत नाहीं. एकनाथांचे गुरु दौलताबादचे जनार्दन स्वामी हे श्री नरसिंह सरस्वतींच्या निजानंद कालानंतर अकलखोपला गेले, असें त्यांच्या अभंगावरून दिसतें. जनार्दन स्वामींचा समाधि-काल इ. स. १४९७ आहे. तेव्हां ' अप्रबुद्ध ' सुचवितात तो काल संभाव्य म्हणतां येत नाहीं.

राहतां राहिला परंपरागत, इ. स. १४५८ हा निजानंद काल. इ. स. १४५७ मध्यें अलाउद्दीन बहमनीच्या पायावर फोड उठून तो मरण पावला. श्री. तात्यासाहेब करंदीकर यांच्या ज्योतिषी गणिताप्रमाणें १४५६ ते ५७ मध्यें मूळ नक्षत्रीं अकालीं पर्जन्य पडला. हा योग श्री गुरु चरित्राच्या ४८ व्या अध्यायांतील शेतकऱ्याच्या गोष्टींतील वर्णनाशीं जमतो. तसेंच श्री गुरुचरित्राच्या २५ व २६ ह्या अध्यायांत कुमसीचा यति त्रिविक्रम भारतीकडे जयपत्र मागण्यासाठीं आलेल्या विदूरनगर-दरबारच्या पंडित ब्राह्मणांची गोष्ट, दोन वर्षेपर्यंत व्रणाचा त्रास कोणत्याहि उपायानें कमी होत नाहीं असें पाहून बादशाहाचें श्री नरसिंह सरस्वतींच्याकडे येणें, त्यामुळें लोकांना उपद्रव होईलसें त्यांना वाटणें, ह्या गोष्टीहि अलाउद्दीन बहमनीच्या स्वभाववर्णनाशीं सामान्यपणें जमतात. ह्यापुढें मुसलमानी जुलमाचा उपद्रव अधिक होईल ही श्री नरसिंह सरस्वतींची भविष्यसूचक वाणी अलाउद्दीनच्या नंतरच्या हुमायूनच्या कारकीर्दीवरून खरी ठरते. ह्या कालाला आणखी पारिपोषक गोष्ट म्हणजे श्रीगुरुचरित्रांत बऱ्याच ठिकाणीं आलेला ' चहुराष्ट्रांचा ' उल्लेख होय. बहमनी राज्याच्या चार तर्फा म्हणजे चार मोठे सुभे होते आणि ते राष्ट्र म्हणतां येतील इतके मोठे आणि स्वतंत्र स्वरूपाचे होते. या चार तर्फांचे आठ तर्फ करण्याचा महंमद गावाननें प्रयत्न केला, हें त्याच्या वधाचें प्रमुख कारण होतें. बहमनी राज्याचा द्योतक असा ' चहुराष्ट्र ' ह्या शब्दाचा अर्थ याच कालांत समर्पक ठरतो. शिवाय सन १४७३ मधील दामाजीपंताच्या दुष्काळाचा दुरूनहि उल्लेख गुरुचरित्रांत नाहीं. श्रीनरसिंह सरस्वतींचे दीक्षा गुरु श्रीकृष्ण सरस्वती आणि विद्यारण्य यांच्यामधील श्रीगुरुचरित्रांत दिलेला सहा पिढ्यांचा काल, श्री. तात्यासाहेब करंदीकर यांच्या मतानें या काळाशीं जमतो. इतक्या गोष्टींवरून सन १४५८ हाच श्रीनरसिंह सरस्वतींचा संभाव्य निजानंदकाल मानावा लागतो. त्यानंतर ७५।१०० वर्षें हा श्रीगुरुचरित्राचा लेखनकाल ठरतो. सन १५६५ मधील तालिकोटच्या लढाईचा दुरूनहि संबंध श्रीगुरुचरित्राच्या लेखनांत दिसत नाहीं. हेंहि या संभाव्य कालाला जुळण्यासारखेंच आहे.

आयुर्मर्यादा

वयाला सात वर्षे झाल्यावर श्रीनरसिंह सरस्वतींची मुंज झाली आणि ते नवव्या वर्षी काशीस गेले. २१ वर्षांनीं म्हणजे वयाच्या ३० व्या वर्षी कारंजास जन्मगांवीं परत येऊन आईबापास भेटले. तेथून ते नाशिक, मंजरीका व बासर ब्रह्मेश्वर येथें राहून परळी वैजनाथास आले. तेथें शिष्यांना तीर्थयात्रेस पाठवून आपण एक वर्षभर गुप्त राहिले. नंतर भिलवडीस कांहीं काल राहून ते कृष्णा-पंचगंगा संगमीं आमरापुरास आले आणि तेथें बारा

वर्षे राहिले. वासर ब्रह्मेश्वर येथें सायंदेवास १५ वर्षांनीं गाणगापुरास आपली भेट होईल असें त्यांनीं सांगितलें. तेव्हां ४५ व्या वर्षी श्रीनरसिंह सरस्वती गाणगापुरास आले व ते तेथें तीन चार वर्षे होते, असा श्री. कामत यांचा तर्क आहे. म्हणजे त्यांचा जन्मकाल साधारणतः सन १४०८ हा धरण्यास हरकत नाहीं. तेव्हां सन १४०८ ते १४५८ अशी ५० वर्षे श्रीगुरूंची आयुर्मर्यादा वाटते. या कालांतील कांहीं महत्त्वाच्या घडामोडी पुढीलप्रमाणें आहेत. सन १४१९ त विजयनगरच्या चिक्कदेवरायाची पुंनगलावर स्वारी, चिक्कदेवरायाची व फिरोजशाह बहमनीची लढाई, सन १४२२ मध्यें बेदर राजधानी करणारा अहमदशाह गादीवर आला, १४२३ मध्यें भयंकर दुष्काळ, १४२४ मध्यें वारंगळचें राज्य संपलें, १४३२ मध्यें बेदर राजधानी, १४३५ अहमदशाह अलीचा मृत्यु, १४४९ मध्यें संत भानुदासांचा जन्म, १४५४ मध्यें अलाउद्दीन बहमनीच्या पायाला व्रण झाला, १४५७ मध्यें अलाउद्दीन बहमनीचा मृत्यु.

श्रीनरसिंह सरस्वतींचा वरीलप्रमाणें ५० वर्षांचा अवतारकाल धरून त्यांच्या चरित्राची सनावली पुढीलप्रमाणें अनुमानितां येते.

सन १४०८ वऱ्हाडांत लाड कारंजा येथें श्रीनरसिंह सरस्वतींचा जन्म.
१४१५—मुंज.
१४१७—काशीस प्रयाण.
१४२०—काशीस संन्यास दीक्षा.
१४२६-१४३८—तीर्थयात्रा.
१४३८—कारंजास पुनरागमन.
१४३९—वासर-ब्रह्मेश्वरास ब्राह्मणाची पोटदुखी बरी केली.
१४४०—आंबेजोगाईस माधव ब्राह्मणास गुरुमाहात्म्य कथन केलें.
१४४१—भिलवडीस ब्राह्मणपुत्रास ज्ञानी केलें.
१४४१–१४५३ आमरापुर (औरवाड) येथें कृष्णा-पंचगंगा संगमावर वास.
१४५१—घेवड्याच्या वेलाची गोष्ट.
१४५२—गंगा-सुताची काशीयात्रा व श्रीगुरूंचें गाणगापुरास प्रयाण.
१४५३—गाणगापुरास वांझ म्हशीची गोष्ट व मठस्थापना.
१४५४—त्रिविक्रम भारतीची गोष्ट.
१४५५—सतीची गोष्ट व सायंदेवास अनुग्रह.
१४५६—साठ वर्षांच्या वंध्या सतीस अपत्य वरदान.
१४५७—बादशाहाचा व्रण बरा केला.
१४५८—श्री शैल्यास प्रयाण केलें व कदळी वनांत अंतर्धान पावले.

स्थळनिर्देश

श्रीनरसिंह सरस्वतींचा जन्म वऱ्हाडांत मूर्तिजापूर स्टेशनपासून २१ मैल असलेल्या लाड कारंजा येथें झाला. ते नवव्या वर्षी काशीस गेले, आणि ३९ व्या वर्षी कारंजास परत आले. या २१ वर्षांच्या कालांत ते काशींत किती वर्षे होते ह्याचा स्पष्ट निर्देश नाहीं. त्यांच्या यात्रावर्णनांत त्यांनीं मेरुला सव्य घातल्याचा आणि गंगातटाक यात्रा केल्याचा उल्लेख

आढळतो. मेरु म्हणजे कैलास पर्वत कीं गंगोत्री जवळचा सुमेरु यांचें श्रीगुरुचारित्रांत स्पष्ट विवेचन नाहीं. ‘ इलस्ट्रेटेड विकली ऑफ् इंडिया ’ या इंग्रजी साप्ताहिकाच्या तारीख १६, २३ आणि ३० एप्रिल १९५० च्या तीन अंकांत कैलास पर्वताची माहिती आली आहे. त्यांतील तिसऱ्या लेखांत कैलासाच्या प्रदक्षिणेच्या मार्गाचें वर्णन आलें आहे. नेरळचे श्री. फडके यांच्या हिमालयांतील यात्रेच्या वर्णनांत सुमेरु पर्वताची माहिती आली आहे. त्या व इतर यात्रा वर्णनांत आलेल्या सुमेरूच्या वर्णनावरून सुमेरूला प्रदक्षिणा घालायला अनुकूलता नाहीं. तेव्हां श्रीनरसिंह सरस्वतींनीं मेरूला सव्य घातल्याचा निर्देश कैलासाबद्दल असावा. किंवा सव्य घालणें म्हणजे उजव्या बाजूस टाकणें एवढाच अर्थ धरला तर त्यांनीं गंगोत्री-जम्नोत्रीची यात्रा केली एवढाच अर्थ दिसतो. कैलास मानस यात्रा आणि गंगातटाक यात्रा यांमध्यें श्रीगुरूंनीं, समर्थ रामदास स्वामींच्याप्रमाणें बारा वर्षांचा काल घातला असें मानलें तर ते नंऊ वर्षे काशीस होते असें ठरतें. काशीस गेल्यावर दोन तीन वर्षांनीं संन्यास दीक्षा त्यांनीं घेतली असें अनुमानतां येतें.

कारंज्यास मातापित्यांना दर्शन दिल्यावर ते कृष्णा-पंचगंगा संगमावर बारा वर्षे राहिले. कृष्णा-पंचगंगा संगमाला कारंज्याहून येण्यास किती काल लागला हें अनिश्चित आहे. कारंज्याहून ते नाशिक-त्र्यंबकास गेले. तेथून पैठण-मंजरीका व बासर-ब्रह्मेश्वरास ते गेले. बासर ब्रह्मेश्वर माहूरच्या दक्षिणेस गोदावरीच्या कांठीं आहे. तेथून परळी वैजनाथ व आंबेजोगाई येथें एक वर्ष गुप्त राहिले. तेथून औदुंबरास कांहीं काल राहून ते वाडीस आले. वाडीस येण्यापूर्वी त्यांनीं करवीर क्षेत्र आणि प्रयाग यांचें दर्शन घेतलें. करवीर हें दक्षिण काशी समजलें जातें आणि तसा श्रीगुरुचरित्रांत निर्देशहि आहे. पण त्याबरोबरच कृष्णाकांठच्या जुगुल या अथणी तालुक्यांतील गांवचा जुगालय असा गुरुचारित्रांत निर्देश असून त्याला दक्षिण काशी असेंहि म्हटलेलें आढळतें. जुगुलाशिवाय शुरपाली आणि छाया या कृष्णातटाकांच्या क्षेत्रांचा उल्लेख श्रीगुरुचरित्रांत आला आहे. कृष्णाकांठचें श्रीशैल्य हें क्षेत्र तर प्रख्यातच आहे.

कृष्णातटाक सोडून श्रीनरसिंहसरस्वती अजमासें वयाच्या ४५ व्या वर्षी म्हणजे सन १४५२ मध्यें गाणगापुरास आले. तेथें त्यांचा मुक्काम तीन ते पांच वर्षे असावा. दिवाळीच्या वेळेला एकाच वेळीं ज्या आठ गांवीं श्रीगुरु हजर होते त्या आठ गांवांचा उल्लेख श्रीगुरुचारित्रांत नाहीं. तथापि त्रिविक्रम यतींचें कुमसीगांव, नरहरकवीचें हिपरगीगांव, भीमा-अमरजा संगमावरील नामधारक आणि सिद्ध यांची गांठ पडली तें सिद्धनाळ, गाणगापुराहून तेरा मैल असलेलें सायंदेवाचें उत्तरकांची ऊर्फ कडगंचीगांव व काशीक्षेत्राचा महिमा प्राप्त झालेलें पंढरपूरच्या आराध्ये घराण्याचें गांव नागेशी, हीं गांवें या आठ गांवांपैकीं असण्याचा संभव आहे. बादशाहाच्या निमंत्रणावरून श्री नरसिंह सरस्वती बेदरास गेले. तेथून सिंहस्थासाठीं नाशिक-त्रिंबकास गेले. परत गाणगापुरास येऊन कन्यागत लागल्यावर ते श्रीशैल्यास गेले.

व्यक्तींचीं नांवें

श्रीनरसिंह सरस्वतींचे मातापिता अंबाभवानी व माधव यांना त्यांच्या आशीर्वादानें आणखी दोन मुलगे व एक मुलगी झाली. मुलगी रत्नाबाई हिचें चरित्र गुरु-चारित्रांत आलें

आहे; पण दोन्ही मुलगे किंवा वंश यांची माहिती कांहींच दिलेली नाहीं व इतरत्रहि वाचनांत आलेली नाहीं. मातापित्यांच्या नंतर श्रीगुरु काशीस गेल्यावर तेथील प्रख्यात वृद्ध संन्यासी कृष्ण-सरस्वती यांचा प्रथम उल्लेख येतो. शंकर, विष्णु, ब्रह्मदेव, वशिष्ठ, शक्ति, पराशर, शुक, गौडपादाचार्य, गोविंदाचार्य, शंकराचार्य, विश्वरूपाचार्य, ज्ञानगिरीय, सिंहगिरीय, ईश्वरतीर्थ, नृसिंहतीर्थ, विद्यातीर्थ, शिवतीर्थ, भारततीर्थ, विद्यारण्य, विद्यातीर्थ, मळीयदानंद, देवतीर्थ-सरस्वती, यादवेंद्रतीर्थ सरस्वती, आणि कृष्णसरस्वती, अशी कृष्ण सरस्वतींची गुरुपरंपरा गुरुचरित्रांत दिली आहे. कृष्णसरस्वतींच्याकडून श्रीगुरूंनीं संन्यास घेतला. नंतर त्यांचा पहिला शिष्य म्हणून प्रयागच्या माधवसरस्वतींचा उल्लेख श्रीगुरुचरित्रांत येतो. परळी-वैजनाथ येथें श्रीगुरूंनीं सन १४३८ पर्यंत केलेल्या शिष्यांना तीर्थयात्रा करणेची आज्ञा केली. त्या वेळच्या बाल सरस्वती, कृष्ण सरस्वती, उपेंद्र सरस्वती, सदानंद सरस्वती, ज्ञानज्योती सरस्वती आणि सिद्ध अशा सात प्रमुख शिष्यांचीं नांवें गुरुचरित्रांत दिलीं आहेत. तीर्थयात्रा करून शिष्यांना 'श्रीशैल्य येथें भेटीस या,' अशी श्रीगुरूंनीं आज्ञा केली असें श्रीगुरुचरित्रांत म्हटलें आहे. पण या सात शिष्यांपैकीं एकटेच सिद्ध काय ते श्रीशैल्यास आल्याचें श्रीगुरुचरित्रांत वर्णन आहे; इतर तिघे शिष्य या सातांतले नसून नंतरचे आहेत.

संन्यासआश्रमी शिष्य यात्रेस पाठविल्यानंतर श्रीगुरु श्रीशैल्य येथें निजानंदीं बसेपर्यंत त्यांचा ज्यांच्यावर अनुग्रह झाला, ते शिष्य बहुतेक संसारी होते. मंजरीका या क्षेत्रांत माधवारण्य हा त्यांचा या मालेंतील पहिला शिष्य झाला. भिलवडी येथें मंदबुद्धी ब्राह्मण मुलास त्यांनीं ज्ञानी केलें. एवढ्या उल्लेखाखेरीज या दोघांबद्दल अधिक माहिती श्रीगुरुचरित्रांत नाहीं. परसांतला घेवड्याचा वेल उपटून श्रीगुरूंनीं ज्या कुलकर्ण्यास अनुगृहित केलें, त्यांचा वंश औरवाड (अमरापूर) येथें आजतागायत आहे; पण तेथें ज्या गंगापुत्रास त्यांनीं काशीयात्रा घडवली त्याच्याबद्दल तेवढ्या उल्लेखाखेरीज अधिक माहिती नाहीं. नरसिंहवाडीच्या गुरु-पादुकांचें पुजारी घराणें आलास या गांवचें. त्यांचा पूर्वज श्रीगुरूंचा प्रत्यक्ष अनुगृहित नव्हता. श्रीगुरु गाणगापुरास गेल्यावर त्यांच्या औदुंबर वृक्षाखालीं पादुकांची पूजाअर्चा करण्यास पुजाऱ्यांचा पूर्वज आलासहून येत असे. नंतर श्रीगुरूंचा साक्षात्कार झाल्यावरून तो पादु-कांच्या पाशीं येऊन राहिला. हा आजच्या नरसोबाच्या वाडीचा आरंभ होय, असें 'श्रीगुरु-पादामृत' ह्या पुस्तकांतील वाडीवर्णनांत म्हटलें आहे.

गाणगापुरास भीमा-अमरजा संगमावर श्रीगुरु येऊन राहिल्यावर त्यांनीं प्रथम वांझ म्हशीच्या मालक ब्राह्मणावर अनुग्रह केला. गाणगापूर हा गांव ब्राह्मणांना अग्रहार दिला होता. त्यामुळें येथें मोठी ब्राह्मण-वस्ती होती. वांझ म्हशीला पान्हा फुटला हा चमत्कार पाहिल्यावर तेथील ग्रामाधिपति श्रीगुरूंचा अनुगृहित झाला. आणि त्याच्या विनंतीवरून श्री-गुरूंनीं गांवांत मठ केला; पण ते मुख्यतः संगमावरच राहत असत. अनुगृहित ब्राह्मण व ग्रामाधिपति यांची अधिक माहिती किंवा नांवें गुरुचरित्रांत नाहींत. मठस्थापनेनंतरचा शिष्य म्हणजे कुमसीचे त्रिविक्रम यति. ज्या नृसिंह देवतेचे त्रिविक्रम यति उपासक होते, तिचें ध्यान करतांना त्यांना श्रीगुरूंचें दर्शन झालें. नंतर जिकडेतिकडे श्रीगुरु दिसूं लागले. मग त्रिविक्रम यति त्यांचे शिष्य झाले. त्रिविक्रम यति चांगले वेदपाठक होते. त्यांच्याकडून जय-पत्र घेण्यासाठीं विदुरनगरीचे दोघे अहंमन्य पंडित कुमसीस आले. त्रिविक्रम यतींनीं त्यांना गाणगापुरास श्रीगुरूंच्याकडे नेलें. तेथें मातंगाला तात्पुरता ब्राह्मण करून त्याच्याकडून

श्रीगुरूंनीं त्या पंडितांचा गर्वपरिहार केला. हे दोघे पंडित गांव सोडतांच गतप्राण झाले. याबद्दलची सविस्तर कथा गुरुचरित्राच्या २४।२५।२६।२७ व २८ ह्या अध्यायांत आली आहे. पण त्या अहंमन्य पंडितांच्या नांवागांवाची माहिती दिलेली नाहीं.

गुरुचरित्राच्या ३३ व ३४ या अध्यायांत माहूरच्या सतीची कथा आहे. माहूर येथें गोपीनाथ या नांवाचा ब्राह्मण सावकार होता. त्याच्या मुलाचें नांव दत्त. या मुलास तरुणपणींच क्षय लागला आणि सर्व उपाय थकले. म्हणून त्यास त्याच्या तरुण पत्नीनें माहूराहून २० गांवें म्हणजे ८० कोस दक्षिणेस असलेल्या गाणगापुरास डोलींतून आणलें. तेथें तो येतांच मृत्यु पावला. पण शेवटीं तिच्या अनन्य भक्तीनें श्रीगुरु प्रसन्न झाले आणि त्यांनीं तिच्या पतीस जिवंत करून आयुष्य आणि आरोग्य दिलें. त्याच्या वंशाची माहिती असल्यास ती वाचनांत आली नाहीं. श्रीगुरूंचा अनुगृहित भास्कर ब्राह्मण याच्याच घराण्याकडे गाणगापूर येथील पुजारीपण चालू आहे. साठ वर्षांची वंध्या ब्राह्मण स्त्री गंगा हिला श्रीगुरूंच्या सेवेमुळें कन्यापुत्र झाले. तिचा पति सोमनाथ आणि तिचा जांवई, दक्षिण देशचा राजा ज्याच्या भेटीला आला असा, प्रख्यात दीक्षित यांच्या नामोल्लेखापेक्षां अधिक माहिती नाहीं. गाणगापुरांतील शिष्य मंडळींत ज्यांना नामांकित म्हणतां येईल आणि जे श्रीशैल्यास श्रीगुरु गुप्त होतांना हजर होते, त्यांपैकीं प्रमुख संसारी शिष्य सायंदेव होय. वासरब्रह्मेश्वरास श्रीगुरूंनीं आज्ञा केल्याप्रमाणें तो पंधरा वर्षांनीं गाणगापुरास श्रींच्या दर्शनास आला. तेथें त्याची परीक्षा घेऊन त्यांवर श्रीगुरूंनीं अनुग्रह केला. दुसरा नामांकित शिष्य नंदी ब्राह्मण हा कुष्टी होता. तो शंका धरून गाणगापुरास आला. त्याच्या शंकेमुळें त्याचें थोडें कुष्ट राहिलें. तेंहि श्रीगुरूचें स्तवन केल्यावर नाहींसें झालें. श्रीगुरूंच्या कृपेनें तो कवि झाला. तिसरा शिष्य हिप्परगीचा शिवभक्त नरहरी. हा तेथील कलेश्वराचा भक्त कवि होता. कलेश्वराचें ध्यान करीत असतांना त्याला श्रीगुरूंचें दर्शन होऊन तो त्यांचा शिष्य बनला. सायंदेव, नंदी आणि नरहर ऊर्फ कवि बसवरस हे तिघे संसारी आणि चौथे सिद्ध हे संन्यासी शिष्य, श्रीशैल्य येथें श्रीगुरु कदली वनांत गुप्त झाले तेव्हां उपस्थित होते व त्यांना वाहत आलेलीं प्रसादाचीं चार फुलें मिळालीं.

श्रीगुरूंचें कार्य

सायंदेवानें श्रीगुरूंच्याबद्दल रचलेलें संस्कृत स्तोत्र श्रीगुरुचरित्राच्या ४१ व्या अध्यायांत दिलें आहे. त्यांतील तिसऱ्या श्लोकांत श्रीगुरूंनीं चतुर्थाश्रम स्थापन केला असा त्यांच्या विशेष कार्याचा निर्देश आहे. श्रीगुरु काशीस गेल्यावर कृष्ण सरस्वतींनीं संन्यास आश्रम घेण्याबद्दल आग्रह करतांना असें सांगितलें कीं, आद्य श्रीशंकराचार्यांनीं संन्यास-आश्रम स्थापन केला, पण कलियुगांत संन्यास वर्ज्य ठरल्यामुळें तो मार्गे पडला आहे; संन्यासदीक्षा घेऊन श्रीगुरूंनीं तो पुन्हां प्रतिष्ठित करावा. त्याप्रमाणें श्रीगुरूंनीं केलें. त्यांनीं संन्यासी शिष्य तयार केले, पण ते तीर्थयात्रेस गेले, यापेक्षां त्यांनीं इतर लोकसंग्रहाचें काय कार्य केलें याची माहिती श्रीगुरुचरित्रांत नाहीं. श्रीगुरुचरित्रांत सरस्वती गंगाधरांनीं श्रीगुरूंचा महिमा वर्णिला आहे तो त्यांनीं संन्यासाश्रमाची प्रतिष्ठापना केली ह्या कार्यापेक्षां त्यांनीं कुष्ठ आणि व्रण यासारखे असाध्य रोग आरश्या कृपादृष्टीनें बरे केले, मंद बुद्धींना बुद्धिमान् केलें, भक्तांचें दारिद्र्य घालविलें, याबद्दलचें वर्णनच अधिक आहे. आज नरसोबाची वाडी मुख्यतः प्रसिद्ध आहे ती

भूत, पिशाच्चबाधा नाहींशीं होण्याचें मुख्य स्थान म्हणूनच आहे. अनेक उपचार करूनहि आपली व्रण पीडा दूर होत नाहीं असें पाहून, बेदरचा बादशाहा अलाउद्दीन हा त्यांना शरण आला. श्रीगुरूंनीं त्याचा व्रण त्या वेळीं बरा केला. परंतु तो शेवटीं व्रण-विकारानेंच मेला असें इतिहासांत नमूद आहे. याचा इतिहासांतील वरील नमूद गोष्टीशीं मेळ घालावयाचा म्हटलें तर असें दिसतें कीं, श्रीगुरुकृपेनें अलाउद्दीनाच्या व्रणाचा उपशम झाला तरी, पुढें कुपथ्यानें म्हणा अगर इतर कारणांनीं म्हणा त्याचा व्रण विकार वाढून तो त्यामुळेंच मरण पावला. तो श्रीगुरूंच्याकडे आर्त म्हणून आला होता. पण स्फोटकाचा उपशम झाल्यानें त्याची श्रीस्वामींवर श्रद्धा बसली व त्यानें स्वामींना आपल्या राजधानीस येण्यास पाचारण केलें. त्या संधीचा फायदा घेऊन स्वामींनीं त्याला 'जीवांची हिंसा करणें हें पाप आहे; यास्तव जीवहत्या बंद करावी' अशी अट घालून जीवहत्या बंद करविली. राजानें स्वामींचा मोठ्या आदरानें सत्कार केला व तो त्यांचा सेवक झाला. तेव्हां राजा 'विप्रसेवक' झाला हें पाहून ब्राह्मणांना महदानंद झाला. यवन राजाच्या पदरच्या लोकांनीं त्याला नांवें ठेवलीं तरी राजाची स्वामींविषयींची निष्ठा ढळली नाहीं.

अशा रीतीनें हा राजा विप्रसेवक झाला म्हणून राजाच्या पदरचे अनेक लोक त्याची निंदा करूं लागले. तथापि कित्येक म्लेंछ आपल्याकडे यापुढें येतील व त्यांचा ब्राह्मणांना उपसर्ग पोंचेल, म्हणून येथून गुप्त व्हावें असा निश्चय करून स्वामी श्रीशैल्य यात्रेस निघाले आणि तेथें त्यांनीं जलसमाधि घेतली. यावरून स्वामींची निर्लोभी वृत्ति आणि ब्राह्मण समाजाविषयींची कळकळ व्यक्त होते.

स्वामींनीं आपल्या शुद्ध व धर्म्य आचरणानें समाजाला खऱ्या संन्यासाश्रमाचा उत्तम धडा घालून दिला. ब्रह्मचारी व गृहस्थाश्रमी यांनाहि त्यांनीं त्या त्या आश्रमांतील सदाचारांचा उपदेश केला. ब्रह्मचर्य आश्रमाचा व गुरुसेवेचा उपदेश अध्याय २, अध्याय १६ आणि अध्याय ४१ यांत आहे. गृहस्थाश्रमी ब्राह्मणाचा आचार कसा असावा याचें वर्णन अध्याय ३६ व ३७ यांत आहे. स्त्रियांच्या आचार धर्माचें वर्णन अ. ३५ त आहे. अशा रीतीनें श्रीनरसिंह सरस्वती स्वामींनीं तीनहि आश्रमांतील आचाराचा बोध केला आणि संन्यासाश्रम स्वतः आचरून दाखविला. शूद्र वर्णाला भक्तीचा उपदेश करण्याकरितां रजक, तंतुक आणि शेतकरी यांच्या कथा आहेत. उपजीविकेसाठीं ब्राह्मणांना अनेक धंदे करण्याची मुभा महाभारतकाळापासून आहे. तेव्हां नरसिंह सरस्वती स्वामींच्या वेळीं ब्राह्मण गृहस्थ अनेक धंदे करीत होते यांत आश्चर्य नाहीं. तथापि धंदा कोणताहि केला तरी आपला आचार शुद्ध धर्मानुसार राखावा यावर स्वामींचा मोठा कटाक्ष होता व शुद्ध धर्माचरणाचा बोध करण्यासाठींच श्रीगुरुचरित्र ग्रंथ लिहिला गेला.

उपजीविकेसाठीं कोणताहि धंदा केला तरी त्याला प्रत्यवाय नसे. पण याला म्लेंच्छाची सेवा हा अपवाद होता. सायंदेवाला स्वामींनीं साफ सांगितलें कीं, माझें शिष्यत्व पत्करावयाचें असेल तर यवनाला नमस्कार करतां कामा नये. दोन दशग्रंथी ब्राह्मण यवन राजाच्या पदरीं असून म्लेंच्छापुढें द्रव्यलालसेनें वेद पढतात असें कळल्यावरून त्या ब्राह्मणांना स्वामींनीं शासन केलें. चढेल यवनाधिकारी हाताखालील हिंदु कामगारांना छळतात असें कळल्यावरून स्वामींनीं त्या यवनाधिकाऱ्यांना धाक बसेल अशी व्यथा उत्पन्न केली. यांतील चमत्काराची

कल्पना सोडून दिली तरी, यवनांच्या अरेरावीपासून आपल्या भक्तांचें रक्षण करण्यास स्वामी तत्पर असत हें उघड आहे. अशा रीतीनें स्वामींनीं आपल्या आचरणानें व उपदेशानें ब्राह्मण धर्माची परंपरा शुद्ध राखण्याचा प्रयत्न केला आणि लोकांतला स्वाभिमान व स्वधर्माभिमान जागृत केला. म्हणूनच स्वामींना 'महाराष्ट्र धर्मा'च्या उपदेशकाचा पूर्वावतार मानतात.*

[संदर्भ व ऋणः रामचंद्र कृष्ण कामत चंदगडकर संपादित श्रीगुरुचरित्र शक १८६२; सदाशिव कृष्ण फडके, वकील पनवेल, यांचें श्रीदत्तभक्त रहस्य; श्रीयुत मोडककृत बहामनी आणि आदिलशाही राज्यांचे इतिहास; महाराष्ट्र-सारस्वत; नूतन संत चरित्र; गाणगापूरचा साक्षात्कार; श्रीदत्त पदामृत; श्रीक्षेत्र नरसिंहवाडी वर्णन जुनी शिळा प्रेस आवृत्ती; भारत इतिहास संशोधक मंडळ, अंक २ वर्ष ९; महाराष्ट्र साहित्य पत्रिका, अंक ७९; डेक्कन हिस्टरी कॉन्फरन्स १९४५ चा इंग्रजी अहवाल; धुळ्याचे श्री. भा. वा. भटकृत महाराष्ट्र धर्म.]

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* हा लेख आम्हाकडे पाठविल्यावर श्री. कृ. प्र. ऊर्फ नाना खाडिलकर हे ता. १७ जुलै १९५० रोजीं मिरजेस दिवंगत झाले। त्यांच्या हस्तलिखिताची शुद्धि व शेवटीं थोडाबहुत फेरफार त्यांच्या इच्छेनुरूप श्री. ज. स. ऊर्फ तात्यासाहेब करंदीकर यांनीं केला. —संपादक.

जनाबाई आणि मुक्तेश्वर

प्रा. डॉ. ना. गो. नांदापूरकर, एम. ए., पी.एच्. डी. (हैद्राबाद दक्षिण)

साध्वी जनाबाई ही संत नामदेवाची दासी असून संतमंडळींत तिला मानाचें स्थान आहे. जनाबाईच्या नांवावर सध्यां प्रल्हादचरित्र, कृष्णजन्म, बालक्रीडा, हरिश्चंद्राख्यान, थालीपाक आणि द्रौपदीवस्त्रहरण हीं आख्यानें आहेत. ही सर्व रचना अभंगांत असून याउपरहि कांहीं स्फुट अभंग तिनें रचिले आहेत. प्रस्तुत प्रसंगीं तिच्या "थालीपाक आणि द्रौपदीवस्त्रहरण" ह्या दोन प्रकरणांचाच विचार करावयाचा आहे, आणि तोहि कविवर्य मुक्तेश्वर ह्यांच्या ह्याच प्रसंगांच्या तुलनेनें करावयाचा आहे. मुक्तेश्वरांनीं भारताचीं पांच पर्वें रचिलीं असून त्यांत 'सभा' आणि 'वन' त्या दोन पर्वांत हे दोन प्रसंग आले आहेत. *.

मुक्तेश्वरांनीं आपल्या भारताची रचना बहुधा महाभारतास धरूनच केली आहे; पण प्रसंगविशेषीं ते व्यासांचा मागोवा सोडून स्वतंत्र मार्गानेंहि जातात. 'थालीपाक' हें प्रकरण यांपैकींच एक आहे. संस्कृत महाभारतांतील रचना पुढीलप्रमाणें आहे. द्रौपदी सत्यभामा-संवाद पर्व २३३–२३५ अध्याय, घोषयात्रा पर्व २३६–२५७ अ; मृगस्वप्नोद्भव पर्व २५८ अ; व्रीहिद्रौणिक पर्व २५९–२६१ अ; आणि द्रौपदीहरणपर्व २६९–२७१ अ. ह्या शेवटल्या पर्वांत महाभारतांत दुर्वासांनीं वनांत जाऊन पांडवांचें सत्त्वहरण करण्याचा जो प्रयत्न केला ती कथा आहे. हीच कथा जनाबाईनें मराठींत रचिली नि ती थालीपाक-आख्यान ह्या नांवानें प्रसिद्ध आहे. मुक्तेश्वरांनीं आपल्या भारताच्या अकराव्या अध्यायाच्या १० व्या (दहाव्या) ओवीपर्यंत द्रौपदी-सत्यभामा-संवाद पर्वांतील कथानक संपविलें. पण पुढें क्रमानुसार घोषयात्रा प्रसंगाची कथा जी द्यावयास पाहिजे ती न देतां तेथें ही दुर्वास कथा अथवा थालीपाकाची कथा दिली. ह्या कथेनेंच त्यांनीं आपला अकरावा अध्याय संपविला. घोषयात्रेचा प्रसंग त्यांनीं १२ व्या आणि १३ व्या अध्यायांत चित्रिला. ह्यानंतर व्रीहिद्रौणिक पर्वांतील कथा आणि द्रौपदीहरण पर्वांतील उरलेली कथा आली आहे. वस्तुतः ह्या सर्व कथा त्यांनीं भारताच्या क्रमानुसार द्यावयाला पाहिजे होत्या; पण येथें त्यांनीं व्युत्क्रम केला आहे. व्यासानुसरण करण्याची प्रतिज्ञा वारंवार उद्घोषित करणाऱ्या ह्या महाकवीनें हा व्युत्क्रम कां केला हा प्रश्न विचार करण्यासारखा आहे. आणि ह्याच्या विचारांतच जनाबाईच्या थालीपाक आख्यानाचा संबंध येतो. यास्तव येथें ह्या दोन्ही कथांचा विचार करण्याचें ठरविलें आहे.

मुक्तेश्वरांच्या भारताचा सूक्ष्म आणि सखोल अभ्यास केल्यास हें दृष्टोत्पत्तीस येतें कीं त्यांनीं पुष्कळसे प्रसंग प्रथम आख्यानरूपानें लिहिले आणि भारत-रचनेच्या समयीं त्यांचें स्थान येतांच त्यांत ते समाविष्ट केले. त्याचप्रमाणें ते आपलें भारत सर्वांगसुंदर करण्यासाठीं इतर कवींच्या रचनेचा, कल्पनांचा आणि आख्यानांचाहि उपयोग करीत असत. प्रस्तुत प्रकरणापुरताच विचार केला तर ह्या विधानास उपोद्बलक असे पुष्कळसे आधार स्वतः मुक्तेश्वरांनींच ह्या आख्यानांत दिले आहेत. हें दुर्वासरूपी संकट आलें असतां द्रौपदी पुढील-प्रमाणें धांवा करते. "हस्तपाद प्रक्षाळुनी। उभी ठेली वृंदावनीं। द्वारकेउजू बद्धपाणी। स्तवन करी कृष्णाचें" ३।११।५३. तेव्हां तिचा धांवा श्रवण करून श्रीकृष्ण "आवडी द्रौपदीच्या दर्शना। वृंदावना पातला." ३।११।९६. ही जी तुळशी-वृंदावनापुढें बसून धांवा, धिवना इ. म्हणण्याची कल्पना आहे, ती आज जशी स्त्रीसमाजांत रूढ आहे, तशीच मुक्तेश्वरकालींहि

होती. तेव्हां ह्यावरून असें वाटतें कीं मुक्तेश्वरांना त्या वेळीं कोणत्या तरी पांच्याची आठवण झाली आणि आतांपर्यंतहि प्रसिद्ध असलेली जनाबाई सहजच त्यांच्या स्मरणांत आली. जनाबाईचेंच नेमकें स्मरण होण्याचें कारण असें कीं त्यांनीं जनाबाईच्या हरिश्चंद्र-आख्याना-वरून आपलेंहि हरिश्चंद्र आख्यान रचलें. तेव्हां तिच्या रचनेनें ते आधींच आकृष्ट झाले होते. दुसरें प्रमाण त्यांनीं ह्या आख्यानांतहि स्वतःच दिलें आहे. ह्या आख्यानाच्या शेवटीं त्यांनीं "यापरी सरला थालीपाक" ३।११।१६१।। आणि "पुढें घोषयात्रा-निरूपण" ३।११। १६२ येणार आहे, असा उल्लेख केला आहे. संस्कृत महाभारतांत तर "थालीपाक" हें नांवच नाहीं; पर्वासहि नाहीं आणि अध्यायासहि नाहीं. मग मुक्तेश्वरांनीं तें कोठून घेतलें ! किंवा स्वतः दिलें ! "बोल बोलती सर्वत्र । सूर्यें दिधलें थालीपात्र । परी तें व्यासाचें वक्त्र । वदलें नाहीं भारतीं" ३।१।५८. अशा प्रकारें ज्यांना सूर्यदत्त स्थालीच अमान्य आहे, ते स्वतः भारतानुसार स्थालीची कथा रचितील हें सुतराम् शक्य नाहीं. आणि दुसरी गोष्ट अशी कीं, महाभारतांत या आख्यानापुढें घोषयात्रा नाहीं. पण मुक्तेश्वरांनीं तर स्पष्टच तसें विधान केलें आहे. तेव्हां ही अशी विसंगति मुक्तेश्वरांनीं जी केली तिला बलवत्तर कारण असलें पाहिजे. तें जनाबाईच्या ह्या आख्यानांत सांपडतें. ह्या आख्यानांच्या शेवटीं जनाबाई म्हणतेः— "सरला थालीपाक आतां । पुढें सावधान श्रोता ।। कथा पुढील गहन । घोषयात्रा निरूपण ।।" ३३०।५,६. ह्यावरून तर निश्चित असें वाटतें कीं, मुक्तेश्वरांनीं आपल्या आख्यानाची रचना जनाबाईच्या ह्या आख्यानावरून केली आणि ह्यासाठींच त्यांनीं प्रसंगांची उलटापालट केली.

ह्या बाह्य प्रमाणानंतर आख्यानाच्या अन्तरंगाचें निरीक्षण केलें तर त्यांत पुढील गोष्टी ठळकपणें दृष्टोत्पत्तीस येतात. दुर्योधनानें दुर्वासास अर्ध्या रात्रीं पांडवांकडे जा म्हणणें, दुर्वासाचें तदनुसार वनांत जाणें, इच्छाभोजन मागणें, पांडवांस जाळून भस्म करण्याची दुर्वासाची धमकी, ऋषींची हरहर गर्जना, पांडवांचें जागें होणें, धर्मानें भीमाकडे पाहणें, दुर्वासाची दर्पोक्ती, त्यांनीं भागीरथीस स्नानास जाणें, द्रौपदीनें हातपाय धुऊन (तुळशी) वृंदावनापुढें उभी राहून स्तवन करणें, कृष्णानें अर्धरात्रीं जेवत असतां समोरील ताट लोटून देऊन द्रौपदी-साठीं धावत येणें, तिला दर्शन देणें, शुद्ध भावावीण आपणापाशीं दुसरें कांहीं नाहीं असें द्रौपदीनें म्हणणें, आश्रमांतील अन्नाचे पर्वत, अन्नाच्या वाफा आकाशांत जाणें, मायिक पांडवांची उत्पत्ति नि भोजनप्रसंग, द्रौपदीनें ब्राह्मणांना वाढणें, ब्राह्मणांची हास्यास्पद अवस्था, चंद्रमंडळाकडे दृष्टी लागणें, घोत्रे फिरणें, डोक्यास भोंक असतें तर आणखीहि खाल्लें असतें असें म्हणणें इ. इ. धर्माच्या अन्नाची स्तुति, ब्राह्मण निद्रावश होणें, पांडवांचें अदृश्य होणें, सहदेवानें खऱ्या धर्मशिबरून ऋषींना पाचारण्यास जाणें, सहदेव आणि दुर्वासा-दिकांचा संवाद, त्यांचा पांडवांना आशीर्वाद, ह्या आख्यानाचें नांव "थालीपाकाख्यान" आणि त्याची फलश्रुति; ह्या साऱ्या घटना महाभारतांत नसून त्या महाभारताच्या धोरणा-विरुद्धहि आहेत. ह्या सर्व गोष्टी जनाबाईच्या आख्यानांत आहेत; आणि तिच्या रचनेच्या मोहामुळेंच मुक्तेश्वरांनींहि त्या आपल्या रचनेंत समाविष्ट केल्या. अर्थात् मुक्तेश्वरांनीं आपलें हें आख्यान जनाबाईवरून घेतलें.

ह्या ठळक प्रसंगांच्या नंतर आतां दोघांची भाषा पद्धति आणि शब्दसंहति, भावना आणि कल्पना इत्यादिकांचा विचार करूं. यासाठीं दोघांच्याहि रचनेंतून पुढें दिलेलीं उदाहरणें विचार करण्यासारखीं आहेत.

(१) जनाबाई:—शिष्यांसहित रानीं जावें । इच्छाभोजन मागावें । ३१८।४
मुक्तेश्वरः—तुम्ही जावें अद्वैत वना । लक्षशिष्यांस हित जाणा । इच्छाभोजन मागावें । ३।११।३७

(२) जनाबाई:—मध्यरात्रीं ऋषिसहित । वना आले अकस्मात । ३१९।१
मुक्तेशः—असंख्य ऋषींचिया पंक्ती । वना पातला अर्धरातीं । ११।४०

(३) जनाबाई:—हरहर शब्द थोर केला । झाला वनांत गलबला । ३१८।६
मुक्तेशः—गर्जोनि टाळी पिटिती हस्त । हर हर शब्दें करूनी । ३।११।४०

(४) जनाबाई:—पांडुसुत जागे झाले । ऋषिसमस्त वंदिले ।
मुक्तेशः—जागृत होऊनि कुंतीसुत । सन्मुख धाविन्नला । बंधुसहित । नमस्कारूनी ऋषि समस्त । कुशासनीं बैसविले ३।११।४१

(५) जनाबाई:—दिवसां कर्मांचा उगाणा । सर्व सारोनिया जाणा । आतां येतो शीघ्रगती । अन्न वाढा पात्रावरुतीं अन्न न देखतां डोळा । भस्म करीन सकळा ३२७।५,६,७
मुक्तेशः—दिवसां सर्व कर्म सारिलें । भोजनमात्र असें उरलें । पळें येतसों वाढिलें । अन्न पात्रींचि पाहिजे ॥ स्वल्प विलंब होतां येथें । शब्द न ठेवावा मातें" ३।११।४८,४९

(६) जनाबाई:—कर चरण प्रक्षाळुनी । उभी ठेली वृन्दावनीं । जोडोनियां करकमळ । म्हणे धांव रे गोपाळ । ३२०।१,२
मुक्तेशः—हस्तपाद प्रक्षाळुनी । उभी ठेली वृन्दावनीं । द्वारकेउजू बद्धपाणि । स्तवन करी कृष्णाचें ३।११।५३

(७) जनाबाई:—ताट विस्तारी रुक्मिणी । देव बैसले भोजनीं । धांवा ऐकतां श्रवणीं । ताट लोटी चक्रपाणी ३२१।१,३
मुक्तेशः—ताट विस्तारिलें रुक्मिणी । भोजना उठतां चक्रपाणी । ऐकोनी द्रौपदीची वाणी । ताट हातें लोटिलें ३।११।९५

(८) जनाबाई:—उठिला खडबडोनी कैसा । पावे बहिणीचिया क्लेशा । उभी वृंदावनीं बाळा । पुढें देखिला सांवळा ३२१।४,५
मुक्तेशः—लगबग झाली जगजीवना । सत्वर पातला अद्वैतवना । आवडी द्रौपदीच्या दर्शना । वृंदावनां पातला ३।११।९६

(९) जनाबाई:—इतक्यामध्यें अकस्मात । ध्वनी उमटला कानांत । ३२१।२
मुक्तेशः—धांवा करितां याज्ञसेनी । कृष्णराया जाणावलें । ३।११।९४

(१०) जनाबाई:—म्हणे तूंचि माझ्या मना । स्वस्थ करीं गा नारायणा ३२३।२
मुक्तेशः—द्रौपदी म्हणे माझें मन । स्वस्थ कर्ता तूं एक ३।११।१००

(११) जनाबाई:—आश्रमासीं येतां ऋषी । तोंवरी आयुष्य प्राणांसीं । ऐकतांचि हांसे देव । न दिसे प्राप्तीचा उपाव । अवकाळीं कैचें अन्न । विचारितां दिसे विघ्न ३२३।३,४,५
मुक्तेशः—कोपिष्ट ऋषि गेला स्नाना । ये तंव आयुष्य आमुच्या प्राणा । ऐकोनी हांसे रुक्मिणीरमण ॥ अकाळीं कैसें पावेल अन्न ३।११।१०१,१०२

(१२) जनाबाई:--कांहीं ओपावें आम्हांस ॥ स्वस्थ नव्हे माझें मन ॥ ३२३।६,७
मुक्तेशः--कांहीं ओपी कृपेंकरून । दिधल्यावीण माझें मन । स्वस्थ नव्हे सर्वथा ३।११।१०२

(१३) जनाबाई:--क्षुधा लागली दारुण ३२३।७
मुक्तेशः--मातें क्षुधा पीडी बहुत ३।११।१०३

(१४) जनाबाई:--न जेवितां आलों येथ । बहु झालों क्षुधाक्रांत ३२३।५
मुक्तेशः--भोजन सांडोनी धांवत । तुजलागीं पातलों ३।११।१०३

(१५) जनाबाई:--सर्व अरिष्टभंजना । तुजलागीं बाहो कोणा ? ३२४।२
मुक्तेशः--वासुदेवा ऋषीलागीं केला तुझा धांवा । तुजवेगळें देवाधिदेवा । स्मरीं कवणा सांग पां ३।११।१०५

(१६) जनाबाई:--एक भाव तुझे पायीं । यावेगळें कांहीं नाहीं । थाली माजी पाहतां अन्न । होय क्षुधेचें हरण ३२४।३,४
मुक्तेशः--शुद्ध भावावेगळें कांहीं । हृदयगेहीं उरलें नाहीं ३।११।१०६
शेष असेल थाली आंत । तेणें क्षुधा करीन शांत ३।११।१०७

(१७) जनाबाई:--कर पसरिला भगवंतें । घाली द्रौपदी देठातें । देतां तृप्तीचा ढेंकर । धालें त्रैलोक्य अपार । दावी कौतुक श्रीपती । पर्वत अन्नाचे पाहती । उष्ण घवघवीत कैसीं । वाफा उठती आकाशीं ३२५।१,३,४,५
मुक्तेशः--हात ओढवी रुक्मिणीपती । द्रौपदी देंठ घाली हातीं ३।११।११० ढेंकर देतां जनार्दनें । तृप्तीनें धालीं त्रिभुवनें ३।११।११४
द्रौपदी पाहे आश्रमांत । तंव पडले अन्नाचे पर्वत ॥ ३।११।११५
उष्ण वाफा धांवती गगनीं । घमघमीत सुवासें ३।११।११६

(१८) जनाबाई:--येरीकडे गंगातीरीं । कौतुक दाखवी श्रीहरि । धर्मासहित साह्रीजण । ऋषींलागीं देती अन्न । रत्नखचित मंडपाआंत । पंगती बैसल्या आनंदभूत नाना परीचें दिव्य अन्न । वाढि द्रौपदी आपण ३२६।१ – ४
मुक्तेशः--येरीकडे अघमर्षणीं । ऋषी चोज देखती नयनीं । गंगातीरीं हेमसदनीं । रत्नदीप लागले ॥ पंचवरेसीं पतिव्रता । नूतन निर्मी विश्वकर्ता । नाना चोज ऋषींचे चित्ता । ब्राह्मण जेवितां भुलले ॥ कनकआडणिया कनकताटें । हिरे माणिकें रत्नविटे । आसनें सूदतीं हेमपीठें । ऋषी आदरें बैसविले ॥ द्रौपदी उदारहस्तें वाढी ॥ ३।११।११८ – १२०,१२१

(१९) जनाबाई:--वदन करवेना तळीं । वरुती चंद्राची मंडळी । चंद्री लागलीसे नेत्रा । कोण सांभाळिते धोत्रा ३२७।५,६
मुक्तेशः--ऋषींस तृप्ती झाली मोठी । चंद्रमंडळी लागली दृष्टी । वस्त्रें न दिसतीं तळवटीं । फिटलीं किंवा राहिलीं ३।११।१४१

(२०) जनाबाई:--म्हणती माथां असतें तोंड : अन्न भक्षितों उदंड । कैचीं पोटें आमुचीं लहान । गोड धर्माघरचें अन्न । उदरें सागराच्या ऐसीं । कल्पी यावें धर्मापाशीं । तृप्ती द्रौपदीच्या हातें । नित्य भक्षावया अन्नातें ३२७।१-४

मुक्तेशः--म्हणतीं मार्था असतीं मुखें । तरी होतें बहु निकें ॥ करूनी सागरतुल्य उदर । सेविजे धर्मोचेंचि घर । द्रौपदीहस्तें निरंतर । हेंचि भोजन करावें ॥ ३।११।१४२,१४३

(२१) जनाबाईः--उठले हात प्रक्षाळुनी । विडे घेतले सर्वांनीं । न बैसवे सुखासनीं । अवघे प्रवर्तले शयनीं । ते देखोनि निद्रिस्थ । साही जणें झालीं गुप्त । कोणा न कळे याची करणी । म्हणे नामयाची जनी ३२८।३,४,५,७

मुक्तेश्वरः---उठले हस्त प्रक्षाळुनी । विडे दिधले त्रयोदशगुणी । बैसका न करवे म्हणोनी । सुखशयनीं पहुडले ॥ डोळा लावितांची तेथ । साहीजणें झाली गुप्त । कृष्णचरित्र अत्यद्भुत । ब्रह्मादिकां नेणवे ३।११।१४४,१४५

(२२) जनाबाईः – म्हणे पाचारा भूदेवा । धर्म म्हणे जाये भीमा (येथें 'सहदेवा' पाहिजे) गंगातीरासी येऊन । नमियेले ऋषीजन । त्वरा करा ऋषीजन । पात्रीं विस्तारिलें अन्न ३२१।१,२,३

मुक्तेशः—धर्म आज्ञेनें अति सत्वरा । सहदेव पातला गंगातीरा । नमस्कारीत ऋषीश्वरा । म्हणे जी शीघ्र चलावें ॥ असें विस्तारिलीं पात्रीं ३।११।१४६,१४७

(२३) जनाबाईः— कैंचा नष्ट दुर्योधनें । आम्हां धाडिलें दुर्जनें । कष्टी करितां अंबरुषी । चक्र लागलें पाठिशीं । तेचि गोष्टी झाली आतां । शीघ्र पळावें तत्वतां माझा आशीर्वाद धर्मा । नित्य कल्याणची तुम्हां ३२९।६—९

मुक्तेशः— दुर्वास बोले ऋषींप्रती । थोर अविवेकें पडली भ्रांती । दुर्योधनाचिये युक्ती । तपश्चर्ये नागवलों ॥ अंबरीष करितां कष्टी । चक्र लागले माझे पाठी । तैशीच हेही होईल गोष्टी । उठाउठी पळावें ॥ माझा आशीर्वाद तुम्हांतें । कल्याण करूं सर्वदा ३।११।१४८—१५२

(२४) जनाबाईः— हस्त ठेवोनियां माथां । सुखी असा निर्भय चित्ता । आज्ञा घेवोनी सर्वांची । देव गेले द्वारकेसी ३३०।३,४

मुक्तेशः—हस्त ठेउनी पांडवमाथां । अभय दिधलें समस्तां । आज्ञा मागोनी विश्वकर्ता । जाता झाला द्वारके ॥ ३।११।१६०

(२५) जनाबाईः—सरला थालीपाक आतां । पुढें सावधान श्रोता ।
कथा पुढील गहन । घोषयात्रा-निरुपण ३३०।५,६
थालीपाक ऐकतां । हरि वारी जन्मव्यथा ३१८।१

मुक्तेश्वरः—यापरी सरला थालीपाक । ऐकतां भवभयाचा पंक । नातळत हें कविनायक । व्यास बोले भारतीं ॥ पुढें घोषयात्रा निरुपण । श्रोते परिसोत सावधान ३।११।१६१,१६२

वर हीं जीं उभयतांच्या रचनेंतून समान अशीं पंचवीस स्थळें दर्शविलीं त्यांत प्रसंग, कल्पना, शब्दांचा विशिष्ट उपयोग, अलंकार, म्हणी, आर्तता, विनोद, उपहास हीं सर्व तंतोतंत सारखीं आहेत. कांहीं ठिकाणीं तर शब्दरचना देखील एकच आहे आणि कांहीं ठिकाणीं मुक्तेश्वरांनीं आपल्या नेहमींच्या पद्धतीप्रमाणें शब्दांचें संस्कृतीकरणहि केलें आहे. आणि कांहीं ठिकाणीं जनाबाईच्या अस्पष्ट कल्पना स्पष्ट केल्या आहेत. एकच कल्पना दोघांनीं सहजच पुनरुक्त केली असेल तर तीहि त्याच स्थळीं, काळीं आणि शब्दीं अशी आहे. इतकेंच नव्हे तर या ठिकाणच्या मुक्तेश्वरी ओवींत गेयताहि अधिक आहे. यावरून काय निष्पन्न होतें !

मुक्तेश्वरांनीं आपल्या पूर्वी होऊन गेलेल्या जनाबाईच्या आख्यानाची अनुकृती आपल्या रचनेंत संपूर्णतया केली हाच याचा फलितार्थ. इतक्या उपरहि कोणास शंका असेल तर मुक्तेश्वरांनीं स्वतःच तिचें निरसन केलें आहे. " पुढें घोषयात्रा निरूपण। श्रोते परिसोत सावधान। मुक्तेश्वराचें चित्तसुमन। संतचरणीं सर्वदा" ३।११।१६२. १६१ व्या ओळींत जनाबाईच्या आख्यानाप्रमाणेंच फलश्रुति देऊन येथें तर ते तिला नमनहि करतात. वस्तुत: भारतांतर्गत असलेल्या ह्या एकाच रचनेची फलश्रुति देण्याचें कारण नाहीं. आणि दिली तरी व्यासांच्या नांवावर ती घालण्याचें कारण नाहीं; कारण व्यासांनीं ती दिली नाहीं. तेव्हां ह्याचा सरळ अर्थ असा कीं हें आख्यान भारतांत अन्तर्भूत करतांना ही फलश्रुति व्यासांच्या नांवावर आली. पण जनाबाईचें ऋणहि विसरणें कृतघ्नपणाचें असल्याकारणानें 'संतचरण नमन' असा तिचाहि नमनपूर्वक निर्देश केलेला आहे. यास्तव वरील सर्व विवेचनावरून हें सिद्ध होतें कीं मुक्तेश्वरांनीं आपलें हें आख्यान जनाबाईच्या थालीपाकाख्यानावरून रचिलें.

जी गोष्ट थालीपाक आख्यानाची तीच द्रौपदी-वस्त्रहरण प्रसंगींच्या कांहीं ओव्यांची आहे. पण रा. आजगांवकर ह्यासंबंधीं लिहितात, " हे अभंग म्हणजे मुक्तेश्वरी ओव्यांचें वेडेंवाकडें शब्दांतर (पॅराफ्रेज) आहे." (महाराष्ट्र कवि चरित्रमाला भाग १ ला). वस्तुतः वरील विवेचनावरून हें विधान खंडित होतें. जनाबाईनें जनमनावर आणि कविकरणीवर देखील पुष्कळच प्रभाव गाजविला आहे. मध्ययुगीन अनेक कवींनीं तिच्या रचनेंतील मध्यरात्रींच्या भोजनाचा आणि मायिक पांडवनिर्मितीचाहि उल्लेख केला आहे. श्रीव्यंकटेशस्तोत्रकार देवीदास म्हणतो, "मावेची करूनी द्रौपदी सती। अन्नें पुरविलीं मध्यरात्रीं। ऋषीश्वरांच्या बैसवोनी पंक्ति। तृप्त केल्या क्षणमात्रें" (व्यंकटेश स्तोत्र २१). " दोन प्रहर रात्र झाली ऋषि आले भोजना" असा नरहरीचा धांवा प्रसिद्धच आहे. तशीच "कृष्णा धांव रे लौकरी। संकट पडलें भारी" ही स्त्रियांची नित्य पाठांतील रचनाहि उद्धव चिद्घनाच्या नांवानें अंकित असलेली सुविख्यातच आहे. इतकेंच नव्हे तर वामन पंडितांनींहि या मायिक पांडवांच्या उत्पत्तीचा नि निशाभोजनाचा निर्देश केला आहे. तेव्हां मुक्तेश्वरांनीं देखील तिचें अनुकरण केल्यास नवल नाहीं. पण वरील प्रसंग संपूर्ण असून प्रस्तुत वस्त्रहरणप्रसंग त्रुटित आहे. तेव्हां त्याचाहि थोडक्यांत विचार करूं.

येथें प्रथमच एक गोष्ट लक्षांत ठेविली पाहिजे कीं जनाबाईचीं उपलब्ध असलेलीं हरिश्चंद्रादि आख्यानें संपूर्ण नाहींत. प्रत्येकांतून कांहीं कांहीं भाग गहाळ झालेला आहे. थालीपाकांत देखील अन्नवर्णनाचे कांहीं अभंग हरवले असावेत असें वाटतें. वस्त्रहरणांत तर पुष्कळच भाग गहाळ असून अल्प भाग अवशिष्ट राहिला आहे. पण मुक्तेश्वरांना जनाबाईची रचना एवढी आवडलेली दिसते कीं त्यांनीं तिच्या तेवढ्याच कल्पना आपल्या भारतांत समाविष्ट करून घेतल्या. त्या पुढीलप्रमाणें आहेतः—

जनाबाईः—नष्ट बोले दुर्योधन.
मुक्तेशः—हें देखोनि दुराचारी म्हणे.
जनाबाईः—तुज करीन पट्ट राणी.
मुक्तेशः—होईं अंतुरी पट्टाची.
जः—शब्द प्रत्यक्षचि बाण। अंगीं खडतरे दारुण.
मुः—पापशब्द पडतां कानीं। हृदयीं भडकला क्रोधाग्नी.

ज:—जळो जळो तुझी वाणी। विष्ठा भक्षिसी कां जनीं.
मु:—म्हणे दुरात्मिया ही वाणी। जळो तुझी पापिष्ठ.
ज:—वीज कडाडोनी माथां। पडो दुष्टा तुझ्या आतां.
मु:—प्रळयवीज माथां पडो.
ज:—दृष्टि झडो रे पापिया.
मु:—दृष्टि जळोनि जिव्हा झडो.
ज:—प्राणें विघडो तुझी काया.
मु:—कायेपासोनी प्राण विघडो.
ज:—आयुष्य अंतरपाट धरी.
मु:—आयुष्य अवधीचा अंतरपाट.
ज:—परते करूनी प्राणातें। सुखें सेवी कां एकान्त.
मु:—प्राण पारखे दवडोनी दुरी। मग एकांतीं पहुडे कां.

वरील उदाहरणांवरून तर असेंच वाटतें कीं अभंगांची भाषा ओंव्यांच्या भाषेहून जुनी आहे. ओंव्यांतील कल्पना विकृत होऊन अभंगांत उतरल्या आहेत असें म्हणण्यापेक्षां अभंगांतील कल्पना सुपरिष्कृत होऊन ओंव्यांत अवतरल्या आहेत असेंच म्हणणें अधिक समर्पक वाटतें. पण याहिपेक्षां अधिक म्हणजे मांडीवर गदा बसण्याचा आणि विवाहाचा प्रसंग असतां आणि तेथें बसण्याची कल्पना उचित असतांहि या वर्णनांत विवाह आणि निद्रा दोन्हीहि एकाच स्थलीं वर्णिलीं आहेत. अशी विसंगत रचना मुक्तेश्वर स्वतः होऊन करतील असें संभवत नाहीं. त्यांना अनुकरणाचा मोह पडला म्हणजे ते विसंगतींचें देखील अनुकरण करतात. एरव्हीं रणचत्वराला ' बहुलें ' म्हणून लागलीच पुढें त्यास ' रणमंचक ' म्हणून वर्णिण्याचें ओवीमध्यें तरी कांहीं कारण दिसत नाहीं; त्याचप्रमाणें बसण्याच्या कल्पनेचेंहि पर्यवसान निजण्याच्या कल्पनेंत होण्याचें कारण नाहीं. अस्तु.

आतां महाभारताच्या दृष्टीनें विचार करूं. मुक्तेश्वरांच्या भारतीय रचनेंत हा भाग आला आहे, तेव्हां तो विचार अगत्याचा आहे. या ठिकाणाच्या मागील मुक्तेश्वरी रचना संस्कृत भारतीय श्लोकांचें भाषांतर आहे. पण येथूनच पुढील कांहीं ओंव्या स्वतंत्र आहेत. या मुक्तेश्वरी रचनेपूर्वी भीमसेन दुर्योधनाची मांडी मोडण्याची प्रतिज्ञा करतो ती भारतानुसार आहे, आणि मुक्तेश्वरांनीं ती तदनुरूप दिलीहि आहे. पण त्याच वेळीं द्रौपदीनें दिलेलें हें उत्तर भारतास परिचित नाहीं. संस्कृत भारतांत द्रौपदीच्या समक्ष दुर्योधनानें भीमाला मांडी उघडी करून दाखविली तेव्हां भीमानें ती मोडण्याची प्रतिज्ञा करून त्यास समर्पक उत्तरहि दिलें आहे. वास्तव येथें द्रौपदीनें उत्तर देणें हाच मुळांत अधिक प्रसंग आहे. अर्थात् मुक्तेश्वरांना तो कोठें तरी इतरत्र आढळला; आणि आढळला तो जनाबाईच्या ह्या रचनेंत. तेव्हां त्यांनीं तो तेथून उचलला. येथून पुढें असलेली मुक्तेश्वरी रचना–१२०–१३१, १५०–१६२ ओंव्या–ही गेय वाटते. यावरून तर असेंहि भासतें कीं वर दर्शविलेल्या ओंव्या ज्या अर्थी स्वतंत्र भारतनिरपेक्ष असून जनाबाईच्या रचनेशीं जुळणाऱ्या आहेत, तिच्यावरूनच घेतलेल्या वाटतात, त्या अर्थी मुक्तेश्वरांनीं रचलेला वस्त्रहरणाचा प्रसंगहि कदाचित् जनाबाईच्या " वस्त्रहरण " ह्या प्रसंगावरूनच घेतलेला असावा. परंतु जनाबाईचें हें आख्यान संपूर्ण उपलब्ध नसल्यामुळें त्याजशीं तुलना करून दाखवितां येत नाहीं.

जनाबाई दासी होती आणि मुक्तेश्वर हे महाकवि होते, यास्तव ते जनाबाईच्या कल्पना घेणार नाहींत वा तिच्या रचनेचें अनुकरण करणार नाहींत ह्या म्हणण्यांत कांहींच अर्थ नाहीं. कवि हा मधुकरी वृत्तीचा असतो. रसाळ भाग जेथें मिळेल तेथून तो उचलतो आणि आत्मसात् करून आपल्या स्वतंत्र निर्मितींत उपयोजितो. पूर्व कवींपाशीं एकेक अक्षराची भीक मागून आपण हा चिंध्या देवीचा रूख केला असें मुक्तेश्वर आपल्या भारतासंबंधीं म्हणतात, त्याचें प्रत्यंतर येथें येतें. जनाबाईची योग्यता संतमंडळींत फार मोठी होती. प्रत्यक्ष भगवंत तिचे अभंग उतरून घेण्याचें कार्य करीत अशी आख्यायिका आहे. आणि तिचे अभंग आहेतहि त्याच योग्यतेचे. "आंधळ्याची काठी। आडकली कवणें बेटी", किंवा "गंगा गेली सिंधूपाशीं। त्यानें अव्हेरिलें तिशीं" किंवा "ये ग ये ग विठाबाई। माझे पंढरीचे आई" इ. इ. अभंग कोणा रसिकाचें हृदय उचंबळून सोडीत नाहींत ? जनाबाईची वाणी अतिशय प्रेमळ नि जिव्हाळ्याची असून तींत स्त्रीजनोचित भावनांचें प्राबल्य आहे. तींत प्रसादगुण अतिशय असून सोज्ज्वळ कल्पनाविलासहि विपुल आहे. तिचीं गीतें आजहि पुष्कळ ठिकाणीं अतृप्त मनानें गायिलेलीं वारंवार आढळतात. तेव्हां तिची वाणी मुक्तेश्वरांस आवडल्यास त्यांत नवल तें कोणतें ? तिनें प्रसंगच तसे भावनोत्कट आणि लोकप्रिय निवडले आहेत. ह्या सर्व गोष्टींवरून निःसंदिग्धपणें हें सिद्ध होतें कीं, मुक्तेश्वरांनीं ह्या दोन्ही ठिकाणची रचना (आणि हरिश्चंद्राख्यानाचीहि) जनाबाईपासून उचलली. पण ह्यांनीं ह्या प्रसंगांना आपल्या कल्पनाविलासानें रंगवून, भाषावैभवानें भूषवून, भावनोत्कटतेनें रसाळ करून आणि सहृदयतेनें आत्मसात् करून स्वातंत्र्याची योग्यता आणून दिली. त्यांतून जे भारतांत बसण्यासारखे होते त्यांना आपल्या भारतांत सामावून घेतलें.

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पेशवे दप्तर पत्रें-कालनिर्णय-सुधारणा

श्री. ग. ह. खरे, पुणें

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प्रास्ताविक

इ. स. १९२९ मध्यें मुंबई सरकारनें रा. ब. सरदेसाई यांच्या क्रियाशील मार्गदर्शनाखालीं एलिएनेशन ऑफिसमधील मराठी कागदपत्रें संशोधून इतिहासोपयोगी कागदपत्र नकलण्याचें व त्यांतील कांहीं प्रकाशित करण्याचें काम सुरू केलें आणि तें सुमारें चार वर्षांनीं इ. १९३३ मध्यें संपविण्यांत आलें. येवढ्या अवधींत मराठी कागदपत्रांचे पंचेचाळीस भाग, फार्सी कागदपत्रांचा एक भाग, एक ते पंचवीस भागांचा सूचीखंड, या सर्वांची एक इंग्रजी परिचयपुस्तिका, एलिएनेशन ऑफिसमधील कागदपत्रांची माहिती देणारीं दोन मराठी-इंग्रजी मार्गदर्शक पुस्तकें येवढी सामग्री प्रकाशित करण्यांत आली आणि अप्रकाशित कागदपत्रांच्या नकलांचे एकुणसाठ रुमाल अधिक संशोधनास उपयुक्त म्हणून बाजूस काढून ठेविले.

यांपैकीं फार्सीचा भाग डॉ. नाझिम यांनीं संपादिला आहे. परिचयपुस्तिका सर जदुनाथ सरकार यांनीं लिहिली आहे. मार्गदर्शकांपैकीं मराठी श्री. (आतां डॉक्टर) दिघे आणि श्री. गुरुजी यांनीं तयार केला आणि बाकीच्या सर्व पुस्तकांचें संपादन रा.ब. सरदेसाई यांनीं केलें आहे.

या पंचेचाळीस भागांत एकंदर सुमारें ७८०० पृष्ठें व आठ हजारांवर पत्रें प्रकाशित झालीं आहेत. यांतील प्रत्येक पत्राच्या माथ्यावर उजव्या कोपऱ्यांत पत्राची इंग्रजी तारीख दिली आहे. नंतर पत्राचें बालबोधींत लिप्यंतर, त्याखालीं पत्राचा इंग्रजींत त्रोटक सारांश आणि तळांत शब्दार्थाच्या व इतर समजुतीच्या टीपा दिल्या आहेत. पहिल्या पंचवीस भागांना प्रथम सूचि दिल्या नव्हत्या; पण सव्वीसाव्या भागापासून प्रत्येकास व्यक्तींच्या ठळक नोंदी असलेली सूचि दिली आहे. म्हणजे या सूचींत स्थलनिर्देश तर नाहींतच; पण सर्व व्यक्तीहि नाहींत आणि आहेत त्यांच्या सर्वच्या सर्व नोंदी असतीलच अशी ग्वाही देतां येत नाहीं. पण येथें या प्रकाशनांच्या इतर कोणत्याही गुणदोषांचा ऊहापोह करावयाचा नसून फक्त तारखांविषयीं विचार करावयाचा आहे.

प्रश्नस्वरूप

या पंचेचाळीस भागांत प्रायः पेशवाईंतील पत्रव्यवहार प्रकाशित झाला आहे. या कालांतील कागदपत्रांविषयीं एक महत्त्वाची गोष्ट ध्यानांत ठेविली पाहिजे. जमीनबाब, इनाम, मुशाहिरा, नेमणूक इत्यादि बाबतचे कागदपत्र सोडल्यास बाकीच्या एतत्कालीन कागदपत्रांवर विशेषतः पत्रव्यवहारावर पुरा कालनिर्देश सहसा आढळत नाहीं. समकालीन कागदपत्र आणि त्यांतल्या त्यांत पत्रव्यवहार हीच इतिहासलेखनाची सर्वोत्कृष्ट सामग्री अशी आजची

समजूत असल्यामुळें आज त्या साधनांस आम्ही फार महत्त्व देतों. पण ज्यांनीं पत्रव्यवहार केला ते त्यास मामुली महत्त्व देत असल्यानें त्यांनीं त्यांवर पूर्ण कालनिर्देश करण्याची काळजी घेतली नाहीं. या पत्रांत कधीं कधीं कोणताहि कालनिर्देश नसतो, कधीं नुसता वार सांगितला असेल, कधीं फक्त मुसलमानी तारीख किंवा हिंदू मितीच निर्देशितात, प्राय: हिच्या पूर्वी मुसलमानी अथवा हिंदु महिन्याचा उल्लेख येतो, थोड्या उदाहरणांत महिना, तारीख किंवा मिति व वार येवढा तपशील मिळतो आणि अगदीं थोड्या स्थलीं सालाची नोंद आढळते. वर्षनिर्देश शक, संवत् किंवा हिजरी कालाचा असेल तर तारीख ठरविण्याची यातायात पडत नाहीं. पण तोच निर्देश जर, सुहूर किंवा फसली, अमली इत्यादि वर्षांचा असेल तर मग कालनिश्चयांत अडचण येते. या कालांचें कोणतेंही वर्ष घेतलें तरी त्यांत कोणत्या तरी मुसलमानी महिन्याच्या दहा ते बारा दिवसांच्या तारखा दोनदा येतात. अशा वेळीं त्यांपैकीं एक गट वर्षारंभींच्या व दुसरा साल अखेरच्या तारखांचा असतो. तो कोणत्या वेळचा आहे हें क्वचित् अव्वल साल, अखेर साल असे शब्द घालून दाखविलेलें असतें, पण बहुधा नसतें. हिंदू मितीचा उल्लेख असल्यास पक्षाचा निर्देश बहुधा असतो. पण अगदीं क्वचित् नसतोही. पक्षनिर्देश असला आणि तो शुद्ध पक्षाचा असला तर बाधा नसतो. पण वद्य पक्ष असेल तर तो पूर्णिमांत पद्धतीचा कीं अमांत पद्धतीचा हें पाहावें लागतें. पत्रलेखक उत्तरी असला तर तो बहुधा पूर्णिमांत पद्धत वापरतो. म्हणून पेशवाई पत्रांच्या संपादनाच्या कामीं त्यांवर जे संस्कार करावे लागतात त्यांत कालनिश्चय हा महत्त्वाचा आहे.

तो सोडविण्याचा खरा उपाय

या वस्तुस्थितीमुळें पेशवाई पत्रांचा कालनिश्चय ही एक अतिशय डोकेफोडीची बाब होऊन बसली आहे. हीमध्यें सुलभता आणण्याचा एकच उपाय आहे. हा उपाय ज्यांनीं वर्षानुवर्षे पेशवाई कागदपत्रांच्या अभ्यासांत घालविलीं अशा कै. राजवाडे, कै. वासुदेवशास्त्री खरे, रा. ब. सरदेसाई यांस सुचावयास पाहिजे होता. तो सुचणें मोठ्या प्रतिभेचें काम नाहीं. विशेषतः मोडक, साने, राजवाडे, खरे इत्यादींनीं सुमारें पन्नास वर्षे पत्रव्यवहार हाताळण्याचें काम केल्याबर सुचावयास कांहींच हरकत नव्हती. कोणास सुचलाहि असेल. पण प्रत्यक्षांत कोणाच्याच हातून उतरला नाहीं एवढें खरें. तो म्हणजे मराठी इतिहासाची विस्तृत शकावली करणें. ही तयार करणें वाटतें तितकें सोपें नाहीं हें कबूल. पण एकदां अशी शकावली झाली म्हणजे कोणत्याहि पत्राची तारीख ठरविणें अतिशय सुलभ होईल एवढें मात्र निश्चित. पण अशी शकावली नसल्यानें पेशवाई पत्रांच्या तारखा सुचवितांना अनेकांनीं विविध चुका केल्या आहेत.

कित्येक वर्षांपूर्वी प्रकाशित झालेल्या ऐतिहासिक पत्रसंभाराच्या पुस्तकांचें संपादन प्रायः शास्त्रशुद्ध झालेलें नसल्यानें अशा पुस्तकांतील कोणत्याहि, विशेषतः अपुरा कालनिर्देश असलेल्या, पत्राचा उपयोग करावयाचा असेल तर त्याचा कालनिश्चय अचूक झाला आहे कीं नाहीं हेंच प्रथम तपासून पाहावें लागतें. हिंगणे दप्तराच्या पहिल्या खंडाचें संपादन करीत असतां राजवाडे खंड ६ व पुरंदरे दप्तर भाग १ यांतील कांहीं पत्रें अशा प्रकारें तपासण्याचा प्रसंग आला. तेव्हां त्यांत आढळलेल्या पत्रांच्या चुकीच्या तारखा हिंगणे दप्तर खंड १ व ऐतिहासिक संकीर्ण साहित्य खंड ७ यांत प्रसिद्ध केल्या आहेत. ग्वाल्हेरचे श्री. फाळके यांनीं स्वतः, कांहीं पुस्तकांच्या बाबत केलेला असा प्रयत्न शिंदेशाही इतिहासाचीं साधनें खंड ३

मध्यें प्रकाशित केला आहे. राजवाडे खंड ३ विषयीं कोणीं देशपांडे नांवाच्या गृहस्थानीं व ब्रम्हेन्द्रस्वामी धावडशीकर-चरित्र व पत्रव्यवहार याबाबत कै. राजवाडे यांनीं आपल्या खंड १ मध्यें असे प्रयत्न पूर्वीही केले होते. उपर्युक्त शकावली तयार करण्याचा छंद मीं मनानें घेतला आणि पेशवे दप्तर तपासूं लागलों. तेव्हां तीं पुस्तकें संपादनाच्या बाबतींत जुन्या पुस्तकांच्या वर्गांतच पडतात असें दिसून आलें. अर्थात् त्यांतील पत्रांच्या तारखा तपासून पाहणें आवश्यक झालें. ही तपासणी अजून पुरी व पक्की झालेली नाहीं. पण झालें तेवढें कामहि अभ्यासूंच्या उपयोगी पडण्यासारखें आहे असें वाटल्यानें तें येथें प्रकाशित करीत आहें. रा. ब. सरदेसाई यांनींहि चुकीच्या तारखांची अशी एक यादी तयार केली असल्याचें समजतें. पण ती प्रकाशित झाल्याचें दिसत नाहीं. कालनिश्चयांत संपादकांच्या हातून चुका कां व कशा झाल्या हें दाखवितांना कारणांची संभाव्य मीमांसा केली आहे. तींत त्यांच्यावर टीका करणेंहि प्राप्त झालें; पण अशी चर्चा केल्याखेरीज नवीनास योग्य मार्गदर्शन कसें होईल व तें न झालें तर अधिक शास्त्रशुद्ध काम करण्यांत प्रगति कशी होईल! एवढीच दृष्टि त्या टीकेंत असल्यानें संपादक रागावणार नाहींत अशी आशा आहे.

पेशवे दप्तर संपादनांतील तांत्रिक दोष

उपर्युक्त ग्रंथांचें संपादकीय काम करतांना संपादकांनीं ज्या तारखा ठरविल्या त्यांत मला पुढील दोष आढळून आले. (१) ठरविलेल्या तारखेस मूळांत कितपत आधार आहे हें त्यांनीं दर्शविलेलें नाहीं. यामुळें ठरविलेल्या तारखेपैकीं निश्चित भाग कोणता व अनुमित किती हें समजण्यास मार्ग नाहीं. (२) त्यांनीं ठरविलेल्या कित्येक तारखांपुढें प्रश्न चिन्ह आहे. तें चिन्ह तारखेपुढें आहे कीं महिन्यापुढें समजावयाचें कीं वर्षापुढें धरावयाचें याचा बोध होत नाहीं. वास्तविक ज्या पत्रांत पूर्ण व निर्णायक कालनिर्देश नाहीं त्या सर्व पत्रांच्या तारखा प्रश्नचिन्हांकित आहेत असेंच समजलें पाहिजे. पण प्रश्नचिन्हामुळें असा भास होतो कीं, ज्यापुढें प्रश्नचिन्ह नाहीं त्या पत्राची तारीख निश्चित आहे. तसें मानण्यांतील धोका अभ्यासूला नित्य परिचित असला तरी नवख्याची प्रश्नचिन्हामुळें दिशाभूल होते. (३) कित्येक पत्रांच्या तारखांमागें ती पैवस्तीची तारीख आहे हें समजावें म्हणून Date of receipt, Recd. पौ अशा सारख्या शब्दसमूहाचा किंवा शब्दाचा प्रयोग केला आहे. त्यावरून ग्रह होतो कीं, ज्या तारखांमागें असे शब्द नाहींत त्या तारखा पैवस्तीच्या नव्हत. पण असें मानील तो निश्चित फसेल. कारण ही शब्दयोजना विकल्पानें झाली आहे. याचा अर्थ असा कीं, जेथें हा शब्द-प्रयोग आहे तेथल्या तारखा निश्चयानें पैवस्तीच्या आहेत. पण ज्यांमागें हा प्रयोग नाहीं त्या आहेत कीं नाहींत हें पत्र तपासून जंत्रीच्या साह्यानें ठरविलें पाहिजे. हे दोष संपादनाच्या तंत्रांतील आहेत. पण यापेक्षां अधिक महत्त्वाचे दोष संपादकांच्या हातून झाले असून त्यांचें दिग्दर्शनहि येथें केलें पाहिजे.

अंगभूत दोष

पुढें चुकीचा काल दिलेल्या पत्रांची अचूक कालासह यादी दिली आहे. तिची बारकाईनें पाहणी केल्यास असें दिसेल कीं, तींत चुकलेल्या तारखांचे अनेक प्रकार आहेत. पैकीं कांहीं प्रकार अनभ्यास व अज्ञान यांनीं उत्पन्न झाले असून दुसरे कांहीं घाई व अनवधान यांमुळें झाल्याचें दृष्टोत्पत्तीस येतें. (१) पत्रांत दिलेल्या तारखांचें इंग्रजी

रूपांतर करतांना कोणत्या जंत्र्या वापरल्या याचा कांहींच उलगडा होत नाहीं. पेशवाई तारखांसाठीं सर्व जण सामान्यतः मोडक जंत्री वापरतात. पण संपादकांनीं कोणती जंत्री वापरली हें एक कोडेंच आहे. ज्या जंत्रीप्रमाणें अनेक तारखा जमल्या त्याच जंत्रीप्रमाणें दुसऱ्या कित्येक एक दिवसानें आगेमागें होऊन चुकल्या त्या कां ? (२) कालनिर्देशांत वार असेल तर मिति-निश्चय करतांना टाळा पाहतां येतो. पण अनेक उदाहरणांत कालनिश्चय करतांना वाराचा विचार न केल्यामुळें कित्येक तारखा चुकल्या आहेत. (३) कोणत्याहि मुसलमानी महिन्याच्या तारखा एकुणतीस कीं तीस हा नेहमींच प्रश्न असतो. अनेक उदाहरणांत असें आढळून आलें आहे कीं, याबाबत जंत्री व प्रत्यक्ष निर्देश यांचा मेळ नसतो. अशा वेळीं तारीख ठरवितांना अधिक खोल विचार करणें आवश्यक असतें. तसें कोठें केल्याचें आढळत नाहीं. (७) पत्रांत एकापेक्षां अधिक काल असले तर त्यांचा एकमेकांशीं मेळ बसतो कीं नाहीं आणि नसल्यास कां, हें शोधावें लागतें. पण तो शोध घेतल्याचें दिसत नाहीं. (४) कांहीं झालें तरी रवानगीची तारीख पैवस्तीच्या तारखेनंतर येतां कामा नये. तशी येत असल्यास पत्राची तारीख मागें सारली पाहिजे. पण तसें केल्याचें दिसत नाहीं. शिवाय (५)वर्णित प्रसंगाचें वर्ष धरण्यांत चूक होणें, (६) कालगणना न समजणें, (७) अव्वल-अखेरचा घोटाळा ठाऊक नसणें (८) अमांतपूर्णिमांत पद्धतीशीं परिचय नसणें इत्यादि दोष अनभ्यास व अज्ञान यांचे द्योतक आहेत. पण कांहीं दोष घाई व अनवधान या सदरांतील आहेत. उदाहरणार्थ (१) पूर्ण काल दिला असतां रूपांतर अपूर्ण करणें, (२) वर्ष ठरवून पुढील रूपांतर करतांना मास व तारीखमिति मूळांत असतां रूपांतरांत गाळणें, (३) वार आणि महिना व तारीखमिति एवढा तपशील मूळांत दिला असतांहि त्यांचा मेळ न बसणारे विशेषतः वाराकडे दुर्लक्ष केलेलें रूपांतर देणें, (४) महिना व तारीखमिति यांशीं मेळ नसलेलें रूपांतर देणें, (५) महिने व तारीखमिति यांचा आपसांत मेळ न घालतांच रूपांतर देणें, (६) पत्र धाडण्याच्या कालाचा निर्देश असतांही पोचण्याच्या कालाचें रूपांतर देणें, (७) कारण नसतांही रूपांतर एका दिवसानें आगेमागें होणें, (८) रूपांतर निष्कारण एक महिन्यानें आगेमागें होणें इत्यादि चुका संपादकाच्या हातून घाई व अनवधान यांमुळें घडलेल्या आहेत. आतां या दोषांचीं कांहीं उदाहरणें येथें देतों.

प्रसंगवर्ष

प्रथम पत्रांचीं वर्षें ठरवितांना कशा चुका झाल्या आहेत त्याचीं कांहीं गमतीदार उदाहरणें देतों. (१) गोविंदपंत बुंदेले व बकाउल्लाखान यांची कडा व कुरा परगण्यांबाबत झालेली लढाई प्रसिद्ध आहे. हिचा उल्लेख राजवाडे खंड ३ (प्रकाशनकाल इ. १९०१) मध्यें प्रसिद्ध झालेल्या व गोविंदपंतानें स्वतः लिहिलेल्या एका पत्रांत आला आहे (ले. १३७). त्याच खंडांतील ले. १५१ त्या पत्रास उपोद्बलक आहे. हीं दोन्ही पत्रें कांहीं झालें तरी इ. १७५५ मध्येंच घातलीं पाहिजेत याविषयीं शंका नाहीं. पेशवे दप्तर खंड २७ ले. १०७ हें पत्र त्यांतील मजकुरावरून इ. १७५५ मध्यें घालून त्यांत आलेल्या जमादिलावल २५ या कालोल्लेखाशीं जुळती तारीख ९।३।१७५५ ही त्या पत्राच्या डोक्यावर मांडली आहे. याच पत्रांत गोविंद बल्लाळानें बकाउल्लाखानास पळवून त्याचें तमाम कटक मारून लुटून पस्त केल्याची माहिती आहे. पुढें ले. १२५ मध्यें हीच हकीकत तपशीलवार दिली आहे. तींत गोविंद-बकाउल्ला लढाई माघ शुद्ध १३ शनिवारीं झाल्याचें नमूद आहे. पिल्ले जंत्रीप्रमाणें इ. १७५५ मध्यें माघ शुद्ध १२ शनिवारीं नऊ घटका असून पुढें त्रयोदशी लागते. इतर

पंचागांप्रमाणें त्या दिवशीं द्वादशी याहूनहि कमी असण्याचा संभव आहे. तेव्हां या साक्षी खास करून प्रसंगसमयीं अर्थात् शनिवारीं माघ शुद्ध त्रयोदशी होती असें समजण्यास हरकत नाहीं. इ. १७५६ मध्यें माघ शुद्ध १३ शनिवारींच येते. पण तिचा काळ सारा १६ घटकाच असल्यानें त्या दिवशीं वस्तुतः चतुर्दशीच होती असें समजण्यास हरकत नाहीं. म्हणून साराचा ठोकताळा इ. १७५५ शींच अधिक नीट बसतो. याच भागांतील ले. २१५ मध्येंही गोविंद-बकाउल्ला लढाईची माहिती असल्यानें ले. १२५ व २१५ इ. १७५५ मध्यें घालून त्यांस अनुक्रमें २५।१।१७५५ व ६।२।१७५५ अशा तारखा द्यावयास पाहिजेत. पण संपादकांनीं हीं दोन्ही पत्रें १७५६ मध्यें घातलीं आहेत. ले. २१५ बाबत आणखी एक मौज केली आहे. याच्या मूळांत लेखनाची तारीख रबिलाखर २४ अशी दिली असून लढाईचा निकाल माघ शुद्ध त्रयोदशीस झाल्याचें नमूद आहे. तेव्हां हें पत्र अशा वर्षांत घातलें पाहिजे कीं, माघ शुद्ध १३ नंतर रबिलाखर २४ येईल. इ. १७५५ मध्यें माघ शुद्ध १३ नंतर रबिलाखर २४ येते. उलट इ. १७५६ मध्यें माघ शुद्ध १३ पूर्वी रबिलाखर २४ येते. या मुद्यावरही हें पत्र इ. १७५५ मध्यें घालावयास पाहिजे. पण तसें तर केलें नाहींच. उलट हें पत्र इ. १७५६त घालून वर असें सुचविलें आहे कीं, मूळांतील रबिलाखर ऐवजीं जमादिलावल असावयास पाहिजे. म्हणजे संपादक मूळांतील कालनिर्देशच चूक ठरवूं पाहतात. पण ही संपादनाची ढोबळ चूक आहे, हें येथवरच्या विवेचनावरून ध्यानांत येण्यास हरकत नाहीं.

दुसरें उदाहरण खंड ३८ ले. १ चें देतों. यांत लेखनाचा काल सफर २२ असा दिला असून पैवस्तीच्या कालांत सुहूरचें इहिदे (१) हें वर्ष दिलें आहे. पत्र नाना फडणीसास धोंडो रामानें लिहिलें आहे. संपादकांनीं १ हा सुहूर ११६१ चा शेवटचा आकडा आहे असें समजून या वर्षाशीं जुळती २।१०।१७६० ही पावसाळा संपण्याच्या सुमाराची तारीख या पत्राच्या डोक्यावर मांडली. पण पत्रगर्भांत 'नबाब छावणीस आले. सरदार फौज घरोघर गेले. बाद बरसात श्रीमंताचे आज्ञेप्रमाणें वर्तणूक करितील' असा मजकूर असल्यानें हें पत्र पावसाळ्याच्या आरंभीं टाकलें पाहिजे हें उघड ठरतें. त्यासाठीं १ हा सुहूर ११७१ च्या शेवटचा आकडा धरला पाहिजे. तसें केलें म्हणजे या पत्राचा काल १७।६।१७७० अर्थात् पावसाळ्याच्या आरंभाचा येतो. २।१०।१७६० च्या सुमारास नाना फडणीस भाऊसाहेबां-बरोबर दिल्लीच्या आसपास असून त्यास 'श्रीमंत राजश्री नाना स्वामींचे सेवेसी' असा मायना लिहिला जाण्याइतका तो मोठाही बनला नव्हता व धोंडो रामही क्षितिजावर यावयाचा होता. सारांश, पत्राचें सर्वांग न तपासल्यानें कालनिश्चयांत दहा वर्षांची चूक झाली.

तिसरें उदाहरण खंड २६ ले. २३९ चें देतों. याचा लेखनकाल वैशाख बहुल सप्तमी गुरुवासर आणि पैवस्तीचा समय रजब २२ हे आहेत. पत्र फार तर साताऱ्याच्या आसपासहून साताऱ्यास आलें असल्यानें एक मुद्दा तात्काल लक्षांत यावयास पाहिजे तो हा कीं, वैशाख व रजब हे ज्या वर्षांत जोडीनें आले आहेत व वैशाख वद्य सप्तमीस गुरुवार आहे अशा वर्षांतील हें पत्र आहे. या पत्रास २।५।१७५७ ही तारीख दिली आहे. आतां मोडक जंत्रीप्रमाणें या तारखेस वैशाख शुद्ध १३ येते. वैशाख वद्य सप्तमीस मंगळवार येतो. आणि वैशाखापूर्वी चैत्राच्या संगतीनें रजब महिना येतो. तेव्हां ही तारीख देण्यांत चूकच झाली आहे. इ.१७५१,

१७५४, १७५५ या तीन सालांत वैशाख व रजब जोडीनें येत असले तरी फक्त इ. १७५३ मध्यें वैशाख वद्य सप्तमीस गुरुवार पडत असल्यानें २४।५।१७५३ हीच या पत्राची अंदाजी तारीख ठरते.

चौथें उदाहरण खंड ३० ले. ६९ चें देतों. याचा लेखनकाल वैशाख वद्य चतुर्दशी गुरुवार हा असून ज्या पत्रास हें उत्तर आहे त्याच्या पैवस्तीचा समय रमजान २२ अष्टमी हा आहे. प्रस्तुत पत्र पंतप्रधानांच्या पत्रास त्यांच्या नोकरांचें उत्तर असल्यानें मूळ पत्र आल्यानंतर लवकरच हें उत्तर घातलें गेलें असावें यांत शंका नाहीं. तेव्हां ज्या वर्षी रमजान व वैशाख जोडीनें आले असतील, वैशाख वद्य १४ गुरुवारीं आणि वैशाख वद्य ८ मीस रमजान २२ असे योग येतील त्या सालीं हें पत्र लिहिलें गेलें. या पत्रास १५।५।१७२९ ही तारीख दिली आहे. या सालीं रमजान महिना चैत्राच्या जोडीनें येऊन त्याच्या बावीस तारखेला नवमी येते. फक्त वैशाख वद्य १४ शीस गुरुवार येतो. उलट इ. १७२६ मध्यें वैशाख व रमजान जोडीनें येऊन त्याच्या वद्य १४ शीस गुरुवारही येतो. शिवाय रमजान २२ ला नवमी येते. तेव्हां या पत्राचें साल इ. १७२६ मानणेंच अधिक प्रशस्त आहे. या पत्रांत पंतप्रधानांस पुणियांत राहावें लागतें याकरितां व कारकुनांसाठीं घरें व सदर बांधण्यास सांगितलें आहे. या वर्षीच्या एप्रिल महिन्यांत बाजीरावास पुणें इनाम मिळाल्यानें त्यानें वरील व्यवस्था केली असें दिसतें.

पांचवें उदाहरण खंड ३९ ले. १३३ चें देतों. याच्या लेखनाची तारीख जमादिलाखर २४ ही असून पैवस्तीचा समय २६ जमादिलाखर सन खमस सितैन (मया व अलफ) = २०।१२।१७६४ असा दिला आहे. अर्थात् लेखनाची तारीख १८।१२।१७६४ ही येते. तेव्हां याची तारीख प्रश्नचिन्हांकित १४।१०।१७७० कशी दिली ?

सहावें उदाहरण खंड ३९ ले. १६६ चें देतों. याच्या लेखनाचा समय १ रबिलावल असा दिला असून शिवाय त्याचे आदले दिवशीं मंदवार असल्याचें नमूद आहे. अर्थात् १ रबिलावलला रविवार येतो. या पत्रास before 1761 असा काल दिला आहे. ही मर्यादा अचूक असेल तर फक्त इ. १७५३ जानेवारी ७ लाच १ रबिलावल व आदले दिवशीं मंदवार हा योग येत असल्यानें ही या पत्राची तात्पुरती तरी तारीख गृहीत धरली पाहिजे.

सातवें उदाहरण खंड ४५ ले. ३२ (आ) चें देतों..या नोंदीची तारीख ३० जिल्हेज सीत सितैन (मया व अलफ) = २०।६।१७६५ अशी आहे. पण संपादकांनीं दिली आहे २९।५।१७६७. कशी तें मला तरी समजूं शकत नाहीं.

कालगणना

कालगणना न समजल्याचें उदाहरण खंड ३१ ले. ७० चें आहे. यांत कालनिर्देश 'सुा सन १०९६' असा आहे. याचें रूपांतर प्रश्नांकित १६९६ असें दिलें आहे. मूळ पत्रांत वरच्या सारखा कालनिर्देश आला कीं तो फसलीचा धरावा लागतो हें संपादकांस माहीत नसावें. अर्थात् याचें रूपांतर दक्षिणी व उत्तरी फसलीच्या अनुरोधानें १६८६–८७ किंवा १६८८–८९ असें होईल. इ. १६९६ असें मुतरां होणार नाहीं.

अव्वलअखेर

मोहरमादि मुसलमानी महिने केवळ चांद्र असल्यानें त्यांचें एक चक्र सामान्यतः ३५४ दिवसांचें होतें. यामुळें कोणत्याहि सौर वर्षात या महिन्यांपैकीं कोणत्या तरी एक किंवा दोन महिन्यांतील क्रमिक १० ते १२ दिवसांच्या तारखा दोनदां येतात. इ. १७५२ पर्यंत या तारखा सामान्यतः मे १२ ते जून ७ यांच्या दरम्यान पडत व इ. १७५४ पासून २५ मे ते २० जून यांच्या दरम्यान पडूं लागल्या. इ. १७५२ मध्यें सप्टेंबरच्या कांहीं तारखांचा क्षय केल्यामुळें इ. १७५३ मध्यें मुसलमानी तारखा दोनदां आल्या नाहींत. म्हणून जेथें सुहूर किंवा फसली सनाचा उल्लेख असून मुसलमानी तारीख उपर्युक्त तारखांच्या दरम्यान पडत असेल तेथें पत्रास आरंभींची तारीख द्यावयाची कीं शेवटची असा प्रश्न उत्पन्न होतो. यासच अव्वल अखेर म्हणतात. ह्याचा विचार न केल्यानें पत्राचा काल एक वर्षानें मागेंपुढें होतो. कसें तें पहा. खं. ४३।१३३ मध्यें सु. ११६५ जिल्हेज ८ असा कालनिर्देश आहे. याचीं इंग्रजी रूपांतरें ९।६।१७६४ व २९।५।१७६५ अशीं दोन होतील. पत्रांत कालनिश्चयाचें इतर कोणतेंहि गमक नसतें तर यापैकीं कोणतीहि तारीख पत्रावर देणें योग्य ठरलें असतें. फक्त संपादकानें अव्वल कीं अखेर धरलें त्याचा निर्देश केला पाहिजे. पण येथील उदाहरणांत कालनिर्णयाचें आणखी एक गमक आहे. या पत्रास पैवस्ती सु. ११६५ जिल्हेज २१ अशी घातली आहे. तेव्हां रवानगी व पैवस्ती सु. ११६५ मध्येंच पडतील अशा तऱ्हेनें या पत्राची तारीख बसविली पाहिजे. या पत्रास संपादकांनीं २९।५।१७६५ ही तारीख दिली आहे. पण मग पैवस्तीची तारीख ११।६।१७६५ येऊन सु. ११६६ येतो. तेव्हां संपादक येथें अव्वल अखेरचा विचार न करतांच तारीख घालून मोकळे झाले हें स्पष्ट आहे.

अमांतपूर्णिमांत

उत्तरेस बहुतेक हिंदू समाज महिने पूर्णिमांत मानतो तर दक्षिणेंत तेच महिने अमांत समजले जातात. पण कालनिश्चय करतांना हा मुद्दा लक्षांत ठेवला नाहीं म्हणजे कशा चुका होतात याचीं दोन उदाहरणें येथें देतों. पे. द. ९।१६ हें पत्र त्यांत राधाबाई गयेची यात्रा करून आल्याचें सांगितलें असल्यानें इ. १७३६ मधील आहे यांत शंकाच नाहीं. या पत्राचा लेखनसमय चैत्र वद्य ११ गुरुवार असा दिला आहे. या वर्षी चैत्र वद्य ११ ला अमांत पद्धतीनें शुक्रवार येतो. गुरुवारीं दशमी सुमारें ५४ घटका होती. पूर्णिमांत पद्धतीनें अर्थात् फाल्गुन वद्य ११ गुरुवारीं सु. १५ घटका असून नंतर द्वादशी लागत आहे. अर्थात् येथें दिलेली प्रश्नांकित एप्रिल १७३६ ही तारीख साफच चुकली. अचूक तारीख २६।२।१७३६ ही येते.

दुसरें उदाहरण पे. द. २०।१८६ चें देतों. याचा लेखनसमय पौष वद्य ९ गुरुवार असा व प्रवेशसमय २९ साबान सन सबा असा आहे. यांत पहिली गोष्ट लक्षांत येते ती ही कीं, हें पत्र एक तर पौष-साबान किंवा पौष-रजब या जोड्या ज्या सालीं येतील अशा वर्षी लिहिलें असलें पाहिजे व शिवाय तें सुहूर साल सबांत असलें पाहिजे. असें साल सुहूर ११६७ = इ. १७६६–६७ होय. या सालीं अमांत पौष वद्य नवमी शनिवारीं येते. पण पूर्णिमांत पौष अर्थात् अमांत मार्गशीर्ष वद्य नवमी मात्र गुरुवारीं सुमारें ५१ घटका आहे. तेव्हां येथें पूर्णिमांत पद्धतीच अनुसरली पाहिजे. म्हणून संपादकांनीं दिलेली प्रश्नचिन्हांकित २४।१।१७६७ ही तारीख चूक असून अचूक तारीख २५।१२।१७६६ असावीसें वाटतें.

अनियमित मान

मोहरमादि मुसलमानी महिन्यांच्या दिवसांची संख्या नेमकी ठरलेली नसते. अमावास्येनंतर होणाऱ्या चंद्रोदयानुसार ते कधीं एकुणतीस तर कधीं तीस असतात. पिल्ले जंत्रींत एक आड एक महिन्याचे अनुक्रमें तीस व एकुणतीस दिवस धरले आहेत. मोडक जंत्रींत चंद्रोदयानुसारी दिवस असावे. तरीहि अस्सल कागदपत्रांत असे शेकडों महिने आहेत कीं, ज्यांच्या दिवसांची संख्या जंत्रींतील संख्येशीं जुळत नाहीं. आणि कधीं कधीं दोन दोन तीन तीन क्रमिक महिन्यांबाबत अशीच परिस्थिति असते. यामुळें जंत्रींतील तारखा सामान्यतः एकेक किंवा क्वचित् दोन दोन दिवसांनीं पुढेंमागें होतात. अशा वेळीं वारनिर्देश असल्यास तो प्रमाण धरून तारीख द्यावी लागते. पण येवढा विचार कोठेंच केलेला दिसत नाहीं.

पूर्ण काल

कोणत्याही कालाचा का होईना पण वर्ष, महिना व दिवस यांचे निर्देश असले म्हणजे रूपांतर करण्यांत चूक होऊं नये, किंवा अपुरें रूपांतर देऊन भागविणें योग्य नव्हे. पण यांतही दशकांनीं मोजतां येतील इतक्या चुका व उणीवा राहिल्या आहेत. या उदाहरणांचा विस्तार करण्याची आवश्यकता नाहीं. नमुन्यादाखल २९।२४६, ३०।८५, ३६।३३४ यांचीं रूपांतरें पाहावीं. एका ऐवजीं दोन कालांचीं वर्षे दिलीं तरीहि अशाच चुका झाल्या आहेत. उदाहरणार्थ खं. ३१।२८,३४,३५,७६ यांचीं रूपांतरें पहावीं.

रवानगीपैवस्ती

पत्रांत रवानगीची तारीख असतां पैवस्तीच्या तारखेचें रूपांतर देणें हें अनवधान आहे. पेशवे दप्तर संपादकांनीं अनेक ठिकाणीं अशा तऱ्हेनें तारखा दिल्या आहेत. उदाहरणार्थ २८।२३५-२३७ हीं पत्रें पहावीं. हीं तिन्ही पत्रें गोपाळराव गोविंद (पटवर्धन) व मल्हारराव भिकाजी (रास्ते) यांनीं बंगलूरच्या आसपासहून लिहिलीं आहेत. या सर्वांस पोच तारीख २२ सफर सुा तिसा = २५।१०।१७५८ ही आहे. पण पत्रलेखनसमय १८ मोहरम (२२।९।१७५८) नंतर आहे. वास्तविक या पत्रांस ही तारीख द्यावयास हरकत नव्हती. पण २३५ ला २८।९।१७५८ ही तारीख घातली आणि २३६व२३७स पोच तारीख घालून शिवाय २३७ वर प्रश्नांकित २८।९।१७५८ अशी रवानगी तारीखही घालून ठेविली आहे. खं. ४०।१०५ व ४१।५७,५८ मधील हकीकत केव्हां झाली हें त्या पत्रांत दिलें असतांही त्यांस पैवस्तीच्या म्हणजे पोचेच्या तारखा दिल्या आहेत.

पेशवे दप्तराच्या संपादकांनीं दिलेल्या शेकडों तारखा अशा दोषांनीं चुकल्या असल्या पाहिजेत ही शंका आल्यामुळें सर्व पेशवे दप्तरमालेच्या तारखा तपासणें आवश्यक झालें. याबाबत मीं केलेल्या कार्याचें स्वरूप असें:—

प्रस्तुत कामाचें स्वरूप

मीं या मालेंत छापलेल्या पत्रांना दिलेल्या सुमारें ८५०० तारखा पत्रांत आलेल्या मूळ तारखांशीं ताडून पाहून त्यांचें रूपांतर अचूक आहे कीं नाहीं येवढेंच जंत्र्यांच्या साह्यानें तपासलें आहे. हें करतांना संपादकांनीं दिलेलें वर्ष चुकलें नसेल असें तात्पुरतें गृहीत धरलें. जेथें वर्षाचा अगदींच मेळ बसेना तेथें वर्षांचीही तपासणी केली. अशा तऱ्हेनें केलेल्या तपासणींत आढळ-

लेल्या चुकीच्या तारखा पुढें दिल्याप्रमाणें आठशेंवर आहेत. तेव्हां रूपांतर करण्यांत शेंकडा दहा चुका झाल्याचें दिसतें. ही तपासणी करीत असतां मी पत्रांतील मजकुरास प्रायः शिवलेलों नाहीं. केवळ त्यांच्या बाजूंनीं घिरट्या घातल्या आहेत.

पण ही तात्पुरती तपासणी झाली. पत्रें वाचून व त्यांतील तपशील ध्यानांत घेऊन पत्रांस दिलेल्या तारखा अचूक आहेत कीं नाहींत याची पद्धतशीर तपासणी केली तर माझी खात्री आहे कीं मी येथें सुचविलेल्या कांहीं तारखांत बदल करावा लागेलच; पण अचूक रूपांतरित अशा शेकडों तारखांतही फेरफार करावा लागेल. मात्र त्यासाठीं अहोरात्र दोन एक वर्षे तरी खपलें पाहिजे. एवढें काम केल्यावर माझा कयास आहे कीं, सुमारें दोन हजार किंवा शेंकडा पंचवीस पत्रांच्या तारखा चुकल्याचें आढळून येईल. माझ्या सवडीनें मी हें काम करीत आहेंच. पण इतरांनींही प्रयत्न करण्यास हरकत नाहीं.

कार्यपद्धति

आतां पुढें दिलेल्या मितिशुद्धि मीं कशा तयार केल्या हें येथें थोडक्यांत दिग्दर्शित करतों. त्यावरून मीं याबाबत केलेले परिश्रम, त्यांचें फळ व त्या फळाच्या मर्यादा यांविषयीं वाचकांस अगर खरें बोलावयाचें तर अभ्यासकांस नीट कल्पना येईल.

१ या पत्रसंग्रहावर केलेला अगदीं पहिला संस्कार म्हणजे रा. ब. सरदेसाई यांनींच पत्रांच्या तारखांमध्यें दुरुस्त्या सुचविल्या आहेत त्या माझ्या पुस्तकांत त्या त्या ठिकाणीं नमूद करणें हा होय. श्री. नानासाहेबांनीं या मालेपैकीं पहिल्या पंचवीस खंडांच्या सूची एकत्र छापिल्या तेव्हां त्यांना आढळलेल्या चुकीच्या तारखाही दुरुस्त तारखांसह त्या त्या सूचीच्या आरंभीं दिल्या आहेत. त्याचप्रमाणें पुढील भागांतील चुकीच्या तारखांची दुरुस्ती त्या त्या भागाच्या सूचीच्या आरंभीं दिली आहे. या सर्व सुधारणा मीं आपल्या पुस्तकांत एस्. अक्षरांकित करून अंतर्भूत केल्या.

२ पत्रसंग्रहावर केलेला पुढील संस्कार म्हणजे प्रत्येक पत्रांत आलेल्या कालनिर्देशावर तो चटकन् ध्यानांत यावा म्हणून खूण करणें. हा निर्देश पत्राचा आरंभ, मध्य व अंत यांपैकीं कोणत्याही एक किंवा दोन किंवा तीनही ठिकाणीं आढळून येतो. पैकीं आरंभ व अंत या दोन ठिकाणचे निर्देश खुणावणें सोपें होतें. पण गर्भांतील निर्देश सहज ध्यानांत येणें शक्यच नाहीं. यामुळें असे कित्येक निर्देश माझ्या नजरेंतून सुटले असतील. अशा अलक्षित निर्देशयुक्त पत्रांना रा. ब. सरदेसाई यांनीं दिलेल्या तारखा मला तपासतां आल्या नाहींत.

३ पत्रांवर केलेला तिसरा संस्कार म्हणजे ते कालनिर्देश पत्राच्या डोक्यावर क्रमानें मांडणें. हें काम अवघड नव्हतें. यांत एकच काळजी घ्यावयाची होती ती ही कीं, मूळ पत्रांत असलेला निर्देश व त्याची नकल यांत हस्तदोषानें फरक पडूं द्यावयाचा नाहीं. त्याप्रमाणें शक्य ती काळजी घेऊन हे निर्देश ठरल्या जागीं मांडले.

४ चौथा संस्कार या निर्देशांचें मुसलमानी तारीख, हिंदु मिति व इंग्रजी तारीख यांत रूपांतरें करणें व तीं माथ्यावर मांडणें हा आहे. रा. ब. सरदेसाई यांनीं केवळ इंग्रजी तारखा दिल्या आहेत. बाकीच्या दिल्या नाहींत. तेव्हां त्या प्रत्येक ठिकाणीं सर्वच्या सर्व मांडाव्या लागल्या. इंग्रजी तारखेबाबत फक्त फरक नमूद केला. बाकी निर्देश तसाच

ठेवला. रूपांतरासाठीं मुख्यतः खरे व मोडक या जंत्र्यांचा आणि इ. १६३० पूर्वीच्या तारखांसाठीं व आवश्यक तेथें पिल्ले जंत्रीचा उपयोग केला. खरे व पिल्ले या जंत्र्यांत प्रत्येक तिथीपुढें तिची घटकापळें दिलीं आहेत. उलट मोडक जंत्रींत नाहींत. म्हणून जेथें तिथीची घटकापळें विचारांत घेणें भाग पडलें तेथेंही पिल्ले जंत्रीचा उपयोग केला आहे. अनेक पत्रांच्या कालांचा विचार करतांना असें आढळून आलें आहे कीं, पत्रलेखकानें पत्र लिहिण्याच्या दिवशीं सूर्योदयीं असलेली सूर्यभुक्त तिथी न देतां पत्र लिहीत असतां जी तिथी चालू होती तिचा निर्देश केला आहे. ही परिस्थिति सहज ध्यानांत येत नाहीं. सामान्यतः कालाच्या तपशीलांत वाराचा निर्देश केलेला नाहीं. पण जेथें वारासह तारीखतिथींचा निर्देश केला आहे तेथें पडताळा घेतां येतो. असा पडताळा घेतांना मुख्यतः वरील प्रकार उघडकीस आला आहे.

ही तारखांची तपासणी करतांना माझे हातून एक प्रमाद घडत राहिला. चुकलेल्या तारखेचें कारण मीं जेथल्या तेथें नोंदलें नाहीं. नाहीं तर येथें दिलीं आहेत त्यांहून अधिक समर्पक व नमूनेदार उदाहरणें देतां आलीं असतीं. जमल्यास पुढील हप्त्याचे वेळीं तसें करीन.

त्या हप्त्यांतील सुमारें १५० तारखा सध्या जमल्या आहेत. खेरीज सुमारें ८०० ठिकाणीं इंग्रजी तारखा सहज देतां आल्या असत्या; पण त्या दिलेल्या नाहींत. त्या धरल्यास सुमारें ९०० तारखांतील शोध थोड्याशा श्रमानें देतां येण्यासारखे आहेत. शिवाय प्रस्तुत यादींतील सुमारें ५० बदल मिळून दुसऱ्या १००० तारखांच्या हप्त्याची तयारी जवळ जवळ होत आली आहे. आणि तिसऱ्या हप्त्यांतहि येवढ्याच तारखा याव्या असा अदमास आहे.

हें सर्व काम मीं माझ्या फुरसतीच्या खाजगी वेळांत केलें आहे. कारकुनी कामासाठीं विद्यार्थ्यांची मदत घेतली असून तीबद्दल त्यांस फूल ना फुलाची पाकळी पोचविली आहे. फक्त माझा चुलत भाऊ चि. पां. ना. खरे यानें केलेल्या कामाचा त्यास अपवाद दिसतो. हा खर्च दि इचलकरंजी एज्युकेशन ॲंड चॅरिटेबल ट्रस्टनें दिलेल्या शंभर रुपयांच्या देणगींतून केला असून या देणगीबद्दल मी त्या ट्रस्टचे हार्दिक आभार मानतों.

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आतां येथें पेशवे दप्तरांतील दुरुस्त केलेल्या तारखांची यादी देतों.

पेशवे दप्तर १*

(८) पै. सु. ११६० जखर २ (१२) गुरु। श. १६८१ माघ शु. १४ । इ. २३।११।१७५९ (३१।१।१७६०)

(११) सु. ११६० जवल ७। श. १६८१ पौष शु. ९। इ. २७।१२।१७५९ (२८।१२।१७५९)

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* या यादींत प्रथम मुसलमानी, नंतर हिंदू व शेवटीं इसवी तारीख दिली आहे. पैकीं मूळ पत्रांत आलेला तपशील जाड खिळ्यांनीं दर्शविला असून दुरुस्त केलेली तारीख वाटोळ्या कंसांत घातली आहे. या नोंदींत कांहीं ठिकाणीं नंतर व पूर्वी अशी शब्दयोजना किंवा प्रश्नचिन्ह आहे. त्याचा अर्थ नंतर किंवा पूर्वी अगदीं थोडा काल असा समजावा आणि तो शब्द किंवा तें चिन्ह प्रत्येक रूपांतरापुढें आहे असें धरावें. A. = About असा संकेत आहे.

(१७) जवल १९ गुरु। श. १६८१ पौष वद्य ८। इ. ९।१।१७६० (१०।१।१७६०)
(१८) सु. ११६० जवल २२। श. १६८१ पौष व. ९ मंद। इ. ११।१।१७६० (१२।१।१७६०)
(१९-२०) सु. ११६० जवल २१ मंद। श. १६८१ पौष व. ९। इ. ११।१।१७६० (१२।१।१७६०)
(२२) सु. ११६० जवल २१ शुक्र। श. १६८१ पौष व. ९। इ. १२।१।१७६० (११।१।१७६०)
(३४) पै. सु. ११६० जवल २६। श.१६८१ पौष व. १२ मंगळ। इ. १६।१।१७६० (१५।१।१७६०)
(४१) जखर ३। श. १६८१ माघ शु. ५। इ. २२।१।१७६१ (२२।१।१७६०)
(८४) सु.११६० जखर १७ नंतर। श.१६८१ माघ व.४। इ. १३।२।१७६०(५।२।१७६०)
(८६) पै. सु. ११६० जखर २८ शुक्र। श. १६८१ माघ व. १४। इ. १६।२।१७६० (१५।२।१७६०)
(८८) रजब ४। श. १६८१ फाल्गुन शु. ६। इ. २०।२।१७६० (२२।२।१७६०)

पेशवे दप्तर २

(२) सफर २४। श. १६६८ फाल्गुन व. १०। पै. इ. ५।४।१७४७ (२३।२।१७४७)
(१२, १२a, १२e, १२f) रजब १७। श. १६७१ आषाढ व.२। इ. १९।६।१७४९, १।७।१७४९ (२१।६।१७४९)
(१२d) रजब २१। श. १६७१ आषाढ वद्य ७। इ. १।७।१७४९ (२५।६।१७४९)
(१४) रमजान २८। श.१६७२ श्रावण वद्य ३० नंतर। इ.१८।८।१७५० (२०।८।१७५०)
(१४a) सवाल २६। श. १६७२ भाद्रपद व. १३। इ.१८।८।१७५० (१७।९।१७५०)
(३१) रवल ५। श. १६७२ माघ शु. ७। इ. १२।२।१७५१ (२२।१।१७५१)
(५९) जवल १४। श. १६७७ माघ शु. १४। इ. १।२।१७५६ (१५।२।१७५६)
(८०) पै. जिल्काद ७। श. १६७९ श्रावण शु. ९। इ. ४।७।१७५७ (२४।७।१७५७) पूर्वी
(८१) सवाल २९। श. १६७८ फाल्गुन व. १। इ.१७।७।१७५७ (६।३।१७५७) पूर्वी
(१०२) साबान २३ रविनंतर। श. १६८१ चैत्र व. १०। इ. २१।४।१७५९ (२२।४।१७५९)
($\frac{१४९}{१०}$) जवल १९। श. १६८२ मार्गशीर्ष व. ७। इ. ३१।१२।१७६० (२८।१२।१७६०)

पेशवे दप्तर ३

(८) मोहरम ११। श. १६५५ अ.आषाढ शु.१२। इ. १८।६। १७३३ ! (१३।६।१७३३)
(२१) सफर १८। श. १६५५ आषाढ व. ५ भृगु। इ. १९।७।१७३३ (२०।७।१७३३)
(२२) सफर १८। श. १६५५ आषाढ व. ५। इ. १९।७।१७३३ (२०।७।१७३३)
(३२) सफर २५भृगु। श. १६५५ आषाढ व. १३। इ.२६।७।१७३३ (२७।७।१७३३)
(४८) रखर ७। श. १६५५ भाद्रपद शु. ८। इ. ७।८।१७३३ (५।९।१७३३)
(७१) रवल २१। श. १६५५ श्रावण व. ८। इ. २३।८।१७३३ (२१।८।१७३३)
(१०२) जवल २७ नंतर। श. १६५५ आश्विन व. १४। इ. २७।१०।१७३३ (२५।१०।१७३३)

(१०७) सु. ११३५ मोहरम ३ रवि नंतर । श. १६५६ ज्येष्ठ शु. ५ । इ.२४।५।१७३४ (२६।५।१७३४)
(१११) साबान ११ । श. १६५६ पौष शु. १३ शुक्र । इ. २६।१२।१७३४ (२७।१२।१७३४)
(१२१) पै. साबान १३ । श.१६५७ पौषशु.१४ । इ.।९-१०।१७३५ (१७।१२।१७३५)
(१२६) रजब १२ सोम । श. १६५७ मार्गशीर्ष शु. १३ । इ. ७।११।१७३५ (१७।११।१७३५)
(१२७) साबान २२ । श. १६५७ पौष ब. १० भृगु । इ. ४।१२।१७३५ (२६।१२।१७३५)
(१३८) साबान ९ शनि । श.१६५७ पौष शु.१० । इ.१२।१२।१७३५ (१३।१२।१७३५)
(१४७) साबान १० सोम । श. १६५७ पौष शु. १२ इ. । १४।१२।१७३५ ! (१५।१२।१७३५)
(१५७) साबान ११ । श. १६५७ पौष शु. १२ सोम । पै. इ. १८।१२।१७३५ (१५।१२।१७३५) नंतर
(१६५) जखर १९ । श.१६५७कार्तिक व.५शनि । इ.२५।१२।१७३५ (२५।१०।१७३५)
(१७०) साबान २३ नंतर । श. १६५७ पौष व. १० । पै. इ. ३१।१२।१७३५ (२७।१२।१७३५)
(१७३) रमजान ६ नंतर । श. १६५५ माघ शु. ८ । इ. १।२।१७३४ (३१।१।१७३४)
(१९६) जिल्हेज २०नंतर । श.१६५८ बैशाख व.७ । पै. इ.७।५।१७३६ (२१।४।१७३६)
(१९८) जिल्हेज १८नंतर । श.१६५८ बैशाख व.५ । पै.इ.२३।५।१७३६ (१९।४।१७३६)
(२०९) सु. ११३७ सफर १३ । श. १६५८ आषाढ व. १ । इ. १५।७।१७३६ (१२।७।१७३६)

पेशवे दप्तर ४

(१४) सु. ११८८ जिल्हेज २६ । श. १७०९ भाद्रपद ब. १३ । इ. १३।१०।१७८७ (९।१०।१७८७)
(२१) सु. ११८८ मोहरम ३ । श. १७०९ आश्विन शु. ४ । इ. १९।१०।१७८७ (१५।१०।१७८७)
(२४) सु. ११८८ मोहरम १९ । श. १७०९ आश्विन ब. ५ । इ. ८।११।१७८७ (३१।१०।१७८७)
(३९) सु. ११८८ जखर २७ । श. १७०९ फाल्गुन व. १४ । इ. १४।४।१७८८ (५।४।१७८८)
(४१) सु. ११८८ साबान ५ । श. १७१० बैशाख शु. ७ । इ. १९।५।१७८८ (१२।५।१७८८)
(४२) सु. ११८८ साबान १ । श. १७१० बैशाख शु. ३ । इ. १९।५।१७८८ (८।५।१७८८)
(४४) साबान १० । श. १७१० बैशाख शु. १२ । इ. २३।५।१७८८ (१७।५।१७८८)
(४८) साबान ११ । श. १७१० बैशाख शु. १४ । इ. १८।६।१७८८ (१८।५।१७८८)

(५०) साबान १३ । श. १७१० वैशाख शु. १५ । इ. २०।६।१७८८ (२०।५।१७८८)
(५१) पै. सु. ११८८ साबान १६ । श. १७१० वैशाख व. ३ । इ. २३।६।१७८८ (२३।५।१७८८)
(६२) सवाल २५ । श. १७१० आषाढ व. ११ । इ. २२।७।१७८८ (२९।७।१७८८)
(७२) सवाल १७ । श. १७१० आषाढ व. ३ । इ. २७।७।१७८८ (२१।७।१७८८)
(७४) मोहरम ३ । श. १७१० आश्विन शु. ५ । इ. २।१०।१७८८ (४।१०।१७८८)

पेशवे दप्तर ५

(२) सु. ११७४ जखर १६ । श. १६९५ भाद्रपद व. ३ शुक्र । इ. ४।९।१७७३ (३।९।१७७३)
(८) जिल्काद २४ । श. १६९५ माघ व. १० । इ. ५।२।१७७४ (६।२।१७७४)
(२३) जिल्हेज १३ । श. १६९५ फाल्गुन शु.१४ । इ.१४।२।१७७४ (२५।२।१७७४)
(३९) जिल्हेज २ । श. १६९५ फाल्गुन शु. ४ । इ. २८।२।१७७४ (१४।२।१७७४)
(४१) जिल्हेज १५ । श. १६९५ फाल्गुन व. १ । इ. ९।३।१७७४ (२७।२।१७७४)
(५१) सफर ७ । श.१६९६ अ.वैशाख शु.९ सौम्य । इ. १९।५।१७७४ (२०।४।१७७४)
(५६) रखर २१ । श. १६९६ ज्येष्ठ व. ८ । इ. ३०।८।१७७४ (१।७।१७७४)
(५९) रमजान २७ । श. १६९६ कार्तिक व. १४ । इ. ९।११।१७७४ (२।१२।१७७४)
(८५) जिल्हेज २८ । श. १६९८ पौष व. १४ । इ. १।२।१७७७ (७।२।१७७७)
(९८) सु. ११७९ जिल्हेज १६ । श.१७०० पौष व.३ । इ.४।७।१७७९ (५।१।१७७९)

पेशवे दप्तर ६

(४०) रजब १० । श. १६७२ ज्येष्ठ शु. १२ मंगळ । इ. ४।६।१७५०.(५।६।१७५०)
(४५) रजब १५ । श. १६७२ ज्येष्ठ व. २ रवि । इ. ९।६।१७५० (१०।६।१७५०)
(५७) रजब १४ । श. १६७२ ज्येष्ठ व. ११ इंदु । इ.१९।६। १७५० (१८।६।१७५०)
(५८) रजब २५ । श. १६७२ ज्येष्ठ व.१३ बुध अस्त । इ. १९।६।१७५० (२०।६।१७५०)
(६८) रजब २६ । श. १६७२ ज्येष्ठ व. १४ गुरु । इ. २०।६।१७५० (२१।६।१७५०)
(१११) सु. ११५१ रमजान ६ । श. १६७२ श्रावण शु. ७ । इ. १३।८।१७५० (२९।७।१७५०)
(१४६) रवल १७ । श. १६७२ माघ व. ४ । इ. १।२।१७५१ (३।२।१७५१)
(१४८) रवल १९ । श. १६७२ माघ व. ६ । इ. ७।२।१७५१ (५।२।१७५१)
(१५२) पै. रमजान ३ । श. १६७३ श्रावण शु. ५ । इ. जुलै १७५१ (२६।७।१७५१)
(१५५) जवल १३ मंद नंतर । श.१६७३ चैत्र शु.१५ । इ.एप्रिल १७५१ (३०।३।१७५१)
(१६१) रखर १३ । श. १६७२ फाल्गुन व. १ । इ. ८।३।१७५१ (१।३।१७५१)
(१७०) रखर २१ । श. १६७२ फाल्गुन व. ८ । इ. १९।३।१७५१ (९।३।१७५१)
(२१५) रखर २७ मंद नंतर । श.१६७४ माघ व.१४ । पै.इ.८।३।१७५३ (३।३।१७५३)

पेशवे दप्तर ७

(१०) सु. ११११ जिल्हेज १४ । रा. श. ३७ विकृति १६३२ माघ शु. १५ भौम । इ. २३।२।१७११ (२३।१।१७११)

(१९) साबान ७ । रा. श. ३९ नंदन भाद्रपद शु. ९ भृगु । इ. १९।८।१७१३ (२९।८।१७१२)

(२१) जिल्काद १२ । श. १६७६ कार्तिक शु. १३ भौम । इ. ८।११।१७१४ (९।११।१७१४)

(३४) सु. ११२० सफर ८ । श. १६४१ मार्गशीर्ष शु. ९ । इ. ८।१२।१७१९ (९।१२।१७१९)

पेशवे दप्तर ८

(३) रखर ७ । श. १६५२ आश्विन शु. ९ । इ. ७।१०।१७३० ! (९।१०।१७३०)

(७) साबान १० । श.१६५४ माघ शु.१२ मंगळ । इ.११।१।१७३३ (१६।१।१७३३)

(८) साबान ५ पूर्वी । श. १६५४ माघ शु. ७ गुरु । इ. १२।१।१७३३ (११।१।१७३३)

(९) रजब २९ । श. १६५४ माघ शु. १ पूर्वी । इ. १७।१।१७३३ (५।१।१७३३)

(१०) रजब २९ । श. १६५४ माघ शु. १ पूर्वी । इ. १९।१।१७३३ (५।१।१७३३)

(१२) सवाल १९ मंगळ । श. १६६१ पौष व. ५ । इ. ७।१।१७४० (८।१।१७४०)

(३०) सवाल २० रवि नंतर । श. १६५७ फाल्गुन व. ७ । इ. २२।३।१७३६ (२२।२।१७३६)

(३३) सवाल २७ । श. १६५७ फाल्गुन व. १४ । इ. २९।३।१७३६ (२९।२।१७३६)

(४७) पै. जखर ६ । श. १६६९ ज्येष्ठ शु. ७ । इ. ३।५।१७४७ ! (४।६।१७४७)

पेशवे दप्तर ९

(३) पै. मोहरम १४ । श. १६५२ श्रावण व.१ । इ.१९।८।१७३० ! (१९।७।१७३०)

(४) रमजान ११ । श. १६५४ फाल्गुन शु. १२ । इ.९।३।१७३१ ! (१५।२।१७३३)

(८) रबल २६ । श. १६४२ पौष व. १३ । इ. ४।१।१७२१ (१४।१।१७२१)

(१६) सवाल २४ । श. १६५८ चैत्र (दक्षिणी फाल्गुन) व. ११ गुरु । इ. एप्रिल १७३६ ! (२६।२।१७३६)

(१७) जिल्हेज १३ । श. १६५८ वैशाख शु.१५ नंतर । इ.मे १७३६ (१४।४।१७३६)

(४३) पै.साबान ७ । श.१६५९ मार्गशीर्ष शु.९ । इ.१९।९।१७३७ (१९।११।१७३७)

पेशवे दप्तर १०

(४) रजब २० । श. १६४१ वैशाख व. ७ । इ. १२।५।१७२० ! (१७।५।१७२०)

(१३) मोहरम १ । श. १६४३ कार्तिक शु. ३ । इ. २२।१०।१७२१ (१२।१०।१७२१)

(१४) सफर१८ । श.१६४३ मार्ग व.४सोम । इ.२७।१२।१७२१ ! (२७।११।१७२१)नंतर

(१९) पै. रमजान ८ । श. १६४५ ज्येष्ठ शु. ९ । इ. २९।५।१७२३ ! (१।६।१७२३)

(३१) पै. जवल ५ । श. १६५२ कार्तिक शु. ७ । इ. २६।१०।१७३० (५।११।१७३०)

(३४) जिल्हेज १३ । श. १६४८ श्रावण शु. १५ । इ. १५।८।१७२६ (१।८।१७२६)

(३६) रजब २३ नंतर । श. १६५७ मार्ग. ब. १० । इ. ५।१२।१७३५ (२८।११।१७३५)

(६१) जवल १ । श. १६५२ कार्तिक शु. ३ । इ. २।१०।१७३० (१।११।१७३०)

(६३) पै. जवल ४ । श. १६५२ कार्तिक शु. ६ । इ. २५।१०।१७३० !(४।११।१७३०)

(६४) पै. जवल ४ । श. १६५२ कार्तिक शु. ६ । इ. २६।१०।१७३० (४।११।१७३०)

(६५) पै. जवल ६। श. १६५२ कार्तिक शु. ८। इ. २७।१०।१७३०! (६।११।१७३०)
(६६) पै. जवल ६। श. १६५२ कार्तिक शु. ८। इ. २७।१०।१७३०! (६।११।१७३०)
(७४) रखर २६। श.१६५२ आश्विन व.१३ बुध। इ.४।११।१७३० (२८।१०।१७३०)
(७८) जिल्हेज २ नंतर। श. १६५३ ज्येष्ठ शु. ४। इ.२७।५।१७३१! (२८।५।१७३१)
(९०) जखर १२। श.१६५७ कार्तिक शु. १३। इ.१७।१०।१७३५! (१८।१०।१७३५)
(९७) मोहरम ६। श. १६५८ अधिक ज्येष्ठ शु. ८। पै इ. ७।४।१७३६ (७।५।१७३६)
(१०१) जखर ३०। श. १६५७ मार्गशीर्ष शु. २। इ. A. १०।१७३५!
(५।११।१७३५)

पेशवे दप्तर ११

(६) पै. सफर १६। श.१६५२ अ.भाद्रपद व.३। इ. १९।९।१७३०! (१९।८।१७३०)
(८) रखर ६ गुरु नंतर। श.१६६० श्रावण शु.८। इ. ८।१०।१७३० (१३।७।१७३८)
(१३) रमजान २५ नंतर। श.१६५५ माघ व.१२। इ.१०।२।१७३४! (१९।२।१७३४)
(१८) रमजान २५ नंतर। श.१६५५ माघ व.१२। इ.१०।२।१७३४! (१९।२।१७३४)
(२१) सवाल २१। श. १६५७ फाल्गुन व. ८। इ. २५।२।१७३६ (२३।२।१७३६)
(२६) पै. सवाल २०। श. १६५७ फाल्गुन व. ७। इ.३।१७३६! (२२।२।१७३६)
(२९) सफर ११। श. १६५८ ज्येष्ठ शु. १३। इ. १०।५।१७३६ (१०।६।१७३६)
(३०) मोहरम २४ मंगळ नंतर। श. १६५८ अधिक ज्येष्ठ व. ११। इ. २४।५।१७३६
(२५।५।१७३६)
(३५) जिल्हेज ४। श. १६५९ चैत्र शु. ५। पै.इ. ३।४।१७३७! (२५।३।१७३७)
(३८) रजब २१। श. १६५९ कार्तिक व. ८। इ. ४।१०।१७३७! (४।११।१७३७)
(४१) पै. साबान ९। श. १६६० कार्तिक शु. ११। इ. १७३७-३८ (११।११।१७३८)
(४३) जखर ८ मंगळ। श. १६६० अ. आश्विन शु. १०। पै. इ. १५।८।१७३८!
(१२।९।१७३८)
(४५) साबान १७ रविनंतर। श. १६६० कार्तिक व. ४। इ. २१।१२।१७३५
(१९।११।१७३८)
(४६) पै. साबान २५। श.१६६० कार्तिक व.१२। इ.२९।११।१७३८ (२७।११।१७३८)
(४८) पै. साबान २७। श.१६६० कार्तिक व.१४। इ.३०।११।१७३८! (२९।११।१७३८)
(५४) पै. रखर १०। श. १६६१ आषाढ शु. १२। इ. १०।७।१७३९ (६।७।१७३९)

पेशवे दप्तर १२

(१६) रवल २२। श. १६४९ कार्तिक व. ९। इ. ६।११।१७२७ (२७।१०।१७२७)
(१७) जखर २७ नंतर। श. १६८० माघ व. १४। पै.इ. ४।२।१७५९ (२६।२।१७५९)
(४७) जिल्हेज १२। श. १६५३ ज्येष्ठ शु. १३। पै. इ. ७।५।१७३१ (७।६।१७३१)
(७२) मोहरम ८। श. १६५७ ज्येष्ठ शु. १०। इ. २०।६।१७३५! (२०।५।१७३५)
(७६) पै. जखर १५। श. १६५७ कार्तिक व. १। इ. २३।९।१७३५ (२१।१०।१७३५)
(७९) मोहरम २९। श. १६५८ ज्येष्ठ शु. १। इ. ३१।५। १७३६! (३०।५।१७३६)
(८१) जिल्काद ७। श. १६५८ चैत्र शु. ९। इ. ८।४।१७३६ (१०।३।१७३६)

(९०) रजब २३ । श.१६५८ कार्तिक व.९ । इ. १।११।१७३६ (१६।११।१७३६)
(११२) जखर १८ । श. १६७५ चैत्र व. ६ । इ. १७।९।१७५३ ! (२३।४।१७५३)

पेशवे दप्तर १३

(१६) पै. जवल २८ । श. १६५० मार्गशीर्ष व. ३० । इ. A. १०।१२।१७२८ (१९।१२।१७२८)
(१८) पै. रमजान १० । श.१६५१ चैत्र शु.१२ । इ.२५।१२।१७२८ (३०।३।१७२९)
(१९) पै. जखर २७ । श.१६५० पौष व.१४ । इ.२५।१२।१७२८ ! (१७।१।१७२९)
(२०) पै. रमजान १० । श. १६५० अ. वैशाख शु. १२ । इं. २५।१२।१७२८ ! (१०।४।१७२८)
श. १६५१ चैत्र शु. १२ । इ.१७।१।१७२९ (३०।३।१७२९)
(२१) पै. जखर २७ । श.१६४९ माघ व.१४ । इ.२५।१२।१७२८ (२८।१।१७२८)
(२३) जखर ६ । श. १६५० पौष शु. ८ शुक्र । इ. ३०।३।१७२९ (२७।१२।१७२८)
(२७) पै. रमजान १० । श. १६५१ चैत्र शु.१२ । इ. ३।१।१७२९ ! (३०।३।१७२९)
(३०) पै. साबान ८ । श.१६५० फाल्गुन शु.९ । इ.४।१।१७२९ नंतर (२६।२।१७२९)
(४८) जिलकाद १५ नंतर । श. १६५८ चैत्र व. ३ । इ. १७।३।१७३६ (१८।३।१७३६)

पेशवे दप्तर १४

(६) रमजान ३ बुध । श. १६५४ फाल्गुन शु. ४ । इ. ७।३।१७३३ ! (७।२।१७३३)
(७) मोहरम ५ गुरु । श. १६५५ अ. आषाढ शु. ७ । इ. २४।५।१७३३ (७।६।१७३३)
(१७) रजब २२ । श. १६५६ मार्गशीर्ष व. १० । इ.२२।१२।१७३४ ! (८।१२।१७३४)
(२०) सवाल १४ नंतर । श. १६५५ फाल्गुन व.१ नंतर । इ.१७३४ (९।३।१७३४) नंतर
(५८) जिल्हेज २२ । श. १६५८ वैशाख व. ९ । इ.५।१७३६ ! (२३।४।१७३६)

पेशवे दप्तर १५

(१२) रमजान ५ । श. १६५८ पौष शु. ६ । इ. ।१।१७३७ ! (२७।१२।१७३६)
(३८) मोहरम ८ । श. १६५९ वैशाख शु. १० । इ. ३।५। १७३७ (२८।४।१७३७)
(४९) सफर १३ । श. १६५९ ज्येष्ठ शु. १५ । इ. ८।६।१७३७ (१।६।१७३७)
(६९) मोहरम २५ । श. १६६० वैशाख व. १२ । इ. ३।६।१७३८ ! (४।५।१७३८)
(८४) जिल्हेज २४ । श. १६४९ श्रावण व. ११ । इ. १९।२।१७२७ (२।८।१७२७)
(८५) जिल्हेज २० नंतर । श.१६४९ श्रावण व.७ । इ.१९।२।१७२७ (२९।७।१७२७)
(८६) जु. २४ जवल १२ । श. १६६३ अ. श्रावण शु. १३ । इ. ४।७।१७४१ (१५।७।१७४१)

पेशवे दप्तर १६

(२१) जिल्काद १५ । श. १६५६ चैत्र व. २ । इ. २३।७।१७३४ (९।४।१७३४)
(२२) पै. मोहरम ६ । श. १६५७ ज्येष्ठ शु. ८ । इ. ४।१७३५ (१८।५।१७३५)
श. १६५८ अ. ज्येष्ठ शु. ८ इ. १७३६ (७।५।१७३६)
(२८) रमजान ६ । श. १६५८ पौष शु. ७ । इ. १४।१।१७३७ ! (२८।१२।१७३६)
(३०-३१) पै. रमजान ८ । श.१६५८ पौष शु.९ । १७।२।१७३७ ! (३०।१२।१७३६)

(३२) पै. रमजान ८ । श. १६५८ पौष शु. ९ । इ. १७।२।१७३७ (३०।१२।१७३६)
(३७) जिल्हेज ६ । श. १६५९ चैत्र शु. ७ । इ. २८।७।१७३७ (२७।३।१७३७)
(४५) पै. जिल्हेज १३ । श.१६५९ चैत्र शु.१४ । इ. A. २।४।१७३७ (३।४।१७३७)
(७२) पै. मोहरम २३ । श. १६५९ वैशाख व. १० । इ. ऑक्टो.-नोव्हें. १७३७ (१३।५।१७३७)
(८३) पै. रमजान २३ । श. १६५९ पौष व. १० । इ.२४।११।१७३७ (४।१।१७३८)
(९८) रमजान १ । श. १६५९ पौष शु. ३ । इ. १२।१२।१७३७ (१३।१२।१७३७)
(९९) रमजान ११ । श.१६५९ पौष शु. १३ । इ. १३।१२।१७३७ (२३।१२।१७३७)
(१०२) रमजान ६ नंतर । श.१६५९ पौष शु.८ । इ.१९।१२।१७३७ (१८।१२।१७३७)
(१२०) पै. मोहरम ७ । श. १६६० वैशाख शु. ८ । इ. ३।१७३८ (१६।४।१७३८)
(१२२) पै. मोहरम ७ । श. १६६० वैशाख शु.८। इ. ४।१७३८ (१६।४।१७३८)
(१३२) जिल्हेज ३ । श. १६६० फाल्गुन शु. ५ । इ. ३।२।१७३९ (३।३।१७३९)
(१३३) जिल्काद ३० मंगळ । श. १६५९ चैत्र शु.२ । इ. ३०।१।१७३९ (२२।३।१७३७)
(१३४,१३५) जिल्काद ३० । श. १६५९ चैत्र शु.२ । इ. ३०।१।१७३९ (२२।३।१७३७)
(१४३) जिल्हेज ८ । श. १६५९ चैत्र शु. ९ । इ. ८।३।१७३७. (२९।३।१७३७)
श. १६६० फाल्गुन शु. १० । इ. २९।३।१७३९ (८।३।१७३९)
(१५५) मोहरम ५ । श. १६६१ चैत्र शु. ६ । इ. २।४।१७३९ (३।४।१७३९)
(१५९) मोहरम २३ । श. १६६१ चैत्र व. १० । इ. १०।४।१७३९ ! (२१।४।१७३९)
(१७६) सफर २० । श. १६६१ वैशाख व. ७ । इ. २३।५।१७३९ (१८।५।१७३९)

पेशवे दप्तर १७

(१६) जखर २१ । श. १६५१ पौष व. ७ । इ. १७३० ! (३१।१२।१७२९)
(३०) जवल २८ । श. १६५३ कार्तिक व. ३० । इ. १७।११।१७३१ ! (१८।११।१७३१)
(३३) मोहरम १० । श.१६५४ आषाढ शु.१० गुरु । इ.५।७।१७३२ ! (२२।६।१७३२)
(४०) मोहरम ७ । श. १६५८ अ. ज्येष्ठ शु. ९ । इ. २९।५।१७३४ ! (८।५।१७३६)
(६३) रवल ६ । श. १६५८ आषाढ शु. ९ । इ. ५।६।१७३६ ! (५।७।१७३६)
(६६) रखर १४ । श. १६५८ श्रावण व. १ । इ. १२।८।१७३६ ! (११।८।१७३६)
(७३) रजब १४ । श. १६५९ कार्तिक व. १ । इ. ५।११।१७३७ ! (२८।१०।१७३७)
(९६) सवाल १५। श. १६६१ पौष व. २ । इ. ६।१।१७४० ! (४।१।१७४०)

पेशवे दप्तर १८

(१२) रजब १३ । श. १६५९ कार्तिक शु. १५ । इ. २७।११।१७३७ (२७।१०।१७३७)
(१७) पै. जिल्हेज २ । श. १६६० फाल्गुन शु. ४ । इ. २।२।१७३९ ! (२।३।१७३९)
(२९) सवाल २ । श. १६५६ फाल्गुन शु.४ । इ. A. १२।२।१७३५ ! (१५।२।१७३५)
(४९) जखर १५ । श. १६७२ वैशाख व. १ । इ. २।५।१७५० (११।५।१७५०)
(५०) जिल्हेज २६ । श. १६७३ कार्तिक व. १३ । इ. १५।११।१७५१ (४।११।१७५१)
(९०) जिल्काद ९ । श.१६७० कार्तिक शु.११ । इ. २४।१०।१७४८ (२१।१०।१७४८)
(१०१) जिल्हेज २० । श. १६६८ पौष व. ६ । इ. २३।१२।१७४६ (२२।१२।१७४६)

(१२०) पै. सु. ११६० जिल्काद ७। श. १६८१ आषाढ शु. ९। इ. ३।६।१७५९ (३।७।१७५९)
(१३९) जिल्हेज १२।श.१६६८ पौष शु.१४ इंदु.। इ.१४।१२।१७४६ (१५।१२।१७४६)
(१४७) सवाल २६। श. १६७९ आषाढ व. १३। इ. २९।६।१७५७ (१४।७।१७५७)
(१५९) सु. ११६१ रवल २३। श. १६८२ आश्विन व. १०। पै. इ. १८।१२।१७६० (२।११।१७६०)

पेशवे दप्तर १९

(४) रखर २९। श. १६८४ मार्गशीर्ष शु. १। इ. १२।१।१७६३ (२७।११।१७६१)
(७) सु. ११६३ रवल ७। श. १६८४ आश्विन शु.९। इ.१।९।१७६२ (२६।९।१७६२)
(९) मोहरम २७। श. १६८६ आषाढ व. १४। इ. A ८।१७६४ (२७।७।१७६४)
(१६) रखर २२। श. १६८५ आश्विन व. ९। इ. १९।११।१७६३ (३०।१०।१७६३)
(१८) पै. मोहरम २१। श.१६८६ आषाढ व.८। इ. २९।७।१७६४ (२१।७।१७६४)
(१९) सु. ११६५ सफर १४। श. १६८६ श्रावण व. २। इ. १२।८।१७६४ (१३।८।१७६४)
(३५) सवाल १२ नंतर। श.१६८८ अधिक चैत्र शु.१३। इ.६।४।१७६६(२४।३।१७६६)
(४९) मोहरम २२। श. १६८९ ज्येष्ठ व. ९ मंद। इ. २१।६।१७६७ (२०।६।१७६७)
(५०) मोहरम २२। श. १६८९ ज्येष्ठ व. ९। इ. २७।६।१७६७ (२०।६।१७६७)
(५९) रखर २४। श. १६८९ भाद्रपद व. ११। इ. १७।९।१७६७ (१८।९।१७६७)
(६१) रखर २६ रवि। श.१६८९ भाद्रपद व.१३। इ. १९।९।१७६७ (२०।९।१७६७)
(७६) मोहरम १९। श. १६९० ज्येष्ठ व. ५। इ. ३१।५।१७६८ (५।६।१७६८)
(९२) रवल २४। श. १६९० अधिक श्रावण व. ११। इ.९।८।१७६८ (८।८।१७६८)
(९३) सु. ११६८ रखर ३०। श. १६९० आश्विन शु. १। इ. २४।९।१७६८ (२४।९।१७६७)
(१०१) सु. ११७० रजब १३। श. १६९१ कार्तिक शु. १५ इंदु। इ. ६।११।१७६९ (१३।११।१७६९)

पेशवे दप्तर २०

(२) जवल ८। श. १६४० चैत्र शु. १०। इ. ३०।४।१७१८ ? (३०।३।१७१८)
(४) मोहरम १४। श. १६४७ भाद्रपद शु.१५। पै.इ.१४।९।१७२५ ? (११।९।१७२५)
(१०) पै. जिल्हेज ३०। श. १६५० श्रावण शु. २। इ. ५।७।१७२८ (२७।७।१७२८)
(१५) जिल्काद २०। श.१६५६ चैत्र व. ७ भानु। इ.१६।४।१७३४ (१४।४।१७३४)
(१९) मोहरम २। श. १६६० वैशाख शु. ३। इ. १७३८ ! (११।४।१७३८)
(२२) सवाल १०। श. १६६३ मार्गशीर्ष शु. १२। इ. १७४१ ! (८।१२।१७४१)
(४१) जिल्काद १। श. १६६८ मार्गशीर्ष शु. ३। इ. ५।११।१७४६ (४।११।१७४६)
(५०) सफर २९। श. १६६९ फाल्गुन शु. १। इ. २४।२।१७४८ ! (१८।२।१७४८)
(५५) जिल्हेज २९। श.१६७१ मार्गशीर्ष शु.१। इ.१९।११।१७४९ ! (२९।११।१७४९)
(६७) रजब २१। श. १६७२ ज्येष्ठ व. ७। इ. १६।६।१७५० ! (१५।६।१७५०)
(६८) रजब २२। श. १६७२ ज्येष्ठ व. ८। इ. १६।७।१७५० ! (१६।६।१७५०)

(७९) जवल १५ । श. १६७६ फाल्गुन व. १ । इ. २६।२।१७५५ (२७।२।१७५५)
(८२) जवल २१ । श. १६७७ माघ व. ७ । इ. २२।३।१७५६ ? (२२।२।१७५६)
(८३) रमजान ६ । श. १६७८ ज्येष्ठ शु. ७ । इ. १७५६ ? (५।६।१७५६)
(८४) रवल ५ । श. १६७८ मार्गशीर्ष शु. ७ । इ. १७५६ ? (२८।११।१७५६)
(८५) रवल २३ । श. १६७८ मार्गशीर्ष व. १० । इ. १७५६ ? (१६।१२।१७५६)
(९५) रजब १५ नंतर । श. १६७९ फाल्गुन व.१ । इ. २२।५।१७५८ (२५।३।१७५८)
(१०२) रवल २० । श. १६८१ कार्तिक व. ७ । इ. ११।१०।१७५९ (११।११।१७५९)
(११९) जखर ६ । श. १६८१ माघ शु. ८ । इ. २९।१।१७६० (२५।१।१७६०)
(१२१) जखर २० । श. १६८१ माघ व. ७ । इ. १५।२।१७६० ? (८।२।१७६०)
(१२३) सफर २६ । श. १६८२ भाद्रपद व. १३ । इ. ७।१०।१७६० ? (६।१०।१७६०)
(१२५) रखर ९ । श. १६८२ मार्गशीर्ष शु. ११ । इ. १।१२।१७६० ? (२१।१२।१७५७)
(१३०) रखर २८ । श. १६८४ कार्तिक व. ३० । इ. १४।११।१७६२ ?(१५।११।१७६२)
(१३८) रजब ११नंतर । श. १६८४ माघ शु. १२ । इ. ४।४।१७६३ (२६।१।१७६३)
(१४२) जखर ५ । श. १६८६ मार्गशीर्ष शु. ६ । इ. ४।१२।१७६४ (२९।११।१७६४)
(१४८) सवाल २७ । श. १६८७ चैत्र व. १३ । इ. १३।५।१७६५ (१८।४।१७६५)
(१५१) सफर १३ । श. १६८७ श्रावण शु. १५ । इ. २७।७।१७६५ (१।८।१७६५)
(१५६) पै. जवल १ । श. १६८७ कार्तिक शु. ३ । इ.४।११।१७६५ (१७।१०।१७६५)
(१६८) रजब २६ । श. १६८७ पौष व. १२ । इ. १८।१।१७६६ ? (८।१।१७६६)
(१७६) रमजान ३० । श.१६८८ अधिक चैत्र शु.२ । इ. ५।४।१७६६ (१२।३।१७६६)
(१८१) रजब १७ । श. १६८८ मार्गशीर्ष व.४ । इ.३०।१२।१७६६ ? (२०।१२।१७६६)
(१८६) रजब २२ । श. १६८८ पौष व. ९ गुरु (दक्षिणी मार्ग.) । इ. २४।१।१७६७ ? (२५।१२।१७६६)
(१९२) जिल्काद १७ । श. १६९० चैत्र व. ३ । इ. ५।५।१७६८ (५।४।१७६८)
(१९६) जवल २९ । श. १६९० आश्विन शु. १ । इ. २९।९।१७६८ (११।१०।१७६८)
(२०१) रजब २७ । श. १६९० कार्तिक व. १४ । इ. १।१२।१७६८ (८।१२।१७६८)
(२१३) रमजान २ । श. १६९० पौष शु. ३ । इ. ७।१।१७६९ (११।१।१७६९)
(२१४) साबान २१ । श. १६९० मार्गशीर्ष व. ८ । इ. ७।१।१७६९ (३१।१२।१७६८)
(२२२) रमजान ६ नंतर । श. १६९० पौष शु. ८ । इ. १४।२।१७६९ (१५।१।१७६९)
(२३९) सु.११६९ सवाल १९ । श.१६९० माघ व.७ । इ.२९।२।१७६९ (२७।२।१७६९)
(२४५) सवाल २८ गुरु । श. १६९० फाल्गुन शु. १ । इ. ७।३।१७६९ (९।३।१७६९)
(२४९) सवाल २२ । श. १६९० माघ व. ९ । इ. ९।३।१७६९ (२।३।१७६९)
(२५४) सु. ११६९ जिल्काद ७ । श. १६९० फाल्गुन शु. ९ । इ. १०।३।१७६९ (१६।३।१७६९)
(२५५) सु. ११६९ जिल्काद १५ । श. १६९० फाल्गुन व. २ । इ. १७।३।१७६९ (२४।३।१७६९)
(२५७) पै. जिलकाद १८ । श.१६९० फाल्गुन व.५ । इ.१७।३।१७६९ (२७।३।१७६९)
(२६१) सवाल १५ । श. १६९० माघ व. ३ । इ. २६।३।१७६९ (२३।२।१७६९)

(२६६) सु. ११६९ जिल्काद २२ । श. १६९० फाल्गुन व. ९ । इ. २।४।१७६९ (११।३।१७६९)

(२८३) जिल्हेज १२ । श. १६९१ चैत्र शु. १५ । इ. १९।५।१७६९ (२०।४।१७६९)

(२८४) जवल १५ । श. १६९१ भाद्रपद व. १ । इ. २०।९।१७६९ (१६।९।१७६९)

(२९४) सु. ११७० जिल्काद २२ । श. १६९१ फाल्गुन व. ९ । इ. २०।३।१७७० (२१।३।१७७०)

(२९६) रजब २३ । श.१६९१ कार्तिक व.१० । इ.२२।११।१७७० (१२।११।१७७०)

(२९८) जिल्हेज ९ । श.१६९३ फाल्गुन शु.९ मंद । इ. १३।३।१७७२ ! (१४।३।१७७२)

(२९९) जिल्हेज ११ । श. १६९४ फाल्गुन शु. १३ भृगु । इ. ५।३।१७७३ !, १७।३।१७७३ ! (५।३।१७७३)

(३०३) सवाल १ । श. १६९५ पौष शु. ३ । इ. १४।१।१७७४ ! (१६।१२।१७७३)

पेशवे दप्तर २१

(६) जवल ८ । श. १६६५ आषाढ शु. १० । इ. १९।६।१७४३ ! (२०।६।१७४३)

(११) जिल्हेज १४ । श. १६६६ पौष शु. १५ । इ. १७।१।१७४५ (७।१।१७४५)

(२९) सवाल १६ । श. १६७२ भाद्रपद व. ३ । इ. ३०।७।१७५० ! (७।९।१७५०)

(७४) मोहरम ९ नंतर । श. १६७७ आश्विन शु. १२ । इ. A. २०।१०।१७५५ (१६।१०।१७५५)

(९०) रवल १७ नंतर । श.१६८३ आश्विन व.३ ।पै इ.२३।११।१७६१ (१६।१०।१७६१)

(९९) जवल १६ । श. १६७८ माघ शु.१४ बुधनंतरच्या रविनंतर । इ.१०।२।१७५७ (६।२।१७५७)

(१२८) रमजान ९ नंतर । श.१६७९ ज्येष्ठ शु.१० । इ.९।६।१७५७ ! (२८।५।१७५७)

(१६४) मोहरम २३ ।श.१६७९अ. आश्विन व.११ ।इ.२७।९।१७५८! (८।१०।१७५७)

(१७२) सु. ११६० सवाल ११ । श. १६८१ ज्येष्ठ शु. १२ । इ. ७।५।१७५९ (७।६।१७५९)

(२०४) सु. ११६१ सवाल २० । श. १६८२ ज्येष्ठ व. ६ । इ. २।६।१७६१ (५।६।१७६०)

पेशवे दप्तर २२

(९) सु. ११२९ साबान १२, १३, १८, २२, २६, २८, २९, ३०	श. १६५० फाल्गुन शु. १३, १४, वद्य ५, ९, १३, ३०, श. १६५१ चैत्र शु. १, २	इ. १७२९ मार्च १, २, ७, ११, १५, १७, १८, १९	इ. १७२९ मार्च २, ३, ८, १२, १६, १८, १९, २०

(२२) सु. ११२९ जिल्हेज २ । श. १६५० आषाढ शु. ३ । इ. ४।७।१७२८ (२९।६।१७२८)

सु. ११२९ जिल्हेज ७ । श.१६५० कीलक आषाढ शु.९ गुरु । इ.६।७।१७२८ (४।७।१७२८)

(४७) जिल्हेज १ । श. १६५२ आषाढ शु. ३ । इ. ७।७।१७३० (७।६।१७३०)

(५०) सफर १३ । श. १६५२ अ. भाद्रपद शु.१४ । इ.१६।९।१७३० (१६।८।१७३०)

(५०) रखर १। श. १६५२ आश्विन शु. ३। इ. ३।९।१७३० (३।१०।१७३०)
(७०) रजब १। श. १६५३ पौष शु. २। ३०।१२।१७३१ (१९।१२।१७३१)
(११०) सु. ११३६ रखर ४। श. १६५७ भाद्रपद शु. ६। इ. १२।१०।१७३५ (१२।८।१७३५)
(२१९) सफर १०। श. १६९४ वैशाख शु. १२। इ. १०।५।१७७२ (१४।५।१७७२)
(२२२) जवल १। श. १६९४ श्रावण शु. २। इ. ९।८।१७७२ (१।८।१७७२)
(२२७) सु. ११७३ सवाल ४। श. १६९४ पौष शु. ५। इ. २९।१२।१७७२ (२९।१२।१७७२).
(२६७) सु. १२०८ सवाल १। श. १७२९ मार्गशीर्ष शु. २। इ. १।११।१८०७ (१।१२।१८०७)
(२७९) सु. १२११ जवल २६। श. १७३२ ज्येष्ठ व. १३। इ. २९।७।१८१० (२९।६।१८१०)
(२८१) फ. ११४४। श. १६५७ चैत्र शु. ११ सोम। इ. १४।३।१७३५ (२४।३।१७३५)
(२९४) रवल ११। श. १६५७ श्रावण शु. १३ सोम। इ. २४।७।१७३५ (२१।७।१७३५)
(३०८) साबान ८। श. १६५७ पौष शु. ९ शुक्र। इ. ११।१२।१७३५ (१२।१२।१७३५)
(३२९) मोहरम २३। श. १६५८ अ. ज्येष्ठ व. १२ सोम। इ. २६।५।१७३६ (२४।५।१७३६)
(३३०) सफर १। श. १६५८ ज्येष्ठ शु. ३ सोम। इ. २३।५।१७३६ (३१।५।१७३६)
(३३४) रखर ३। श. १६५८ श्रावण शु. ५। इ. २८।७।१७३६ (३१।७।१७३६)
(३५३) मोहरम ९। श. १६५९ वैशाख शु. ११। इ. ६।५।१७३७ (२९।४।१७३७)
(३५९) जवल १९। श. १६५९ भाद्रपद व. ८ रवि। इ. ६।९।१७३७ (४।९।१७३७)
(३९५) सफर ३। श. १६६१ वैशाख शु. ५ मंगळ। इ. २।५।१७३९ (१।५।१७३९)

पेशवे दप्तर २३

(११) रवल ९। श. १६६७ चैत्र शु. ११। इ. ८।४।१७४५ ! (१।४।१७४५)
(१९) सवाल ८। श. १६६९ स. १८०३ आश्विन शु. ९ शुक्र। इ. १।९।१७४७ (२।१०।१७४७)
(२०) पै. जवल २८। श. १६७० वैशाख व. ३०। इ. १७४८ ! (१६।५।१७४८)
(४०) सफर १७। श. १६७२ पौष व. ५। इ. ३।१।१७५१ (५।१।१७५१)
(४७) सवाल १ कुज। श. १६७३ भाद्रपद शु. ३। इ. २१।८।१७५१ (१३।८।१७५१)
(५२) सु. ११५३ जिल्हेज ३। श. १६७४ आश्विन शु. ४। इ. १४।१०।१७५२ (११।१०।१७५२)
(९१) सवाल ७। श. १६८० ज्येष्ठ शु. ८। इ. १५।६।१७५८ ! (१४।६।१७५८)
(९५) रवल १७। श. १६८० माघ व. ५। इ. ! (२४।१।१७५२) पूर्वी !

पेशवे दप्तर २४

(३) पै. मोहरम १६। श. १६६३ चैत्र व. २। इ. २६।३।१७४१ ! (२३।३।१७४१)
(४) मोहरम ९। श. १६६३ चैत्र शु. ११। इ. १६।४।१७४१ (१६।३।१७४१)
(१५) जखर ५ बुध। श. १६६९ ज्येष्ठ शु. ६। इ. ३।५।१७४७ (३।६।१७४७)

(४८) साबान २६ । श. १६६८ भाद्रपद ब. १३ । इ. ३।८।१७४६ (२।९।१७४६)
(५०) रमजान २७ । श. १६६८ आश्विन ब. १४ । इ. ३।९।१७४६ ! (२।१०।१७४६)
(५४) मोहरम २३ । श.१६७२ मार्गशीर्ष ब.१० । इ.११।१२।१७५० ! (१२।१२।१७५०)
(६४) रजब २६ नंतर । श.१६७१ आषाढ ब.१२ । इ.डिसेंबर १७४९पूर्वी (३०।६।१७४९)
(८२) सफर १९ । श. १६६९ माघ ब. ५ । इ. २६।१।१७४८ (८।२।१७४८)
(८३) सफर २७ । श. १६७४ मार्गशीर्ष ब. १४ । इ. ८।१।१७५३ (३।१।१७५३)
(८७) रवल ५ । श. १६७४ पौष शु. ७ । इ. ३१।१।१७५३ (११।१।१७५३)
(९१) जवल २३ । श. १६७६ फाल्गुन ब. १० । इ. ८।३।१७५५ (७।३।१७५५)
(९८) मोहरम २९ । श. १६६९ पौष ब. ३० । इ. २९।१।१७४८ (१९।१।१७४८)
(९९) सफर १७ नंतर । श. १६६९ माघ व. ३ । इ. १५।२।१७४८ (६।२।१७४८)
(१००) सफर ८ । श. १६७५ मार्गशीर्ष शु. ९ । इ. १५।१२।१७५३ (४।१२।१७५३)
(१०५) रजब १५ । श. १६७८ चैत्र व. २ । इ. १८।३।१७५६ (१६।४।१७५६)
(१२२) जवल १४ । श. १६७७ माघ शु. १४ । इ. १६।२।१७५६ (१५।२।१७५६)
(१७४) रमजान १० । श. १६७८ ज्येष्ठ शु. ११ । इ. ११।६।१७५६ (९।६।१७५६)
(१७६) जिल्हेज २७ । श. १६८८ वैशाख ब. १४ । इ. १७६६ ! (६।६।१७६६)
(१९१) रजब ४ । श. १६८० फाल्गुन शु. ६ । इ. ४।४।१७५९ (४।३।१७५९)
(१९३) रजब १७ । श. १६८० फाल्गुन व. ४ । इ. १७।४।१७५९ (१७।३।१७५९)
(१९५) पै. रजब ४ । श. १६७९ फाल्गुन शु. ५ । इ.१३।४।१७५८ ! (१४।३।१७५८)
(१९७) मोहरम ५ । श. १६८० भाद्रपद शु. ७ । इ. २०।८।१७५८ (९।९।१७५८)
(२००) मोहरम १७ । श. १६८० भाद्रपद ब.५ । इ.२१।१०।१७५८ (२१।९।१७५८)
(२१०) पै. जखर ५ । श. १६८० माघ शु. ७ । इ. ४।१।१७५९ (४।२।१७५९)
(२१४) रवल २४ । श. १६८० कार्तिक व. ११ नंतर । इ. १।१७५९ (२६।११।१७५८)
(२२४) जवल २५ । श. १६८० पौष व. १२ । इ. २४।२।१७५९ (२५।१।१७५९)
(२४१) जवल २९ । श. १६७३ वैशाख शु. १ । इ. ७।४।१७५१ (१५।४।१७५१)
(२४८) रखर १९ । श.१६८१मार्गशीर्ष व.७ । इ.३०।११।१७५९ ! (१०।१२।१७५९)
(२६४) जिल्काद १५ । श.१६८२ आषाढ ब.१ । इ.२६।९।१७६० ! (२९।६।१७६०)

पेशवे दप्तर २५

(३) मोहरम । श. १६६३ चैत्र । इ. एप्रिल १७४१ ! (मार्च १७४१)
(४) मोहरम २३ बुध । श. १६६४ फाल्गुन व.१० । इ.१३।२।१७४५ (९।३।१७४३)
(५९) जवल १७ । श. १६६९ वैशाख व. ५ । इ. १८।५।१७४७ (१७।५।१७४७)नंतर
(७२) जखर २६ । श. १६६९ ज्येष्ठ ब. १३ । इ. २६।६।१७४७ ! (२४।६।१७४७)
(१११) रखर १५ । श. १६७२ फाल्गुन व. २ । इ. २०।२।१७५१ (३।३।१७५१)
(१२२) जरवर ७ । श.१६७३ वैशाख शु.१०मंगळ ।पै इ.२६।४।१७५१! (२३।४।१७५१)
(१७९) रवल १७ । श. १६७९ कार्तिक व.५ । इ. १।१२।१७५७ (३०।११।१७५७)
(१९६) सु. ११६० जिल्हेज २३ नंतर । श.१६८१ श्रावण व. १० । इ. १८।८।१७५९
(१७।८।१७५९)
(२०२) पै.रखर १ । श.१६८१ मार्गशीर्ष शु.३ । इ.२१।११।१७५९ ! (२२।११।१७५९)

(२०८) सु. ११६० रखर ५ । श. १६८१ मार्गशीर्ष शु. ७ । इ. २६।१२।१७५९ (२६।११।१७५९)
(२०९ – ११) जवल ६ शुक्र । श. १६८१ पौष शु. ९ । इ. २७।१२।१७५९ (२८।१२।१७५९)
(२१२) जवल ७ शनि । श. १६८१ पौष शु. १० । इ. २८।१२।१७५९ (२९।१२।१७५९)
(२५९) जखर ११ बुध । श. १६८१ माघ शु. १३ । इ. ३१।१।१७६० (३०।१।१७६०)
(२६५) सु. ११६० जरवर २ । श. १६८१ माघ शु. ३ । पै. इ. १।२।१७६० (२१।१।१७६०) पूर्वी
(२७२) सु. ११६० जखर २१ । श. १६८१ माघ व. ८ । इ. ६।२।१७६० (९।२।१७६०)
(२८०) सु. ११६० जखर २६ । श. १६८१ माघ व. १३ । इ. १६।२।१७६० (१४।२।१७६०)
(२९०) पै. जखर ६ शुक्र । श. १६८१ माघ शु. ८ । इ. २४।२।१७६० (२५।१।१७६०)
(३००) सु. ११६० साबान १९ । श. १६८२ चैत्र व. ६ । इ. ७।४।१७६० (६।४।१७६०)

पेशवे दप्तर २६

(७) पै. जखर १६ । श. १६६१ भाद्रपद व. १३ । इ. २१।८।१७३९ ! (१९।९।१७३९
(२५) रवल २० । श. १६६९ फाल्गुन व. ६ । इ. १३।३।१७४८ (९।३।१७४८)
(३६) मोहरम १८ । श. १६७१ मार्ग व. ६ इंदु । इ. १९।१२।१७४९ (१८।१२।१७४९)
(५६) सु. ११५० जवल ११ । श. १६७२ चैत्र शु. १३ । इ. १५।४।१७५० (८।४।१७५०)
(७४) रमजान ११ । श. १६७२ श्रावण शु. १२ । इ. ३०।७।१७५० (३।८।१७५०)
(१६१) रखर ८ मंद । श. १६७२ फाल्गुन शु. ९ । इ. २४।२।१७५१ (२३।२।१७५१)
(१६५) रखर २९ शनि । श. १६७२ फाल्गुन व. ३० । इ. १७।३।१७५१ (१६।३।१७५१)
(१८९) रवल ९ । श. १६७३ माघ शु. ११ । इ. ६।१।१७५२ ? (१६।१।१७५२)
(१९०) सु. ११५३ रवल ६ । श. १६७३ पौष शु. ८ । इ. १२।१।१७५२ (१२।१।१७५३)
(१९३) सु. ११५३ रजब २२ । श. १६७४ ज्येष्ठ-१६७५ वैशाख व. ९ । इ. २६।६।१७५२ (२६।५।१७५२ किंवा १७५३)
(१९९) मोहरम १२ । श. १६७४ कार्तिक शु. १३ । इ. २०।११।१७५२ (१९।११।१७५२)
(२०६) मोहरम १४ । श. १६७४ कार्तिक शु. १५ । इ. २१।१२।१७५२ (२१।११।१७५२)
(२२०) सु. ११५३ जवल २ । श. १६७४ फाल्गुन शु. ३ । इ. ८।४।१७५३ (८।३।१७५३)
(२२३) सवाल ४ । श. १६७५ श्रावण शु. ६ । इ. ४।७।१७५३ (४।८।१७५३)
(२२४) सु. ११५३ रमजान ५ (७) बुध । श. १६७४ आषाढ शु. ९ । इ. ७।७।१७५३ (२५।५।१७६१)
(२२६) सवाल १० । श. १६७५ श्रावण शु. १२ । इ. ९।८।१७५३ (१०।८।१७५३)
(२३१) रवल २५ । श. १६७४ पौष व. १२ । इ. १०।१।१७५३ ! (३१।१।१७५३)
(२३९) रजब २० । श. १६७९ वैशाख व. ७ गुरु । इ. २।५।१७५७ (२४।५।१७५३)
(२४४) जिल्हेज २२ । श. १६८० श्रावण व. ९ । इ. २९।८।१७५८ ! (२७।८।१७५८)
(२६०) सवाल १९ । श. १६८३ वैशाख व. ६ । इ. २५।६।१७६१ ! (२५।५।१७६१)

पेशवे दप्तर २७

(२५) जिल्हेज १९ । श.१६६९ मार्गशीर्ष व.५ । इ.१७।१२।१७४७ (११।१२।१७४७)
(४२) जवल २१ । श. १६७१ वैशाख व. ७ । इ. २८।३।१७४९ (२८।४।१७४९)
(४३, ४४) जवल ७ । श.१६७१ वैशाख शु.८ । इ.१३।४।१७४९ (१४।४।१७४९)
(७८) जिल्काद ६ । श. १६७५ भाद्रपद शु. ७ । इ. ४।८।१७५३ ? (४।९।१७५३)
(७९) सु. ११५४ जिल्काद १३ ते २२ । श. १६७५ भाद्रपद शु. १४ ते व. ८ । इ. १३-२२।९।१७५३ (११-२०।९।१७५३)
(८१।१६) सु. ११५४ जवल १७ । श. १६७५ फाल्गुन व. ४ । इ. १२।४।१७५४ (१२।३।१७५४)
(८१।२१) सु. ११५४ रजब १३ । श. १६७६ वैशाख व. १ । इ. ३०।४।१७५४ (७।५।१७५४)
(८१।२४) सु. ११५५ साबान ६ । श. १६७६ ज्येष्ठ शु. ८ । इ. १८।५।१७५५ (२९।५।१७५४)
(१०५) जवल १९–२१ । श. १६७६ फाल्गुन व. ५–८ । इ. सुमारें २१।२।१७५५ (३–५।३।१७५५)
(१०९) साबान १४-२८ ।श.१६७७ अधिक ज्येष्ठ व.।इ.जून१७५५ (मे २६–जून९।१७५५)
(१२५) रब्बर१२। श.१६७६माघ शु.१३शनि नंतर। इ.१४।२।१७५६ (२५।१।१७५५)
(१५०) साबान २ । श.१६७९ वैशाख शु. ३ । इ. ११।४।१७५८ (२१।४।१७५७)
(१७७) रमजान २८ । श. १६७९ ज्येष्ठ व. ३० । इ. ९।६।१७५७ (१६।६।१७५७)
(१७८) सवाल १५ नंतर। श. १६७९ आषाढ व. २ । इ.४।७।१७५७ (३।७।१७५७)
(१८१) सवाल ? । श. १६७९ आषाढ शु. ३ । इ. १९।?।१७५७ (१९।६।१७५७)
(२१५) रबर २४ । श. १६७६ माघ व. १० । इ. २५।२।१७५६ (६।२।१७५५)
(२१६) सवाल ३ । श. १६८० ज्येष्ठ शु. ५ । इ. १०।४।१७५८ (१०।६।१७५८)
(२१७) सवाल ४ भानु । श.१६८० ज्येष्ठ शु.६ । इ. ११।४।१७५८ (११।६।१७५८))
(२२७) जिलकाद १८ । श. १६८० आषाढ व. ४ । इ. ३।८।१७५८ (२४।७।१७५८)
(२४५) जवल ९ नंतर। श.१६८२ पौष शु.१२। पै.इ. ७।१।१७६० (३०।१२।१७५९

पेशवे दप्तर २८

(२) रबल २३ । श. १६६९ अ. चैत्र व. १० । इ. १९।६।१७३९ ? (२४।३।१७४७)
(१७ A) जिलकाद ३० । श. १६६७ पौष शु. २ । इ. १७।१२।१७४५ ? (१३।१२।१७४५ नंतर)
(३९) जिल्हेज २० । श. १६६९ मार्गशीर्ष व. ६ । इ. २०।१२।१७४७ ? (१२।१२।१७४७ नंतर)
(४०) जिल्हेज २५ । श.१६६९ मार्गशीर्ष व.११ । इ.१६।१२।१७४७ ?(१७।१२।१७४७)
(५५) रबर १० । श. १६४८ चैत्र शु. ११ । इ. २९।४।१७४८ ? (२९।३।१७४८)
(१०४) जखर २२ । श. १६७५ चैत्र व. ९ । इ.२६।५।१७५३ ? (२७।४।१७५३)
(१४५) मोहरम २३ । श.१६७८ आश्विन व.१० । इ.८।१०।१७५६ (१८।१०।१७५६)
(१४६) मोहरम २५ । श.१६७८ आश्विन व.१२ । इ.१०।१०।१७५७ (२०।१०।१७५६)

(१५७) पै. रखर २६। श. १६७७ पौष व. १३। इ. सुमारें १५।६।१७५६ (२९।१।१७५६)

(१७७) जवल २४। श. १६७८ माघ व. ११। इ. २४।२।१७५७ ! (१४।२।१७५७)

(१७९) मोहरम ९। श. १६७९ अधिक आश्विन शु. ११। इ. फेब्रुवारी १७५७ ! (२४।९।१७५७)

(१८३) पै. साबान ५। श. १६७८ वैशाख शु. ६। इ. ४।५।१७५६ (५।५।१७५६)

(१९३) जिल्हेज २९। श.१६७९ अ.आश्विन शु.१। इ. ६।९।१७५७ (१४।९।१७५७)

(२०१) सफर २१। श. १६७९ आश्विन व. ८। इ. २८।१०।१७५७ (४।११।१७५७)

(२०४) रखर १५। श. १६७९ मार्गशीर्ष व.२। इ.२०।१२।१७५७ (२७।१२।१७५७)

(२११) जखर ११। श. १६७९ माघ शु. १३। इ. २२।१।१७५८ ! (२०।२।१७५८)

(२१३) जखर १४। श. १६७९ माघ व. १। इ. २५।१।१७५८ (२३।२।१७५८)

(२३३) मोहरम ५ नंतर। श.१६८० भाद्रपद शु.७। इ. १०।९।१७५८ (९।९।१७५८)

(२३५) मोहरम १८। श.१६८०भाद्रपद व.६ ।इ.२८।९।१७५८ (२२।९।१७५८)नंतर

(२३६-३७) मोहरम १८। श. १६८० भाद्रपद व. ६। पै. इ. २५।१०।१७५८ (२२।९।१७५८) नंतर

(२४२) सफर १०। श.१६८०आश्विन शु.११। इ.१४।१०।१७५८ (१३।१०।१७५८)

(२४३) संफर १०। श.१६८०आश्विन शु.११। इ.A१४।१०।१७५८ (१३।१०।१७५८)

(२५८) पै. साबान २३। श. १६८० चैत्र व. १०। इ. १।५।१७५८ (२।५।१७५८)

(२७१) सवाल १४। श. १६८२ ज्येष्ठव. १। इ. ३०।६।१७६० (३०।५।१७६०)

पेशवे दप्तर २९

(८) साबान २९। श.१६८३ चैत्र शु. १। इ. जून १७६१ ! (६।४।१७६१ पूर्वी)

(१३) जिल्काद २०। श.१६८३ ज्येष्ठ व. ७। इ.२४।८।१७६१ (२४।६।१७६१)नंतर

(३६) साबान १ गुरु। श. १६८३ फाल्गुन शु.२। इ.२६।२।१७६२ (२५।२।१७६२)

(४४) पै. जिल्हेज ९। श. १६८३ आषाढ शु.११। इ.१।७।१७६१ ! (१२।७।१७६१)

(५१) रजब ३० नंतर। श. १६७९ वैशाख शु. २। इ.९।४।१७५८ (२०।४।१७५७)

(५९) जिल्काद १९। श. १६८६ वैशाख व. ६। इ.२०।५।१७६४ ! (२१।५।१७६४)

(६१) जिल्हेज २। श. १६८६ ज्येष्ठ शु.४। इ. १७।६।१७६४ (३।६।१७६४)

(६६) मोहरम १। श. १६८६ आषाढ शु. २। इ. ४।८।१७६४ (१।७।१७६४)

(६७) मोहरम १७। श. १६८६ आषाढ व. ४। इ. १६।८।१७६४ (१७।७।१७६४)

(७१) पै. रवल २२। श. १६७९ कार्तिक व.९। इ.१०।७।१७५७ (५।१२।१७५७)

(७२) रवल २। श. १६८६ आश्विन शु.३। इ.२८।९।१७६४ (३०।८।१७६४) !

(८०) जिल्हेज २३ शुक्र। श.१६८७ ज्येष्ठ व.११। इ.१३।६।१७६५ ! (१४।६।१७६५)

(१११) रजब ११। श.१६८७ पौष शु.१३ मंगळ। इ.२५।१२।१७६५ (२४।१२।६५)

(११४) साबान १२। श. १६८७ माघ शु. १३। इ. २४।१।१७६४ (१५।२।१७६४)

(१२४) सवाल ७। श. १६८८ अ. चैत्र शु. ९। इ. २१।३।१७६६ (१९।३।१७६६)

(१२९) सवाल २५। श. १६८८ अ. चैत्र व. १२। इ. ५।४।१७६६ (६।४।१७६६)

(१४३) जिल्काद ७। श. १६८८ चैत्र शु. ८। इ. १७।५।१७६६ (१७।४।१७६६)

(१७१) साबान १४ । श. १६८८ पौष व. १ । इ. १७।१।१७६७ ? (१५।१।१७६७)
(१७३) सवाल २४ । श. १६९० फाल्गुन व.१० । इ.२६।३।१७६९ (१४।३।१७६८)
(१८३) मोहरम १ । श. १६८९ ज्येष्ठ शु. ३ । इ. १४।६।१७६७ (३०।५।१७६७)
(२०३) सवाल ५ । श. १६८९ फाल्गुन शु. ७। इ. २९।२।१७६८? (२४।२।१७६८)
(२०६) रमजान १ । श. १६८९ माघ शु. ३ । इ. १८।५।१७६८ (२२।१।१७६८)
(२२२) साबान ११ गुरु। श. १६९० मार्गशीर्ष शु. १४। इ. २१।१२।१७६८ (२२।१२।१७६८)
(२४६) सु. ११७० रखर २५ । श. १६९१ श्रावण व. १२ । इ. ३।१०।१७६९ (२८।८।१७६९)
(२५४) मोहरम १९ । श.१६९२ वैशाख व.६ । इ. २८।४।१७७० (१६।५।१७७०)
(पृ. ३२८) सु. ११७३ जखर २२ । श. १६९४ भाद्रपद व. ८ । इ. २२।८।१७७२ (२०।९।१७७२)

पेशवे दप्तर ३०

(१) सवाल.१० । श. १६२२ चैत्र शु. १३ । इ. १७०० पूर्वी (२१।३।१७००)
(३) जवल १९ । श. १६३० श्रावण व. ५ । इ. १७०८ ? (२६।७।१७०८)
(३१) सफर २२ । श. १६४४ कार्तिक व. ९ । इ. २२।११।१७२२ (२१।११।१७२२)
(३७) जखर २५ । श. १६४६ फाल्गुन व. १२ । इ.२८।३।१७२५ ? (२८।२।१७२५)
(६९) रमजान २७ । श.१६५१ वैशाख व.१४ गुरु। इ.१५।५।१७२९ (१९।५।१७२६)
(८५) सु. ११३१ सवाल २० । श.१६५३ चैत्र व.७ मंद । इ.१७३१ (१७।४।१७३१)
(९७) मोहरम २६ गुरु। श. १६५५ अ. आषाढ व. १३ । इ. २९।६।१७३३ (२८।६।१७३३)
(१०५) सफर २ । श. १६५६ आषाढ शु. ४ । इ. २३।२।१७३४ (२३।६।१७३४)
(१२३) जिल्हेज २९ । श. १६५७ ज्येष्ठ शु. १ । इ. ११।५।१७३५ ? (१२।५।१७३५)
(१२४) मोहरम ८ । श. १६५७ ज्येष्ठ शु. १० । इ. २३।५।१७३५ ? (२०।५।१७३५)
(१२५) मोहरम १४ पूर्वी ।श.१६५७ ज्येष्ठ व.१ ।इ.२६।५।१७३५ ? (२६।५।१७३५) पूर्वी
(१४६) रजब १३ । श.१६८७ पौष शु.१४ गुरु। इ.२५।१२।१७६५ ? (२६।१२।१७६५)
(१७२) रजब ९ । श.१६५७ मार्गशीर्ष शु. १० । इ.११।११।१७३५ (१४।११।१७३५)
(२०७) रमजान ८ नंतर। श. १६५९ पौष शु. १०। इ. ३०।१२।१७३७ (२०।१२।१७३७)
(२१५) जिल्हेज २६ । श. १६६० चैत्र व. १३ । इ. ८।४।१७३८ ? (५।४।१७३८)
(२२६) जिल्काद १९ । श. १६६० माघ व. ६ । इ. मार्च १७३९ ? (१८।२।१७३९)
(२३२) मोहरम १ । श. १६६१ चैत्र शु. २ । इ. ३०।४।१७३९ ? (३०।३।१७३९)
(२५७) जिल्काद १७ इंदु । श. १६६१ माघ व.३ । इ. ७।२।१७४० ? (४।२।१७४०)
(२७५) सफर २७ । श. १६६६ फाल्गुन व. १४ । इ. १७४५ ? (२०।३।१७४५)
(२८०) जिल्काद ६ । श. १६५८ चैत्र शु. ८ । इ १७३५ ? (९।३।१७३६)
(२८१) रजब २५ । श. १६५४ पौष व. ११ । इ. (३१।१२।१७३२)

(३०७) सवाल १२ । श. १६३० पौष शु. १३ सर्वधारी भौम । इ. २८।१२।१७०८ (१४।१२।१७०८)

(पृ. २२७) सु. ११११ रमजान ७ । श. १६३४ आश्विन शु. ९ । इ. ऑक्टोबर १७१२ ! (९।१०।१७११)

(पृ. २३०) सु. १११३ साबान ५ । श. १६३४ भाद्रपद शु. ७ । इ. १६।८।१७१३ (२७।८।१७१२)

(पृ. २४१) सु. ११२१ जवल १७ । श. १६४२ फाल्गुन व. ३ । इ. ५।४।१७२१ (५।३।१७२१).

(पृ. २४२) सु. ११२१ रजब ६ । श. १६४३ वैशाख शु. ८ भानु । इ. २४।४।१७२१ (२३।४।१७२१)

(पृ. २४८) साबान २९ । श.१६४० श्रावण शु.१ गुरु । इ.१९।६।१७१८ (१७।७।१७१८)

(पृ. २६४) जखर २७ । श.१६४१ वैशाख व.१४ गुरु । इ.१५।५।१७१९ (७।५।१७१९)

(पृ. २६६) सु. ११२३ मोहरम २ । श. १६४४ आश्विन शु. ३ । इ. २।९।१७२२ (२।१०।१७२२)

सु. ११२३ मोहरम ३ । श. १६४४ आश्विन शु. ४ । इ.३।९।१७२२ (३।१०।१७२२)

(३१३) सु. ११२८ सफर १९ । श. १६४९ अश्विन व. ५ । इ. २४।१०।१७२७ (२४।९।१७२७)

(३१९) सु. ११३३ जखर २ । श. १६५४ मार्गशीर्ष शु. ४ भृगु । इ.११।११।१७३२ (१०।११।१७३२)

जिल्हेज १ । ज्येष्ठ शु. ३ । इ. ६।५।१७३३ (५।५।१७३३)

(पृ. ३३५) सवाल १६ । श. १६५७ फाल्गुन व.३ । इ.१६।२।१७३६ (१८।२।१७३६)

(पृ. ३३७) सु. ११३६ जखर १५ । श. १६५७ कार्तिक व. १ । इ. २०।१०।१७३५ (२१।१०।१७३५)

(पृ. ३५०) सु. ११३८ रजब १९ । श. १६५९ कार्तिक व. ६ । इ. ४।११।१७३७ (२।११।१७३७)

(३२९) साबान १८ । श.१६५५ पौष व.६ भानु । इ. १४।१।१७३४ (१३।१।१७३४)

(३४२) सु.११२१ रखर ४ ।.श.१६४२माघ शु.६ । इ.२२।२।१७२१ (२२।१।१७२१)

(पृ. ३६९) सु. ११२१ रखर ५ । श. १६४२ माघ शु. ११ । इ. २७।२।१७२१ (२७।१।१७२१)

(३५३) सु. ११२४ रमजान १ । श. १६४५ ज्येष्ठ शु. ३ मंद । इ. २५।५।१७२४ (२५।५।१७२३)

(३५४) रमजान २९ । श. १६४५ आषाढ शु. १ मंद । इ. २३।६।१७२४ (२२।६।१७२३)

(३५६) रखर २९ । श. १६४६ माघ शु. १ इंदु । इ. ४।३।१७२५ (४।१।१७२५)

(३५७) सु. ११२५ साबान ६ । श. १६४७ वैशाख शु. ८ । इ. ८।४।१७२५ (९।४।१७२५)

(पृ. ३७९) सु. ११३४ मजान १५ । श. १६५५ माघ व. ३ । इ. ११।२।१७३४ (९।२।१७३४)

(३७२) सु. ११३९ सफर १२ । श. १६६१ वैशाख शु. १३ । इ. १९।६।१७३८ (१०।५।१७३९)
सु. ११३९ रखर २० । श. १६६० श्रावण व. ८ । इ. २५।८।१७३८ (२७।७।१७३८)
सु. ११३९ रखर २४ । श. १६६० श्रावण व. ११ । इ. २९।८।१७३८ (३१।७।१७३८)

पेशवे दप्तर ३१

(२८) फ. १०७८ जु. १२ सफर १० । श. १५९१ आषाढ शु. ११ । इ. १९।६।१६६९ (२९।६।१६६९)
(२९) सु. १०७१ सफर ७ । श. १५९२ आषाढ शु. ८ । इ. १५।७।१६७० (१५।६।१६७०)
(३०) सु. १०७१ जवल ८ । श. १५९२ आश्विन शु. ९ । इ. १३।१०।१६७० (१३।१।१६७०)
(३४) सु. १०७६ फ. १०८५ जिल्काद २५ । श. १५९७ माघ व. १२ । इ. ११।२।१६७५ (३१।१।१६७६)
(३५) सु. १०७६ फ. १०८५ जिल्काद २१ । श. १५९७ माघ व. ७ । इ. ७।२।१६७५ (२७।१।१६७६)
(४४) सु. १०८५ रखर २५ । श. १६०६ फाल्गुन व. १२ । इ. २२।३।१६८५ (२१।३।१६८५)
(५१) जिल्काद १८ । श. १६१३ रा. श. १८ प्रजापति श्रावण व. ४ । इ. ८।१६९१ (३।८।१६९१)
(७०) फ. १०९६ । श. १६०८।९ । इ. १६९६ ! (१६८६–८७)
(७६) सु. ११०० फ. ११०९ साबान ३० । श. १६२१ फाल्गुन शु. २ । इ. १६९९ ! (१०।२।१७००)
(७९) सु. ११०१ मोहरम ११ । श. १६२२ आषाढ शु. १३ । इ. १८।७।१७०० (१८।६।१७००)
(८५) सु. ११०५ जिल्काद ११ । श. १६२६ फाल्गुन शु. १२ । इ. २६।२।१७०४ (२४।२।१७०५)
(८७) सु. ११०५ रमजान २४ । श. १६२६ पौष व. ११ । इ. १२।१२।१७०४ (१०।१।१७०५)
(१०७) जखर १२ । श. १६३१ विरोधी श्रावण शु. १५ सोम. । इ. ९।८।१७०९ (८।८।१७०९)
(१२१) सु. ११२० जिल्काद १७ । श. १६४१ अ. आश्विन व. ४ । इ. १३।९।१७१९ (२१।९।१७१९)
(१३७) रवल ५ । श. १६६९ अ. चैत्र शु. ६ । इ. ७।३।१७४७ (६।३।१७४७)
(१४४) रमजान २० । श. १६८० वैशाख व. ६ । इ. २२।६।१७५८ (२८।५।१७५८)
(१४६) रजब १५ । श. १६८१ फाल्गुन व. ३ । इ. १७५९-६० ! (४।३।१७६०)
(१४७) जवल २१ । श. १६६७ ज्येष्ठ व. ८ । इ. १७४५ पूर्वी (११।६।१७४५)

(१५१) मोहरम २८ । श. १६८८ ज्येष्ठ व. ३० । इ. २१।७।१७६६ (६।७।१७६६)
(१५५) सु. ११७५ रजब १। श. १६९६ भाद्रपद शु. २। इ. ८।८।१७७४ (८।९।१७७४)

पेशवे दप्तर ३२

(१४) रवल १८ । श. १६८८ श्रावण व. ६ । इ. १।९।१७६६ (२५।८।१७६६)
(१६) मोहरम २ । श. १६९१ वैशाख शु. ४ । इ. १०।५।१७६९ (९।५।१७६९)
(२२) जखर ६ । श. १७२० कार्तिक शु. ८ । इ. १६।११।१७९८ (१५।११।१७९८)
(३५) सफर ११ । श. १६८८ आषाढ शु. १२। इ. १९।११।१७६६ ! (१९।७।१७६६)
(३९) सु. ११६४ रवल ८ । श १६८५ भाद्रपद शु. १० । इ. १७।९।१७६३ (१६।९।१७६३)
(४१) जिल्काद ९ । श. १६९७ पौष शु. ११ सोम । इ. २।१।१७७६ (१।१।१७७६)
(४३) सवाल २१ । श. १६८८ फाल्गुन व. ७ । इ. २६।३।१७६७ ! (२२।३।१७६७)
(५०) सु. ११६६ जवल २० । श. १६८७ कार्तिक व. ७ । इ. ५।१२।१७६५ (५।११।१७६५)
(८८) वै. जिल्हेज १८ । श. १६८६ ज्येष्ठ व. ६ । इ. १६।६।१७६४ ! (१९।६।१७६४)
(१६७) रजब १३ । श. १६८८ मार्गशीर्ष शु. १५ । इ. २६।१२।१७६६ ! (१६।१२।१७६६)
(१७५) सु. ११६३ सवाल १० । श. १६८५ वैशाख शु. १३ । इ. १५।४।१७६३ (२५।४।१७६३)
(१८४) सु. ११६८ रवल १८ । श. १६८९ श्रावण व. ५ । इ. २४।८।१७६७ (१४।८।१७६७)
(२०२) सु. ११७६ जखर १६ । श. १६९७ श्रावण व. ४ । इ. १७७५ (१४।८।१७७५

पेशवे दप्तर ३३

(२) जवल १९ । श. १६५६ आश्विन व. ५ । इ. २२।९।१७३४ (६।१०।१७३४)
(३) जिल्काद ६ । श. १६५४ वैशाख शु. ८ शुक्र । इ.२७।४।१७३२ (२१।४।१७३२)
(२४) मोहरम १२ । श. १६५५ अ. आषाढ शु.१३ । इ.४।६।१७३३ (१४।६।१७३३)
(४२) मोहरम २१ । श. १६५५ अ.आषाढ व.७ । इ. २१।६।१७३३ (२३।६।१७३३)
(४९) मोहरम २१ । श. १६५५ अ.आषाढ व. ७ । इ. २६।६।१७३३ (२३।६।१७३३)
(५१) वै. सफर २७ । श. १६५५ आषाढ व. १४ । इ. २८।६।१७३३ (२८।७।१७३३)
,, ,, श. १६५८ ज्येष्ठ व. १४ । इ. २५।६।१७३६ ! (२६।६।१७३६)
(६६) सफर १ । श. १६५५ आषाढ शु. २ । इ. १६।७।१७३३ (२।७।१७३३)
(७५) वै. रवल २३ । श. १६५५ श्रावण व. १० । इ.३।८।१७३३ (२३।८।१७३३)
(८९) जवल ४ । श. १६५५ आश्विन शु. ५ । इ. २।९।१७३३ ! (२।१०।१७३३)
(९६) रवल २६ नंतर । श. १६५५ श्रावण व.१३ । इ. ८।९।१७३३ (२६।८।१७३३)
(९८) रखर १५ । श. १६५५ भाद्रपद व. १ । इ. १५।९।१७३३ (१३।९।१७३३)
(१०५) रखर २५ । श. १६५५ भाद्रपद व. १२ । इ. २४।९।१७३३ (२३।९।१७३३)

(११८) पै. सफर १० । श.१६५५ आषाढ शु.११ । इ.१०।१७३३ ! (११।७।१७३३)
(११९) पै. जखर १७ । श.१६५५ कार्तिक व.४ । इ. १।११।१७३३ ! (१४।११।१७३३)
(१३३) रजब १६ । श. १६५५ मार्गशीर्ष व. ४ । इ. २३।१२।१७३३ ! (१३।१२।१७३३)
(१४२) सफर २६ । श. १६५५ आषाढ व. १३ । इ. १७३३ ! (२७।७।१७३३)
(१५३) साबान १६ । श. १६५५ पौष व. ३ । इ. १८।१।१७३४ ? (११।१।१७३४)
(१५५) साबान २० नंतर । श.१६५५ माघ शु.२ । पै.इ.२५।१।१७३४! (२५।१।१७३४)
(१६२) रमजान ६ नंतर । श. १६५५ माघ शु. ८ । इ. १।२।१७३४ (३१।१।१७३४)
(१६५) रमजान ११ शनि । श. १६५६ माघ शु. १३ । इ. २२।१।१७३५ (२५।१।१७३५)
(१६७) जिल्काद् ७ । श. १६५६ चैत्र शु. ९ । इ. १।३।१७३४ (१।४।१७३४)
(१८८) पै. जिल्हेज ७ । श. १६५६ वैशाख शु. ९ । इ.२४।४।१७३४ (३०।४।१७३४)
(२२०) रवल २३ । श. १६५६ श्रावण व. १० । इ.२३।८।१७३४ ! (१२।८।१७३४)
(२२३) रखर २३ । श. १६५६ भाद्रपद व. १० । इ.२०।९।१७३३ (२१।९।१७३३)
(२४६) साबान॰ १९ । श. १६५६ पौष व. ६ । इ. ३०।१२।१७३४ (३।१।१७३५)
(२६५) साबान २१ । श. १६५६ पौष व. ८ । इ. ४।१।१७३५ ! (५।१।१७३५)
(२६६) साबान २० नंतर । श.१६५६ पौष व. ७ । इ.A. ५।१।१७३५ (४।१।१७३५)
(२६९) रमजान ६ सोम । श.१६५६ माघ शु. ७ । इ.१३।१।१७३५ (२०।१।१७३५)
(२७२) रमजान १ । श.१६५६ माघ शु. २ । इ. १६।१।१७३५ ! (१५।१।१७३५)
(२९७) मोहरम २८ । श.१६५७ ज्येष्ठ व. ३० । इ.१९।६।१७३५ ! (९।६।१७३५)
(२९८) सफर ७ । श.१६५७ आषाढ शु. १० । इ.२३।६।१७३५ (१८।६।१७३५)
(३१२) जवल २० । श. १६५७ आश्विन व.७ । इ.२०।९।१७३५ (२७।९।१७३५)
(३१३) जवल १४ । श. १६५७ आश्विन शु. १५ । इ. २०।९।१७३५ (२१।९।१७३५)
(३१८) जवल २२ सोम । श. १६५७ आश्विन व. ९ । इ. २८।९।१७३५ (२९।९।१७३५)
(३४३) साबान ८ नंतर । श. १६५७ पौष शु. ९ । इ. १३।१२।१७३५ (१२।१२।१७३५)
(३४९) पै. साबान ६ । श. १६५७ पौष शु. ७ । इ.२१।१२।१७३५ (१०।१२।१७३५)
(३५२) पै. रजब २० । श. १६५७ मार्गशीर्ष व. ७ । इ. २५।१२।१७३५ (२५।११।१७३५)
(३५४, ३५६) पै. रजब २१ । श. १६५७ मार्गशीर्ष व. ८ । इ. २६।१२।१७३५ (२६।११।१७३५)
(३७२) पै. मोहरम ५ । श. १६५७ ज्येष्ठ शु. ७ । इ. १७३५ ? (१७।५।१७३५)
(३८८) मोहरम १० । श. १६५८ अ. ज्येष्ठ शु.१३ । इ.११।४।१७३६ (११।५।१७३६)
(३९२) जिल्हेज १५ । श. १६५८ वैशाख व. २ । इ. १५।४।१७३६ (१६।४।१७३६)
(४०५) जिल्हेज २३ मंगळ । श.१६५७ वैशाख व.१० । इ. ६।५। १७३६ (६।५।१७३५)
(४१४) मोहरम १ । श. १६५८ अ. ज्येष्ठ शु. ३ । इ. ३१।५।१७३६ (२।५।१७३६)
(४३४) जवल १६ । श. १६५७ आश्विन व. २ । इ. २२।९।१७३५ ! (२३।९।१७३५)

(४३५) सफर १७ । श. १६५८ ज्येष्ठ व. ४ । इ. १६।९।१७३६ (१६।६।१७३६)
(४४१) जखर ९ । श. १६५८ आश्विन शु. ११ । इ. १७३५-३६ (४।१०।१७३६)
(४४८) पै. जवल ११ । श.१६५८ भाद्रपद शु. १३ । इ. १७३६ (६।९।१७३६)
(४५५) रजब २२ । श. १६५९ कार्तिक व. ९ । इं.५।१०।१७३७ (५।११।१७३७)
(४६७) जवल १५ नंतर । श.१६६१ श्रावण व. ३ । इ. ८।१७३९ ! (१०।८।१७३९)

पेशवे दप्तर ३४

(१३) पै. मोहरम २२ । श.१६५९ वैशाख व.९ । इ.१२।२।१७३७ ! (१२।५।१७३७)
(१९) पै. जिल्काद २९ । श. १६४९ श्रावण शु. १ । इ. १७२७ ! (८।७।१७२७)
(३०) जिल्हेज १४ । श. १६५९ चैत्र व. १ । इ. ५।४।१७३७ ! (४।४।१७३७)
(६०) सफर २ । श. १६५९ ज्येष्ठ शु. ३. । इ. २३।५।१७३७ ! (२१।५।१७३७)
(६१) सफर २ । श. १६५९ ज्येष्ठ शु. ३ । इ. २४।५।१७३७ (२१।५।१७३७)
(६७) रवल १२ । श. १६५९ आषाढ शु. १३ । इ. १७३७ पूर्वी (२९।६।१७३७)
(६९) पै. रवल २१ । श. १६५९ आषाढ व. ७ । इ. १७३७ पूर्वी (८।७।१७३७)
(७६) साबान ११ नंतर । श. १६५९ मार्गशीर्ष शु. १२ । इ. A. २७।११।१७३७ (२३।११।१७३७)
(७८) साबान १२ । श. १६५९ मार्गशीर्ष शु. १३ । इ. ४।१२।१७३७ ! (२४।११।१७३७)
(९८) पै. जिल्काद १७ । श. १६५८ फाल्गुन व. ३ । इ. १७३७ पूर्वी (९।३।१७३७)
(१०२) जिल्हेज ११ । श. १६६० चैत्र शु. १२ । इ. २२।३।१७३८ ! (२१।३।१७३८)
(१०३) जिल्हेज १४ । श. १६६० चैत्र शु. १५ । इ. २३।३।१७३८ (२४।३।१७३८)
(१०४) जिल्काद २७ मंद । श. १६५८ फाल्गुन व. १४ । इ. २३।३।१७३७ ! (१९।३।१७३७)
(११८) जिल्हेज १६ । श. १६६० चैत्र व. २ । इ. २६।४।१७३८ ! (२६।३।१७३८)
(११९) सफर २ । श. १६६० ज्येष्ठ शु. ४ । इ. १६।५।१७३८। (११।५।१७३८)
(१२०) मोहरम ४ । श. १६६० वैशाख शु. ५ । इ. १८।५। १७३८ (१३।४।१७३८)
(१३७) रमजान १० । श.१६६०मार्गशीर्ष शु.१२ ।इ.२१।१२।१७३८! (११।१२।१७३८)
(१४९) मोहरम ११ । श. १६६१ चैत्र शु. १२ । इ. १०।१।१७३९ ! (९।४।१७३९)
(१५६) जिल्काद २८ । श. १६६० माघ व. ३० । इ. २८।१।१७३९ ! (२७।२।१७३९)
(१५९) जिल्हेज ७ । श. १६६० चैत्र शु. ८ । इ. १८।३।१७३८ ! (१७।३।१७३८)
(२०६) सवाल १ । श. १६५९ माघ शु. २ । इ. १२।१।१७३८ (११।१।१७३८)
(२१९) रवल २३ । श. १६६१ ज्येष्ठ व. १० । इ. १७३९ ! (१९।६।१७३९)

पेशवे दप्तर ३५

(११) रखर १९ । श. १६९६ ज्येष्ठ व. ६ । इ. २९।७।१७७४ ! (२९।६।१७७४)
(१३) रमजान २१ । श. १६९६ कार्तिक व. ८ । इ.१६।९।१७७४ ! (२६।११।१७७४)
(१६) रमजान १४ नंतर।श.१६९६ कार्तिक व.१ ।इ.२६।११।१७७४ (१९।११।१७७४)
(४६) सु. ११७५ सवाल १३ । श. १६९६ मार्गशीर्ष शु. १५ । इ. १८।१२।१७७४ (१७।१२।१७७४)

(१५१) सवाल २० । श. १६९६ मार्गशीर्ष व. ६ । इ. ३।१।१७७५ (२४।१२।१७७४)
(१६८) जिल्काद ८ । श. १६९६ पौष शु. १० । इ. १०।१।१७७५ (११।१।१७७५)
(१७२) सु. ११७५ जिल्काद ६ । श. १६९६ पौष शु. ८ । इ. १४।१।१७७५ (९।१।१७७५)
(२१०) रमजान २ । श. १७१७ चैत्र शु. ४ । इ. A. १७९५ (२४।३।१७९५)
(२११) रवल ७ । श. १६९८ वैशाख शु. ८ । इ. १९।११।१७७६ (२६।४।१७७६)

पेशवे दप्तर ३६

(१३) जिल्हेज १ । श. १६९५ फाल्गुन शु. ३ । इ. १।१७७४ (१३।२।१७७४)
(३६) जिल्हेज ६ । श. १६९५ फाल्गुन शु. ८ भृगु । इ. २६।२।१७७४ (१८।२।१७७४)
(४४A) सु. ११७४ रवल २२ । श. १६९५ ज्येष्ठ व. १०, १६९६ वैशाख व. १० । इ. ७।४।१७७४ (१४।६।१७७३, ३।६।१७७४)
(४६) पै. सु. ११७४ मोहरम १६ । श. १६९६ चैत्र व. २ । इ. २९।४।१७७४ (२९।३।१७७४)
(५०) रवल ३ । श. १६९६ वैशाख शु. ५ । इ. २९।५।१७७४ (१५।५।१७७४)
(५२) सु. ११७४ रवल १ । श. १६९६ वैशाख शु. ३ । इ.२।६।१७७४ (१३।५।१७७४)
(११७) जिल्काद १५ । श. १६९६ पौष व. ६ । इ. १२।१।१७७५ (२२।१।१७७५)
(१२१) सु. ११७५ जिल्काद २२ । श. १६९६ पौष व. ९ । इ. १५।१।१७७५ (२५।१।१७७५)
(१३२) सवाल २२ । श. १६९६ मार्गशीर्ष व. ८ । इ. २६।१।१७७५ (२६।१२।१७७४)
(१४६) सु. ११७५ जिल्काद १० । श. १६९६ पौष शु. १२ । इ. ११।२।१७७५ (१३।१।१७७५)
(१७२) मोहरम १९ । श. १६९६ फाल्गुन व. ५ । इ. २०।३।१७७५ (२२।३।१७७५)
(१८४) रवल ४ । श. १६९७ वैशाख शु. ६ । इ. ५।४।१७७५ (५।५।१७७५)
(२०३) रवल १५ । श. १६९७ वैशाख व. १ । इ. ६।५। १७७५ (१६।५।१७७५)
(२०८) रवल २७ । श. १६९७ वैशाख व. १४ । इ. ९।५।१७७५ (२८।५।१७७५)
(२२८) रवल १९ । श. १६९७ वैशाख व. ६ । इ. २९।५।१७७५ (२०।५।१७७५)
(२४१) जखर ९ । श. १६९७ श्रावण शु. ११ । इ. ७।७।१७७५ (७।८।१७७५)
(२७२) साबान १५ । श. १६९६ आश्विन व. २ । इ. ११।१०।१७७५ (२१।१०।१७७४)
(२७५) रमजान ४ । श. १६९७ कार्तिक शु. ५ । इ. २६।१०।१७७५ (२९।१०।१७७५)
(२८३) जिल्काद ९ । श. १६९७ पौष शु. ११ । इ. ३०।१२।१७७५ (१।१।१७७६)
(२९५) पै. मोहरम ११ । श. १६९७ फाल्गुन शु. १२ । इ. १२।३।१७७६ (२।३।१७७६)
(२९९) रवर १० । श. १६९८ ज्येष्ठ शु. ११ । इ. ३०।५।१७७६ (२९।५।१७७६)
(३१३) सु. ११७८ रमजान ११ । श. १६९९ आश्विन शु. ११ । इ. २५।१०।१७७६ (१४।१०।१७७७)
(३२८) सफर २० । श. १६९८ फाल्गुन व. ६ । इ. ३०।४।१७७७ (३०।३।१७७७)

(३३४) सु. ११७७ साबान ८ । श. १६९८ भाद्रपद शु. ९ । इ. १५।९।१७७७ (२२।९।१७७६)
(३५४) सु. ११७९ जिल्हेज ६ । श. १७०० पौष शु. ७ । इ. २५।१२।१७७८ (२६।१२।१७७८)
(३५५) सु. ११७९ जिल्हेज ९ । श. १७०० पौष शु. १० । इ. २८।१२।१७७८ (२९।१२।१७७८)
(३५६) सु. ११७९ जिल्हेज १० । श. १७०० पौष शु. १२ । इ. २९।१२।१७७८ (३०।१२।१७७८)
(३५८) जिल्हेज १० । श. १७०० पौष शु. १२ । इ. १७७९ ! (३०।१२।१७७८)
(३७१) सफर २ । श. १७०० फाल्गुन शु. ३ । इ. २।२।१७७९ ! नंतर (१९।२।१७७९)
(३८९) मोहरम १० । श. १६९६ फाल्गुन शु. १२ । इ. १७७५ (१३।३।१७७५)
(४०३) जिल्हेज ४ । श. १७०२ मार्गशीर्ष शु ५ । इ.२९।११।१७८० (१।१२।१७८०)
(४०४) जखर ११ । श. १७०२ ज्येष्ठ शु. १४ । इ. १२।१७८० (१५।६।१७८०)
(४०७) सु. ११८१ सफर २९ । श. १७०२ माघ व. ३० । इ. १३।२।१७८१ (२३।२।१७८१)
(४२४) जिल्हेज २५ । श.१७०५ कार्तिक व.१२ । इ.२१।९।१७८३(२१।११।१७८३)
(४२६) रवल २९ । श. १७०४ चैत्र शु. १ । इ. १७८२ ! (१४।३।१७८२)
(४२७) सु.११८३ रवल ५ । श.१७०४ माघ शु.७ । इ.१९।२।१७८२! (८।२।१७८३)

पेशवे दप्तर ३७

(१) सु. ११६१ रजब ९ । श. १६८२ माघ शु.११ । इ.१।५।१७६१ (१५।२।१७६१)
(३) साबान ५ । श. १६८३ फाल्गुन शु. ७ । इ. २।२।१७६२ ! (२।३।१७६२)
(७) साबान २४ रविनंतर । श. १६८३ फाल्गुन व. ११ । इ. २०।३।१७६२ (२१।३।१७६२)
(१०) जिल्हेज २७ । श. १६८४ आषाढ व.१४ । इ.१९।७।१७६२! (२०।७।१७६२)
(१७) पै. साबान ६ । श. १६८५ माघ शु. ७ । इ. १७६४ (९।२।१७६४)
(२१) रखर ४ नंतर । श. १६८६ आश्विन शु. ५ । इ. १७६४ ! (३०।९।१७६४)
(२५) साबान २१ । श. १६८५ माघ व. ८ । इ. २।३।१७६४ ! (२४।२।१७६४)
(३०) सवाल १३ नंतर । श. १६८६ चैत्र शु.१४ । इ.१७।४।१७६४ (१५।४।१७६४)
(३७) जिल्हेज २२ । श. १६८६ ज्येष्ठ व.९ भृगु । इ.२३।६।१७६४!(२२।६।१७६४)
(४९) जखर ७ । श.१६८६ मार्गशीर्ष शु.९ स्थिर । इ.१।११।१७६४!(१।१२।१७६४)
(६७) जिल्हेज १ । श. १६८७ ज्येष्ठ शु. ३ । इ. ८।६।१७६५ (२२।५।१७६५)
(८७) पै. सवाल १ । श. १६८८ अ. चैत्र शु. ३ । इ. १५।३।१७६६ (१३।३।१७६६)
(१०५) जिल्हेज १४ । श. १६८८ वैशाख शु. १५ । इ. २३।५।१७६६ (२४।५।१७६६)
(११५) सु. ११६७ रजब २५ । श. १६८८ मार्गशीर्ष व. १२ । इ. पै. २७।१२।१७६६ (२८।१२।१७६६)
(१२२) रमजान ६ । श. १६८८ माघ शु. ८ । इ. १।१७६७ ! (६।२।१७६७)
(१२४) रजब २१ । श. १६८८ मार्गशीर्ष व. ८ । इ. १।१।१७६७ (२४।१२।१७६६)

(११८) सु. ११६९ रजब २९ । श. १६९० मार्गशीर्ष शु. १ । इ. १०।१२।१७६९ (१०।१२।१७६८)
(११९) सु. ११६९ साबान १५ । श. १६९० मार्गशीर्ष व. २ । इ. २५।१२।१७६९ (२५।१२।१७६८)
(१३३) सु. ११६५ जखर २४ । श. १६८६ मार्गशीर्ष व. १० । इ. १४।१०।१७७० ? (१८।११।१७६४)
(१४२) साबान २५ । श. १६९३ कार्तिक व. १२ । इ. १७७२ पूर्वी (३।१२।१७७१)
(१४३) जखर २८ । श.१६९४ भाद्रपद व.३०शनि । इ.२५।९।१७७२ ? (२६।९।१७७२)
(१४४) रमजान ८ । श.१६९४ मार्गशीर्ष शु.१० । इ.४।११।१७७२ ? (४।१२।१७७२)
(१४५) सु. ११७२ साबान २९ । श. १६९३ मार्गशीर्ष शु. १ । इ. ७।१२।१७७२ (७।१२।१७७१)
(१५०) रवल ३ । श. १६९४ ज्येष्ठ शु. ४ । इ. १७७२ ? (५।६।१७७२)
(१५३) रमजान १४ । श. १६९४ मार्गशीर्ष शु. १५ । इ. १७७२ ? (१०।१२।१७७२)
(१६२) पै. जिल्हेज १२ । श. १६८४ आषाढ शु. १४ । इ. १७६२ (५।७।१७६२)
(१६४) रवल ५ । श. १६८४ आश्विन शु. ७ । इ. १७६२ ? (२४।९।१७६२)
(१६६) रवल १ रवि । श. १६७४ पौष शु. ३ । इ. १७६१ पूर्वी (७।१।१७५३).

पेशवे दप्तर ४०

(५) रवल २६ नंतर । श. १६५१ आश्विन व. १३ । इ. १७२९ पूर्वी (९।१०।१७२९)
(१२) सफर ५ । श. १६६१ वैशाख शु. ६ । इ. ६।५।१७३९ ? (३।५।१७३९)
(२७) मोहरम १२ । श. १६६३ चैत्र शु. १४ । इ. १८।३।१७४१ ? (१९।३।१७४१)
(२८) सु. ११४४ •जवल ७ । रा. श. ७० रुधिरोद्गारी आषाढ शु. १० इंदु । इ. १९।६।१७४३ (२०।६।१७४३)
(३२) जिल्हेज १३ नंतर । श.१६६७ पौष शु.१४ । इ.२३।१२।१७४५?(२६।१२।१७४५)
(३३) जिल्हेज १७ नंतर । श.१६६७ पौष व.३ । इ. ३१।१२।१७४५ (३०।१२।१७४५)
(४४) सवाल २२ । श. १६६८ कार्तिक व. ९ । इ.२७।११।१७४६ (२७।१०।१७४६)
(५३) जिल्हेज २८ नंतर । श. १६६६ पौष व. ३० । इ. १७४५ (२१।१।१७४५)
(६९) रमजान २ । श. १६७२ श्रावण शु. ३ । इ. १७५० (२५।७।१७५०)
(७६) सु. ११५३ जिल्काद २० । श. १६७४ भाद्रपद व. ६ । इ. ३०।९।१७५२ (२९।९।१७५२)
(८३) रखर २२ । श. १६७५ माघ व. ९ । इ. ८।२।१७५४ (१५।२।१७५४)
(९८) सवाल ३ । श. १६७८ आषाढ शु. ५ । इ. २।६।१७५६ (२।७।१७५६)
(९८A) रखर २० । श. १६७६ माघ व. ६ । इ. २६।१०।१७५५ ? (२।२।१७५५)
(१०५) जवल २० । श. १६७९ पौष व. ७ । इ. १७।२।१७५८ (३१।१।१७५८)
(१११) रखर १४ । श.१६८० मार्गशीर्ष व.१ । इ. २६।१२।१७५८ (१६।१२।१७५८)
(११३) रखर २३ । श.१६८० मार्गशीर्ष व.१० । इ.पै. ५।१।१७५९(२५।१२।१७५८)
(११५) जवल १९ । श. १६७६ फाल्गुन व. ५ । इ. ५।३।१७५५ (३।३।१७५५)
(१२४) साबान २ । श. १६८१ चैत्र शु. ३ मंद । इ. ३०।३।१७५९ (३१।३।१७५९)

(१४५) सवाल २१ । श. १६८३ वैशाख व. १० । इ.२९।६।१७६१ (२९।५।१७६१)
(१४७) जिल्हेज २१ । श. १६८३ आषाढ व. ७ । इ. १७६१ ! (२४।७।१७६१)
(१५२) सु. ११५९ रखर २२ । श. १६८० मार्गशीर्ष व. ९ । इ. १४।१२।१७५८ (२४।१२।१७५८)

पेशवे दप्तर ४१

(१३) रवल ४ नंतर । श. १७२० श्रावण शु. ६ । इ. ८।१७९८ (१७।८।१७९८)
(२१) रजब ३ । श. १७२५ कार्तिक शु. ५ । इ. १८०३ ! (२०।१०।१८०३)
(४४) मोहरम १४ । श. १७३२ माघ व. १/। इ.९।२।१८११ पूर्वी (९।१।१८११नंतर)
(५६) जखर ४ । श. १७३५ ज्येष्ठ शु. ६ । इ. ४।५।१८१३ (४।६।१८१३)
(५७) रजब ९ । श. १७३५ आषाढ शु. १० । इ. २९।७।१८१३ (८।७।१८१३)
(५८) रजबं ७ । श. १७३५ आषाढ शु. ८ । इ. २९।७।१८१३ (६।७।१८१३)
(५९) रजब २ । श. १७३५ आषाढ शु. ३ । इ. ३०।७।१८१३ (१।७।१८१३)
(६०) रजब ८ । श. १७३५ आषाढ शु. ९ । इ. ३०।७।१८१३ (७।७।१८१३)
(८१) रवल २१ । श. १७३६ माघ व. ८ । इ. २०।२।१८१५ (३।३।१८१५)
(११०) साबान २४ नंतर । श. १७३९ आषाढ व. ११ । इ. ३०।७।१८१७ (१०।७।१८१७)
(१४१) मोहरम २० । श.१७३९ कार्तिक व.७ रवि । इ.१।१२।१८१७ (३०।११।१८१७)
(१४४) सु. १२१८ मोहरम २२ । श. १७३९ कार्तिक व. ८ । इ. ८।१२।१८१७ (२।१२।१८१७)
(१५३) मोहरम १८ । श.१७३९ कार्तिक व.४ । इ.२७।१२।१८१७ (२८।११।१८१७)
(१५४, १५५) मोहरम १९ मंद । श. १७३९ कार्तिक व. ५ । इ. २८।१२।१८१७ (२९।११।१८१७)
(१७७) सफर २६ । श. १७३९ मार्गशीर्ष व. १३ सोम । इ. ४।१।१८१८ (५।१।१८१८)
(१८३) रवल १४ । श. १७३९ पौष व. १ गुरु । इ. २३।१।१८१८ (२२।१।१८१८)
(१९६) फ. १२२७ जखर १९ । श. १७४० चैत्र व. ६ । इ. २६।३।१८१८ (२६।४।१८१८)
(२०३) हि. १२३३ रजब ३० । श. १७४० ज्येष्ठ शु. १ शुक्र । इ. ५।५।१८१८ (५।६।१८१८)
(२०८) रजब १२ । श. १७४० वैशाख शु. १३ । इ. ११।५।१८१८ (१८।५।१८१८)
(२२१) रजब ५ । श. १७४० वैशाख शु. ६ । इ. A. २१।५।१८१८ (११।५।१८१८)
(२२२) सु. १२१८ रजब २१ । श. १७४० वैशाख व. ८ । इ. २१।५।१८१८ (२७।५।१८१८)
(२६१) फ. १२३५ सु. १२२६ जवल ८-९ । श. १७४७ मार्गशीर्ष शु. १० । इ. २३।१२।१८२५ (१९-२०।१२।१८२५)
(३१५) साबान ७ । श. १७३७ आषाढ शु.९ । इ.A.१८।५।१८१५ ! (१५।७।१८१५)

पेशवे दप्तर ४२

(१३) रखर ९ । श. १७४६ मार्गशीर्ष । शु.१० बुध । इ. १।१।१८२४(१।१२।१८२४)
(१९) रखर २८ । श.१७५२ आश्विन व.३० ।इ.१८।१०।१८३० (१६।१०।१८३०)नंतर
(४८) जिल्हेज १७ । श. १७५८ फाल्गुन व.३ । इ.२९।३।१८३७ (२५।३।१८३७) नंतर
(५४) रखर १२ । श. १७५९ आषाढ शु. १३ । इ. १५।७।१८३७ (१६।७।१८३७)

पेशवे दप्तर ४३

(११) मोहरम २२ । श. १६९३ बैशाख व. ९ । इ. ११।५।१७७१ (८।५।१७७१)
(१६) जखर ८ । शुभकृत् चैत्र शु. ९ । इ. २३।३।१७८२ ! (१५।३।१७२२) !
(५१) रवल ७ । श. १७०१ फाल्गुन शु. ८ । इ. १५।३।१७८० (१४।३।१७८०)
(५५) सु. ११८२ जवल १९ । श. १७०४ बैशाख व. ६ । इ. १३।३।१७८२ (३।५।१७८२)
(६६) रमजान ८ । श. १७३२ आश्विन शु. १० । इ. A. १८१० ! (८।१०।१८१०)
(७९) रमजान १३ । श. १६९० पौष व. १ । इ. २२।१।१७६९ (२३।१।१७६९)
(८१) सु. ११७६ रखर ८ । श. १६९७ ज्येष्ठ शु. ९ । इ. ७।६।१७७५ (अव्वल म्हटलें पाहिजे.)
(८८) सु. ११७७ सफर २७ । श. १६९८ फाल्गुन व. १४ । पै. इ. १०।४।१७७७ (६।४।१७७७)
(१०३) सु.११४७जिल्हेज १८ ।श.१६६८ पौष व.४ ।इ.१२।१७४६(२०।१२।१७४६)
(१३९) सु. ११७२ सफर १३ । श. १६९४ बैशाख व. १ । इ. १७।६।१७७२ (१७।५।१७७२)
(१५४) रजब १५ । श. १७१६ माघ व. २ । इ. १३।२।१७९५ (६।२।१७९५)

पेशवे दप्तर ४४

(७) सु. १२४४ फ. १२५३ । श. १७६५-६६ । इ. ३।१०।१८४३ (१८४३–४४)
(११) सु. १२४४ जिल्काद १० । श. १७६५ मार्गशीर्ष शु. १२ । इ. (३।१२।१८४३)
(१६) सु. १२४४ । श. १७६५-६६ । इ. १७।९।१८४३ (१८४३–४४)
(२२) सु. १२४४ फ. १२५३ जिल्काद ४ । श. १७६५ मार्गशीर्ष शु. ६ । इ (२७।११।१८४३)
(३१) सु. १२४४ । श. १७६५–६६। इ. २७।१०।१८४३ (१८४३–४४)

पेशवे दप्तर ४५

(पृ. ५३) सु. ११६७ जवल १ । श. १६८८ आश्विन शु. ३ । इ. ५।१०।१७६६ (६।१०।१७६६)
(पृ. ८३) सु. ११४६ जिल्हेज २ रवि । श. १६६७ पौष शु. ४ । इ. १४।१।१७४६ (१५।१२।१७४५)

(पृ. ८४) सु. ११४७ साबान ७ । श. १६६८ भाद्रपद शु. ९ । इ. १२।९।१७४६ (१४।८।१७४६)

(पृ. ८५) सु. ११४७ सवाल २६ । श. १६६८ कार्तिक व. १३ । इ. ३१।१०।१७४९ (३१।१०।१७४६)

(पृ. ८७) सु. ११४७ सफर ६ । श. १६६८ फाल्गुन शु. ७ । इ. ५।११।१७४७ (५।२।१७४७)

(पृ. ८८) सु. ११४८ जवल १५ । श. १६७० बैशाख व. १ । इ. १५।५।१७४७ (३।५।१७४८)

(पृ. ८८) सु. ११४८ जखर ९ । श. १६६९ ज्येष्ठ शु. १० । इ. ७।७।१७४७ (७।६।१७४७)

(२३) सु. ११५६ रजब १३ । श. १६७८ चैत्र शु. १४ । इ. २५।५।१७५५ (१४।४।१७५६)

(२३) सु. ११५६ रजब २७ । श. १६७८ चैत्र व. १४ । इ. ८।६।१७५५ (२८।४।१७५६)

(२५) सु. ११६० सफर २२ । श. १६८१ आश्विन व. ९ । इ. ७।१०।१७५९ (१४।१०।१७५९)

(३१) सु. ११६६ जिल्काद १९ । श. १६८८ चैत्र व. ५ । इ. २९।५।१७६६ (२९।४।१७६६)

(३२) सु. ११६६ जिल्हेज ३० । श. १६८७ आषाढ शु. २ । इ. २९।५।१७६७ (२०।६।१७६५)

(४६) सु. ११८२ सफर २३ । श. १७०२ माघ व. १० । इ. १७।२।१७८१ (७।२।१७८२)

(५३) सु. ११७७ सवाल २५ । श. १६९८ कार्तिक व. १२ मंद । इ. २२।११।१७७६ (७।१२।१७७६)

मराठी विभाग : शुद्धिपत्र



पृ.	ओळ	चूक	बरोबर
११	२१	व शाही	वशा ही
२०	२२	कालदशक	कालदर्शक
२३	३२ (टीप)	२१ बाहणे	२१ राहणे
३०	शिक्क्यांत	वणी	वर्णा
,,	१३	जाने. १०	जाने. ११
३३	२२	शेके ५	शके ६
३४	१	याचाहि शाद्द	याचा हिशेब
,,	५	मुतालील देणे	मुतालीकपणे
,,	१४	अर्चेचा	चर्चेचा
५७	३६	परिवाणी देत नव्हते	परि बाणी देत नव्हते
५९	२२	प्रकारणात्मक	प्रकरणात्मक
७४	६	सरदेमुखी	सरदेशमुखी
८५	३३	शक १६८२	शक १६८१
८६	२३	७ एप्रिल	६ एप्रिल
,,	१९	१९६०	१७६०
९७	१५	जगन्नथाच्या	जगन्नाथाच्या



संशोधनमग्न दत्ता वामन

(प्रा. पोतदार यांच्या जुन्या घरी, तिसऱ्या मजल्यावर, १ सप्टेंबर १९७२)

[फोटो : श्री. के. बा. गोडबोले, पुणे २

पुरवणी नं. १

महामहोपाध्याय दत्तो वामनांचा लेखन-संभार

महामहोपाध्याय प्रॉ. पोतदार यांनीं आपल्या वयाच्या विशी-बाविशीच्या सुमारास लेखनास सुरुवात केली. त्यांचें लिखाण बहुविध व बहुरंगी असून तें ठिकठिकाणीं विखुरलेलें आहे. त्यामुळें गेल्या चाळीस वर्षांतील महाराष्ट्रांतील निरनिराळ्या वेळचीं वर्तमानपत्रें, मासिकें, अहवाल, नियतकालिकें यांचें संशोधन करून व प्रा. दत्तोपंतांच्या संग्रहीं असलेला सांठा धुंडाळून त्यांचें जें लिखाण हातीं आलें त्याचा संग्रह या ठिकाणीं केलेला आहे. तो परिपूर्ण आहे असें म्हणतां येत नाहीं. भारत इतिहास संशोधक मंडळानें पुरस्कृत केलेल्या सर्व ग्रंथांना, आपल्या पंचवीस वर्षांच्या चिटणिशी काळांत, त्यांनीं पुरस्कार जोडले. त्यांचा या संग्रहांत समावेश झालेला नाहीं. त्याशिवाय महाराष्ट्रांतील व महाराष्ट्राबाहेरील मासिकांतून, वर्तमानपत्रांतून व नियतकालिकांतून त्यांनीं अनेक लेख लिहिले आहेत; परंतु थोड्या मुदतींत ते आमच्या हातीं येणें शक्य नसल्यानें तो नाद आम्हांस नाइलाजानें सोडावा लागला. प्रस्तुतच्या संग्रहांत प्रा. पोतदार यांनीं लिहिलेले लेख, अनेक पुस्तकांस त्यांनीं लिहून दिलेल्या प्रस्तावना वा उपोद्घात, अनेकविध पुस्तकांचीं त्यांनीं केलेलीं परीक्षणें, निरनिराळ्या सभा-संमेलनांच्या अध्यक्षपदावरून वा व्याख्यात्याच्या नात्यानें केलेलीं भाषणें, त्यांनीं दिलेल्या मुलाखती, काढलेलीं पत्रकें वगैरेंचा समावेश केलेला आढळून येईल. मराठी भाषा, मराठी वाङ्मय व साहित्य, मराठ्यांचा इतिहास व त्याचें संशोधन यांवरच त्यांच्या लिखाणाचा जास्त भर दिसतो. त्यांच्या लिखाणाचा स्थळ-काळनिर्देश मिळाला तो प्रत्येक ठिकाणीं दिलाच आहे; परंतु जेथें तो मिळाला नाहीं तेथें फक्त लेखांचाच निर्देश केलेला आहे. माहीत आहे तें काळाच्या उदरांत गडप होऊन जाऊं नये एवढाच हा संग्रह करण्यांतील उद्देश आहे.

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४. मराठी कवींचें परभाषा-ज्ञान. लेख. नवयुग मासिक, मुंबई	१९१२
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६. विसाव्या शतकांतील खरे सद्गुरु. लेख. केसरी	१९१३ ?
७. भाषांतराकरितां उतारे. वेचे	१९१३ ?
८. महाराष्ट्र वाङ्मयांत अपूर्व भर (म्हणजेच श्री तुलसीदास रामायणास देशीकार लेणें) परीक्षण लोकशिक्षण वर्ष २, अंक १	एप्रिल १९१३
९. श्री. रा. वा. दातेकृत 'भीषण कृत्य हुंडा' या पुस्तकास प्रस्तावना (आयुष्यांत लिहिलेली पहिली प्रस्तावना)	१९१४
१०. विद्याद्रोह नव्हे तर काय ? लेख. ज्ञानमित्र (मासिक)	२२-४-१९१४

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१५. रा. कृ. ह. दीक्षितकृत राजा सत्त्वधीर अर्थात् सम्राट् हरिश्चंद्र या नाटकास प्रस्तावना १९१५
१६. राजाराम स्मरण (डॉ. वझे यांच्याबद्दल मृत्युलेख) १९१५
१७. 'टिळकांची साहित्य सेवा'. 'आत्रेय' नांवानें. लेख. बालशिक्षणमाला, टिळक अंक, वर्ष २, अंक १ ला . १९१६
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२२. मोरोपंताचें हस्ताक्षर-नमुना १९१६
२३. इंदूर येथील नववें महाराष्ट्र संमेलन. लेख. लोकशिक्षण वर्ष ५, अंक ७, १९१७
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३०. विष्णुशास्त्री चिपळूणकर. कविता. कार्ड १९१९?
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३२. Shivaji and His Times. परीक्षण. Mahratta १७-८-१९१९
३३. वासंतिक उपदेश. भाषण. नू. म. वि. मराठी शाळा १९२०
३४. आगरकर यांची वाङ्मयीन कामगिरी. लेख. मनोरंजन, पुस्तक ३१ पू. पु. भाग ५ १९२०
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३९. नवी शिक्षण योजना (खाजगी योजना पत्रक) १९२०-२१
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लेख भा. इ. सं. मंडळ त्रैमासिक वर्ष २ रें अंक १-४ १९२१
४६. जंजिरे राजपुरीची शिवकलीन मसलत व कोली सरपाटील.
लेख. भा. इ. मं. त्रै, वर्ष २ रें अंक १-४ १९२२
४७. नारदात्मज सूनु व रोकडा राम पुण्यतिथि. त्रै. वर्ष २ रें. अं. २. पृ. २८
४८. संशोधन संचार. लेख. भा. इ. मं. त्रै. वर्ष २ रें अंक १।४ १९२२
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५०. आदिलशाही आर्थिक फर्मान. लेख. भा. इ. सं. त्रै. वर्ष ३ रें, अंक १ १९२२
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५४. श्रीनाथ उपाध्ये व पैठणास भेट. लेख. ,, १९२२-२३
५५. तंजावर मोडी ताम्रपट. लेख. भा. इ. सं. त्रै., वर्ष ४ अंक १।४ १९२३-२४
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५९. वासंतिक उपदेश. लेख. नू. म. वि. मराठी शाळा १९२३
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६१. वासंतिक उपदेश. भाषण. नू. म. वि. मराठी शाळा १९२४
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६४. पहिलें शारदोपासक संमेलन, स्वागताध्यक्षीय भाषण १९२५
६५. शिवाजी महाराजांचा ३ रा होन. लेख. भा. इ. सं. त्रै. वर्ष ६ अंक १।४ १९२५-२६
६६. संप्रदाय परिमळाचा कर्ता कोण ? निरंजन कीं निरंजनदास ? लेख
साहित्यपत्रिका अंक १ १९२८
६७. दुसरें शारदोपासक संमेलन—स्वागताध्यक्षीय भाषण १९२६
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७४. मामले तालियाचा महजर (पोतदार-दाते). लेख. ,, १९२७

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७६. वि. का. राजवाडे. लेख. केसरी जाने. १९२७
७७. वासंतिक उपदेश, भाग्यपुरुष. भाषण. नू. म. वि. १९२७
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७९. कर्नाटकांतील सफर. लेख. भा. इ. सं. त्रै. वर्ष ९, अंक ४ १९२८
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भा. इ. सं. त्रै. वर्ष ९ अंक ३ १९२८
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८२. व्युत्पत्ति, शंका, चर्चा इत्यादि. लेख. म. सा. पत्रिका मार्च १९२८
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लेख, नवभारत (मासिक) ऑक्टो. १९४८
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लेख. Progress of Education डिसें. १९४८

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२९३. राष्ट्रसंरक्षक रामचंद्र नीळकंठ. लेख. गर्जना २८-४-१९५०
२९४. विष्णु कृष्ण चिपळोणकर. लेख. मनोहर मे १९५०
२९५. तेव्हां आणि आतां (मालाकार चिपळोणकरांशीं काल्पनिक संवाद). रेडिओ भाषण (नवयुग व मौजमध्यें प्रसिद्ध) २९ ऑग. १९५०
२९६. पंढरपूरचे काणे गुरुजी सत्कार-पत्रक-अध्यक्षीय भाषण. २८-१-५०
२९७. मित्राच्या आठवणी (प्रो. घारपुरे). लेख. व्यापार-उद्योग जुलै १९५०
२९८. पश्चिम भारत राष्ट्रभाषा संमेलन स्वागताध्यक्षीय हिंदी भाषण जून १९५०
२९९. मानवतेचा पुजारी (साने गुरुजी). लेख. नवयुग १८ जून १९५०
३००. विद्यापीठ नगराचें विशाल व मनोहर स्वप्न. लेख. लोकसत्ता २-९-५०
३०१. जगन्नाथपुरी (संभाषण). रेडिओ भाषण १६-६-५०

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महाराष्ट्र-महोदय, मौज प्रकाशन, मुंबई. १९५०

३०३. अभंग आणि आर्या. नवयुगमध्यें छापलेलें रेडियो भाषण १६-४-५०

३०४. मंत्र्युत्तम नाना फडणीस, उत्सव पत्रांशी व शकावली या पुस्तकास पुरस्कार सप्टें. १९५०

३०५. आयु. प्रवेशोनाम (आत्मचरित्रपर स्वनिर्मित मुलाखत). सह्याद्रि ऑक्टो. १९५०

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३०७. महाराष्ट्र साहित्य आणि तरुण स. प. कॉ. नियतकालिक लेख.

३०८. वीर सावरकर यांस मानपत्र

३०९. नेवासें वर्णन या पुस्तकास प्रस्तावना.

३१०. संभाजी, रेडियो भाषण

३११. Maratha History Re-examined—A Review, परिक्षण B. O. R. I.

३१२. शालोपासना (नू. म. वि. च्या नियतकालिकांत प्रसिद्ध झालेली कविता)
कविता 'हे लाज जगिं राखणें' या नांवाची.

३१३. 'दे. भ. तात्यासाहेब केळकर यांच्या आठवणी' या पुस्तकांत आठवणी
(पानें २२२-२४) लेख

३१४. श्री सरस्वती स्तवन (नू. म. वि. मराठी शाळा) कविता, कविता कार्डावर छापलेली

३१५. मराठी वाङ्मयाचा अभ्यास. लेख.

३१६. पुरंदरे दप्तराच्या परीक्षणास उत्तर. लेख. रत्नाकर

३१७. The Exact Date of the Destruction by fire of *Shanwar Wada*
(Peshwa's Palace). of Poona, unpublished

३१८. विश्वशांतीच्या दृष्टीनें नवी जगद्व्यवस्था. व्याख्यान. वाई सारांश दैनिक काळ २०-१०-५०

आणखी साहित्य संशोधनविषयक लेख

३१९. व्यंकटेश कवि	भा. इ. सं. मं. वार्षिक इतिवृत्त	शके १८३४
३२०. चांगदेवाचा एक अप्रसिद्ध अभंग	भा. इ. सं. मं. वार्षिक इतिवृत्त	शके १८३४
३२१. कर्मविपाकाचा कर्ता अमृत जयानंद	भा. इ. सं. मं. वार्षिक इतिवृत्त	शके १८३४
३२२. दोन देवदास	भा. इ. सं. मं. वार्षिक इतिवृत्त	शके १८३४
३२३. बहिरा जातवेद	भा. इ. सं. मं. वार्षिक इतिवृत्त	शके १८३५
३२४. नंद भाषा	भा. इ. सं. मं. वार्षिक इतिवृत्त	शके १८३४
३२५. जगनाड्याच्या वह्या व त्यांतील महत्त्वाची कविता	भा. इ. सं. मं. वार्षिक इतिवृत्त	शके १८३४
३२६. शाम नारायण देशपांडे; रामदासी मृत्युंजय ब्राह्मणी	भा. इ. सं. मं. वार्षिक इतिवृत्त	शके १८३४
३२७. आळंदीची पंचक्रोशी	भा. इ. सं. मं. वार्षिक इतिवृत्त	शके १८३४ पृष्ठ ३०४
३२८. चोंभा कवि	भा. इ. सं. मं. वार्षिक इतिवृत्त	शके १८३४ पृ. ३०६

३२९. तुकाराम-बोवांचे अस्सल अभंग	भा. इ. सं. मं. वार्षिक इतिवृत्त	शके १८३५	
३३०. जयाद्रीमहात्म्य	भा. इ. सं. मं. वार्षिक इतिवृत्त	शके १८३५	पृ. २७१
३३१. तीन देवदास	भा. इ. सं. मं. वार्षिक इतिवृत्त	शके १८३५	पृ. २७२
३३२. कूपखनन. मराठी गद्य	भा. इ. सं. मं. वार्षिक इतिवृत्त	शके १८३५	पृ. ४२६
३३३. मल्हारी सुत वा. इ. वृत्त	भा. इ. सं. मं. वार्षिक इतिवृत्त	शके १८३५	पृ. ४२९
३३४. श्रीधर कवि द्वि. सं. वृ.	भा. इ. सं. मं. वार्षिक इतिवृत्त	शके १८३६	पृ. १८२
३३५. पतित पावन पद्धति तृ. सं.	भा. इ. सं. मं. वार्षिक इतिवृत्त	शके १८३६	पृ. ९१
३३६. गोव्याचें भाषेंतील पद वा. इ. वृत्त	भा. इ. सं. मं. वार्षिक इतिवृत्त	शके १८३७	पृ. २५७
३३७. लोलिंबराज व रत्नकला चरित्र	भा. इ. सं. मं. वार्षिक इतिवृत्त	शके १८३७	पृ. २६४
३३८. माधव नंदन	भा. इ. सं. मं. वार्षिक इतिवृत्त	शके १८३७	पृ. २६६
३३९. रामजोशीकृत सुभद्रेचा पोवाडा	भा. इ. सं. मं. वार्षिक इतिवृत्त	शके १८३७	पृ. २६७
३४०. त्रुटित उखाहरण	भा. इ. सं. मं. वार्षिक इतिवृत्त	शके १८३७	पृ. २६८
३४१. मातृका निघंट	भा. इ. सं. मं. वार्षिक इतिवृत्त	शके १८३७	पृ. २६८
३४२. सच्चिदानंदाचा स्वात्मबोध	भा. इ. सं. मं. वार्षिक इतिवृत्त	शके १८३७	पृ. २६९
३४३. रामकृष्णकाव्यम्	भा. इ. सं. मं. वार्षिक इतिवृत्त	शके १८३७	पृ. २६९
३४४. सोमाजी सकलकळ्या	भा. इ. सं. मं. वार्षिक इतिवृत्त	शके १८३७	पृ. २६९
३४५. दाजीराव देशपांडे कोळेवाडीकर ऊर्फ नारायण स्वामी यांचा अभंग	भा. इ. सं. मं. वार्षिक इतिवृत्त	शके १८३७	पृ. २६९
३४६. गोपीनाथ कवीचा नारळीप्रसाद	भा. इ. सं. मं. वार्षिक इतिवृत्त	शके १८३७	२७०
३४७. कृष्णलीलेची एक लावणी	भा. इ. सं. मं. वार्षिक इतिवृत्त	शके १८३७	२७०
३४८. बहिणाबाईंची गुरुपरंपरा वा. इ. वृत्त	भा. इ. सं. मं. वार्षिक इतिवृत्त	शके १८३७	२७१
३४९. श्रीधर कृत-"उखाहरण"	,,	शके १८३७	२७१
३५०. मध्वनाथ कृत "कृष्णजन्म"	,,	शके १८३७	१७५
३५१. गणेशदास कृत "भूचंद्राख्यान"	,,	शके १८३७	२७५
३५२. सायंदेव वंशज साखरेकृत "अनुसैय आख्यान"	,,	शके १८३७	२७५
३५३. लावनी	,,	शके १८३७	२७६
३५४. दीन कविकृत "पंचीकरण"	,,	शके १८३७	२७८
३५५. जयरामदासी	भा. इ. सं. मं. वार्षिक इतिवृत्त	शके १८३७	३३७
३५६. कानो पाठकाचा गुरु	भा. इ. सं. मं. वार्षिक इतिवृत्त	शके १८३७	३३७
३५७. आई आदिपुरुष व श्री समर्थ	भा. इ. सं. मं. वार्षिक इतिवृत्त	शके १८३७	३३७
३५८. केशव स्वामीकृत 'आत्मचिंतन'	भा. इ. सं. मं. वार्षिक इतिवृत्त	शके १८३८	२
३५९. जगन्नाथकृत साम्राज्यपद	भा. इ. सं. मं. वार्षिक इतिवृत्त	शके १८३८	२
३६०. कृष्णदास जयरामचें 'सीतास्वयंवर'	भा. इ. सं. मं. वार्षिक इतिवृत्त	शके १८३८	७३
३६१. अंबाबाई उदो अथवा नाथ संप्रदायांतील एक महत्त्वाचा नवीन दुवा, च. सं.	भा. इ. सं. मं. वार्षिक इतिवृत्त	शके १८३७	७९,८१
३६२. तुकारामाची "जगनाडी संहिता" पं. सं.	भा. इ. सं. मं. वार्षिक इतिवृत्त	शके १८३९	७४,११०

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महामहोपाध्याय प्रा. पोतदार यांचा बहुविध संस्थांशीं संबंध

टिपण

१. नूतन मराठी विद्यालय : १९१२ जून–अर्धवेळी शिक्षक; १९१५ डिसेंबर–शि. प्र. मंडळी–आजीव सेवक; १९१६ ते १९२३ अध्यक्ष–आजीव सेवक मंडळ, शि. प्र. मंडळी, सतत लागोपाठ सुमारें सात वर्षे; १९१६ ते १९२५–सुपरिंटेंडेंट, नू. म. वि. मराठी शाळा (नऊ वर्षे) लागोपाठ; १९२६ ते १९३२—सुपरिंटेंडेंट, नू. म. वि. हायस्कूल (सहा वर्षे) लागोपाठ, १९२२ ते १९३४—अध्यापक—प्रथम न्यू पूना मग सर परशरामभाऊ कॉलेज. प्रथम फक्त मराठी—पुढें मराठी व इतिहास.

२. भारत इतिहास संशोधक मंडळः स्थापना १९१० इ. स. शके १८३२ आषाढ शु. १-ते दिवशीं राजवाडेसमवेत मेहेंदळे वाड्यांत स्थापनेस हजर—लेखक मदतनीस; १९१२ सभासद- भा. इ. सं. मंडळ; १९१५ (शके १८३७) दुय्यम चिटणीस-भा. इ. सं. मंडळ १९१८ ते १९४२ चिटणीस भा. इ. सं. मंडळ (जोडीदार श्री. आबासाहेब मुजुमदार), कार्याध्यक्ष भा. इ. सं. मंडळ, आजतागायत चालू.

३. इंडियन हिस्ट्री कॉंग्रेस : १९३५ स्थापन केली : All India Modern History Congress—General Secretary, पुढें या संस्थेच्या कार्यकारिणीचा सदस्य; १९३७—विभागाध्यक्ष, मराठा हिस्ट्री विभाग अलाहाबाद; इ. स. १९४८ अध्यक्ष, दिल्ली अधिवेशन.

४. इंडियन हिस्टॉरिकल रेकॉर्ड्स कमिशन (हिंदुस्थान सरकार):—१९२२ मुंबई बैठकीस निमंत्रित coopted for the Session, पुढें *Corresponding Member*; १९२९ पासून कांहीं वर्षे या कमिशनची बैठक स्थगित. पुनरुज्जीवनाची खटपट, पुढें पुण्यास बैठक, Local Secretary ला मदतनीस. सुमारें १९४० पासून Ordinary Expert Member nominated by Government of India आणि Member, Research and Publication Committee—आजतागायत चालू.

५. महाराष्ट्र साहित्य परिषदः सदस्य इ. स. १९२१; कार्यकारी सदस्य १९२२ पासून १९३७; उपाध्यक्ष १९३७ ते १९४२; संपादक म. सा. पत्रिका १९३३ ते १९३६; अध्यक्ष १९४३ ते १९४६, पुनः उपाध्यक्ष १९४७ ते आजतागायत.

६. यूनेस्कोशीं सहकार्य करण्यासाठीं हिंदुस्थान सरकारनें बोलावलेलें इंडियन नॅशनल कमिशन : Nominated by Govt. of India,—an expert member on the Cultural Sub-commission —१९४८ पासून चालू.

७. मुंबई प्रांतिक हिंदुस्तानी शिक्षण बोर्ड : १९३८ Hindustani School Book Commitee सभासद; १९३९ Hindustani Board सभासद; १९४१ बोर्डाचा उपाध्यक्ष म्हणून सरकारनें नेमणूक केली; १९४२ लोकनियुक्त अध्यक्ष; १९४२ ते १९४९ वेळोवेळीं लोकनियुक्त अध्यक्ष. (इ. स: १९४९ डिसेंबरांत. बोर्ड रद्द झालें).

८. डेक्कन कॉलेज कमिटी: (मुंबई सरकारनें नेमलेली) सभासद.

९. **Deccan College Post-Graduate Research Institute** : nominated member, three years.

१०. Member, **Provincial Council of Education** : (Govt. of Bombay) since commencement till the abolition of the Hindustani Board. (1948-50.)

११. **Member, Maharashtra University** (Patwardhan) **Committee** appointed by the Govt. of Bombay, for preparation of the Draft Bill.

१२. Member, **Text-Book Committee, Bombay Govt.** (i) For Marathi, (ii) For History.

१३. Visitor, **Yeravada Central Prison**: 1950—Continuing three years.

१४. तमाशा सुधारणा समिति : (मुंबई सरकार) अध्यक्ष. अहवाल प्रसिद्ध १९४९.

१५. **Hindi Teaching Committee**: Chairman-June 1950-(Bombay State).

१६. **State Board for Monuments and Archives** (established 1950): Expert Member nominated by Govt.

१७. **Peshwa Daftar Committee**, (established Bombay State—1948):— Member.

१८. **Poona University** : Nominated by the Chancellor, Governor of Bombay, as a member of the Court of the Poona University; a member of the Academic Council (assigned to the Faculty of Social Sciences). Nominated member, Advisory Committee to help the first Vice-Chancellor, Poona University (six months only—Committee dissolved).

१९. **University of Bombay** : Member, co-opted for Marathi by the Faculty of Arts-1922-27

२०. **S. N. D. T. Indian Women's University** : Elected member of the Senate for several years.

२१. टिळक महाराष्ट्र विद्यापीठ : १९२१ पासून सभासद; १९४८ सालीं कुलगुरु चालू, तूर्त कुलपतींचेंहि काम.

२२. **Maharashtra University Association** (Regd. Act XXI-1860):— संस्थापक इ. स. १९२८; Organiser १९३३; चिटणीस १९३६ पासून चालू.

२३. Managing Trustee, **Agni-Hotra Trust**, Shikshana Prasarak Mandali, since foundation in 1927 (?)

२४. कृ. ब. साठे षष्ठ्यब्दपूर्ति विश्वस्त निधि : विश्वस्त सभासद शके १८५६ पासून आजतागायत.

२५. शिक्षा विचार मंडळ : संस्थापक व सभासद १९१५ पासून शेवटपर्यंत.

२६. आरोग्य मंडळ: सभासद, स्थापनेपासून १९१४ (?) आजतागायत. कांहीं वर्षे सदस्य कार्यकारी मंडळ.

२७. सहकारी वस्त्र भांडार पुणें : कार्यकारी सभासद, सुमारें १९१८ सालीं. (संस्था बुडाली).

२८. साक्षरता प्रसारक मंडळ पुणें: सुमारें १९१८-२०.

२९. श्रीराम मोफत वाचनालय पुणें : एक चिटणीस १९१४. (पुढें १९२५ नंतर संस्था बंद.)

३०. भारत-स्नेह-संवर्धक मंडळ पुणें : कार्यकारी सदस्य सुमारें २०-२५ वर्षे.

३१. पुणें बालवीर संस्था : सभासद अनेक वर्षे

३२. वेदशास्त्रोत्तेजक सभा पुणें : कार्यकारी सदस्य मधून मधून कांहीं वर्षे. १९५० पासून उपाध्यक्ष.

३३. Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute : Elected member, Regulating Council बहुश: १९१८ पासून आजतागायत सतत.

३४. काशी नागरी प्रचारिणी सभा : अनेक वर्षे कार्यकारी सदस्य.

३५. हिंदी प्रचार संघ पुणें : अध्यक्ष सुमारें २ वर्षे-१९३८-४० (?)

३६. महाराष्ट्र राष्ट्रभाषा समिति (वर्धा) : सभासद, पदाधिकारी, अध्यक्ष १९३८-४४.

३७. महाराष्ट्र राष्ट्रभाषा सभा पुणें : अध्यक्ष स्थापनेपासून १९४५ (?) चालू.

३८. खडकी एज्युकेशन सोसायटी : कार्यकारी सदस्य, उपाध्यक्ष-अध्यक्ष १९५० पावेतों.

३९. अभिनव ज्ञानमंदिर, कर्जत जि. कुलाबा: अध्यक्ष-सुमारें १९४२ पासून चालू.

४०. भारतीय संगीत प्रसारक मंडळ पुणें : अध्यक्ष, स्थापनेपासून—चालू १९४३ पासून.

४१. लोकमान्य एज्युकेशन सोसायटी पुणें : उपाध्यक्ष-अनेक वर्षे, चालू १९३२ ते १९५०.

४२. महाराष्ट्र कलोपासक पुणें : अध्यक्ष- स्थापनेपासून १९४२ आजतागायत.

४३. पुणें मराठी ग्रंथालय : (एक उत्पादक इ. स. १९१०), सदस्य कार्यकारिणी प्रथमपासून; उपाध्यक्ष-१९४०-५० चालू.

४४. आर्यक्रीडोद्धारक मंडळ पुणें : उत्पादक १९१४; चालू आहे.

४५. वक्तृत्वोत्तेजक सभा पुणें : सभासद, कार्यकारी सदस्य-उपाध्यक्ष कांहीं वर्षे.

४६. यत्न मंडळ पुणें: १९१६-२०.

४७. मोफत वाचनालय मंडळ पुणें व Maharashtra Libraries Association: सांप्रत पदाधिकारी

४८. श्रीगणेश मोफत वाचनालय पुणें : जुना सदस्य-कार्यकारिणी सदस्य.

४९. मयूर मंडळ पुणें : उत्पादक व सदस्य चालू

५०. शारदोपासक मंडळ पुणें : १९२६ इ. स. ते आजतागायत.

५१. डेक्कन जिमखाना : कार्यकारी सदस्य -कांहीं वर्षे-१९१४-२४.

५२. नाट्य नवरात्र मंडळ पुणें : तात्पुरतें-१९४६.

५३. वैदिक संशोधन मंडळ पुणें : कार्यकारी सदस्य १९४९ पासून

५४. अंगडी एज्युकेशन सोसायटी कारवार : उपाध्यक्ष -१९२५ पासून

५५. कऱ्हाडे ब्राह्मण संघ पुणें : कार्याध्यक्ष -कांहीं वर्षे.

५६. महाराष्ट्र टेक्निकल एज्युकेशन सोसायटी पुणें : Board of Control सदस्य १९४८-५०.

५७. राष्ट्र विचार मंडळ पुणें : सदस्य १९१८ ते १९२२ (!) (आतां बुडालें)

५८. शिक्षण प्रसारक मंडळी पुणें : अध्यक्ष १९४६-१९५०, पूर्वी नियामक मंडळ सदस्य -१९१८-१९३२.

५९. दत्तोपंत आपटे स्मारक मंडळ पुणें : अध्यक्ष

६०. संयुक्त महाराष्ट्र परिषद : उपाध्यक्ष १९४६-१९५० चालू

६१. नाना फडणीस स्मारक-मंडळ : कार्यकारी सदस्य १९४७ पासून चालू.

६२. श्री छत्रपती संभाजी स्मारक मंडळ : कोषाध्यक्ष सुमारें गेलीं ४-५ वर्षे चालू

६३. श्री रमामाधव स्मृति मंडळ पुणें: कोषाध्यक्ष १९३७ पासून चालू.

६४. श्रीमंत थोरले बाजीराव स्मारक मंडळ पुणें : स्थापनेपासून (१९३८) सुमारें गेलीं १०-१२ वर्षे अध्यक्ष. चालू.

६५. श्री नरवीर तानाजी स्मारक मंडळ : उपाध्यक्ष-सुमारें गेलीं ३-४ वर्षे; चालू.

६६. रायगड स्मारक मंडळ : कार्यकारी सदस्य—सुमारें १९२६ पासून चालू.

६७. डेक्कन व्हर्न्याक्युलर ट्रॅन्स्लेशन सोसायटी : कार्यकारी सदस्य १९२५-३० चे सुमारें कांहीं वर्षे.

६८. नूतन मराठी विद्यालय मराठी शाळा–शिक्षक साहाय्य निधि : संस्थापक व अध्यक्ष–१९१८ तें आजतागायत चालू.

६९. School Board Poona City Municipality : Co-opted Expert Education Member : सुमारें १९१९ ते १९२२.

७०. भारतीय साहित्य परिषद : स्थापना १९३५-३६ कार्यकारी सदस्य प्रथम. पुढें संस्था लवकर बंद पडली.

७१. श्रीछत्रपति संभाजी कार्यालय : ट्रस्टी

७२. पाटणकर ट्रस्ट—शि. प्र. मंडळी : निराळें काम आतां नाहीं.

७३. श्री सिद्धिविनायक देवस्थान संस्था (गुंड गणपती) Regd. कार्यकारी सदस्य अलिकडे ४-५ वर्षे अध्यक्ष.

७४. अर्थसिद्धि समिति पुणें : कार्यकारी सदस्य गेलीं ५-६ वर्षे (?)

७५. वसंत व्याख्यानमाला पुणें : चिटणीस. १९१४-१९१८ चारपांच वर्षे.

७६. पुणें नेटिव्ह् जनरल लायब्ररी पुणें : (आतां पुणें नगरवाचनालय) ३ वर्षे कार्यकारी सदस्य १९२०-२२ (?)

७७. संपादक संमेलन : पहिलें अधिवेशन पुणें—स्वागताध्यक्ष, १९३२

७८. आर्योत्तेजक संस्था : सभासद—१९०३-१९०६

• वरीलप्रमाणें टिपण क्वचित् आधार पाहून तयार केलें आहे. याशिवाय Deccan History Congress—(का. सदस्य), महाराष्ट्र परिचय मंडळ (आतां नाहीं-१९२३) पुणें, समाज विचार मंडळ (आतां नाहीं—१९२१-२२ ?), चित्रकार मंडळ, पुणें (आरंभीं एकादें वर्ष का. स. आतां संबंध नाहीं.), अशा कांहीं नसलेल्या, तांत्रिक, तात्कालिक, पुढें चालू असलेल्या, तसेंच डॉ. भडकमकर सत्कार मंडळ, डॉ. केतकर गौरव मंडळ, एक्सपर्ट ब्युरो तज्ज्ञ मंडळ (नाममात्रच), रेल्वे पॅसेंजर्स असोसिएशन, पुणें (सुमारें १९१५, लवकरच गाभाटली), पत्रकार संघ, अशा अनेक संस्थांशीं संबंध आला, गेला किंवा चालू राहिला. वरील ७८ तहि अशा अनेक संस्था असतील कीं ज्या निघाल्या, बुडाल्या, चालूहि आहेत किंवा ज्या तांत्रिक व तात्कालिकच होत्या.

दत्तो वामन पोतदार

(श्री. प्रो. कृ. साठे यांजकडे मागणीवरून) १३-१०-१९५०

सूची



प्रा. **ना. अ. गोरे**, एम. ए.,

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